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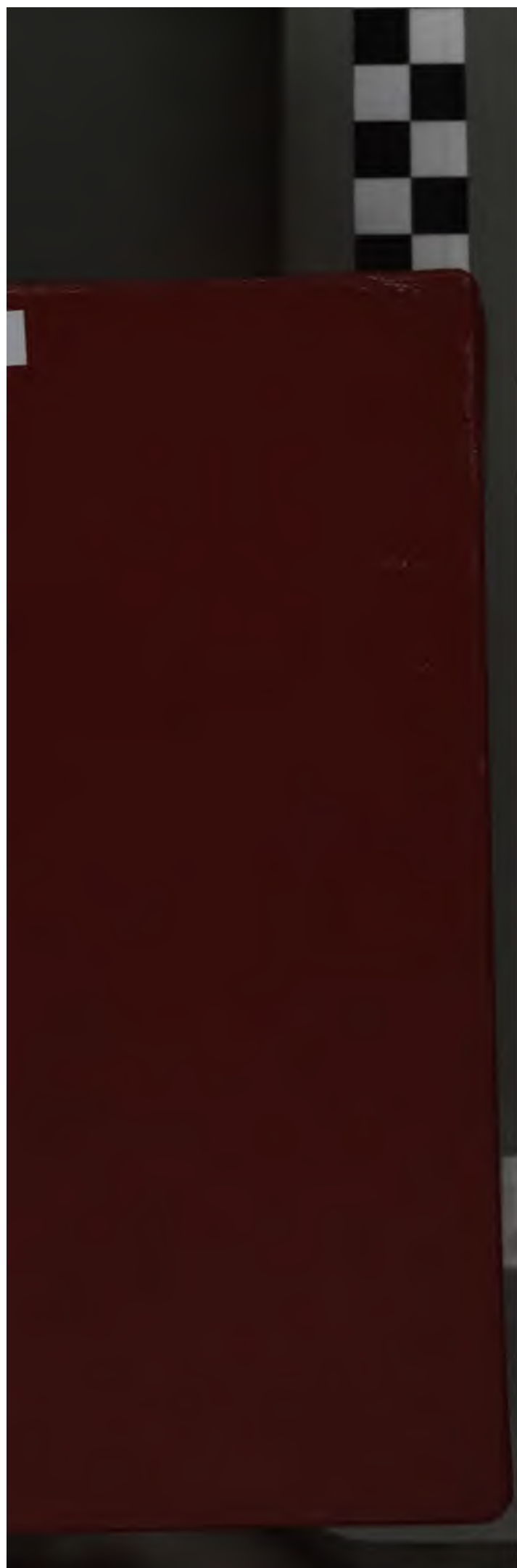
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LASER'S MAGAZINE



NEW SERIES. VOL. XIII.

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JANUARY TO JUNE 1876



LONDON
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PATERNOSTER ROW
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FRASER'S MAGAZINE.

JANUARY 1876.

TRKEY, EGYPT, AND THE EASTERN QUESTION.

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Looking at Turkish affairs and their collateral incidents from this point of view, we shall see that the true state of the present miserable condition of the Empire, and, through it, in no small measure of Europe, lies in the past of over twenty years ago. We might go further back still: but it was then that the last supreme effort was made to prevent any solution of this Eastern question, and from that time the rapid decay of Turkey dates. As has often been said, truly enough, the Turkish Empire was never anything but an armed camp in Europe; a constant provocation of war and bloodshed, a source of barbarous oppression and unutterable misery to many millions of people. But all the worst evils of the dominion of a barbaric horde over mixed races of subject peoples—some ignoble, many worthy a better fate—were intensified after the Crimean war by the blind folly with which the English Government and the English people followed the charlatan policy of Louis Napoleon. It was a strange and lamentable reversion of all the traditions of England to see her labouring side by side with France, the one European nation with which her instincts lead her to be least in sympathy—a nation whose old Napoleonic

dreams and conquests East had filled her liveliest wrath and terrible days of the younger Pitt statesmen that England in modern days, she has none so confidently or so as she followed Palmerston that war for Turkey. I wise counsels of men of clearer political insight, they followed him with enthusiasm. Palmerston we sowed the seed, shall we escape the whirlwind of harvest-time? Already of fate has been cruel, and nothing more cruel than in the falsification of all for the regeneration of the blind statesmen of the capacities of Turkey, to found a civilized government on her resources, until the people believed it all, a belief it necessary for Louis Napoleon in an devised for his glory and ability of his blood-stain. They believed, and lent at high usury. Into the lists for Turkish loans we ple at home, great and small with as much enthusiasm soldiers had shown in the heights of Alma, or in the Redan. All that had taught us about the rapacity, and the tot of true governing faculty Turk was as clean forged we had just had a new from Heaven. Cunning of all sorts, caught at the English Ministers complacently set a-gate kept it up as long as of faith remained in England ingenious reasons were account for the successive loan; words eloquent kind described wonderful resources were key, waiting only for their dole to come out of the Empire and its crea-

As the game grew faster, its grew more reckless, its more desperate, until it was felt that nearly odds were exhausted. The rs had come to the end of eath and their vocabulary, lers had nearly exhausted h, and poor Turkey had fal- he extreme of impecuniosity epitude. A signal for the the curtain on the final act drama was looked for any it came in the at first petty in Herzegovina.

currence of this kind was enough under the grinding of the Turk. Where people ll some spirit, even when e been long accustomed to and wrong, the theft of their and the abduction of their a, they will try to fight. es, after long struggles, sings have been partially l; usually they have failed outside aid was forthcom- this time almost everything urable to a bold and hardy the part of the miserable had taken arms in their th the energy of perishing he Turkish Treasury was e army disorganized, and stores or ready cash. Offi- ll grades had sunk in cor- and the temporary borrow- dients of the Empire were at the last shift. A new an was needed to relieve ure, and if this little rising ut enough strain upon resources to prevent that ing shape, the Turk would t at the worst time, and helplessly on his back. respects, too, the time of rak was, on the whole, chosen. Casual circum- possibly led the Slavs out when they did, but less did they take the . It was early enough in to allow Turkish troops to

get into the province in great numbers, but too late to permit such troops as Turkey could send to subdue the people, and get out again before the rigours of winter made their position dangerous. The insurgents were therefore encouraged by everything almost to hold out; and, leaving out of sight the probable secret machinations of Russia, or the half-cloaked aid of Servia and Montenegro, they had motive enough to fight bitterly and to use wile and feint to lure their adversaries to their doom among the mountains. And at all events the rising had an immediate and visible effect. It forced from the Turks a declaration of bankruptcy.

Thus far the insurrection has been decidedly a success. Various opinions may be entertained as to the extent to which fighting has been successful on either side, for both sides may tell what is not true. But of the broad fact there can be no doubt. The Herzegovinians have succeeded in drawing a large Turkish army into their mountains, and there that army will need probably to winter. If it does winter there, the chances of its perishing are at least five to one. Turkish papers teem with accounts of the inefficiency of the army transport, the difficulty of finding animals, and of feeding them when found. The country is also much exhausted by the intensified pressure which the past twenty years of loan-concocting have brought to bear on the wretched tillers of the soil, so that food for the men can hardly be got. And all the money raised on loans having been recklessly flung away to gratify the besotted tastes of the miserable tyrant at Constantinople, there are no roads, few bridges, and therefore no facilities for intercommunication between districts. Relief to the perishing, ill-conditioned garrisons and troops will consequently be hard to bring, and unless evacuation be resolved upon before



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TURKEY, EGYPT, AND THE EASTERN QUESTION.

A month of June 1874 the present writer expressed the opinion in this Magazine, for good reasons for it—'The destiny of Turkey cannot be delayed;' if anyone (which he doubts) has been saved from a crash by his arguments, as that periodical literature is occasionally a useful branch of

We have now passed into phase.

to follow each other with rapidity, in all that relates to the East of Europe, that it is to come to a decision by point. Our calculations to be upset the day after made. Hardly two months passed at the date of this since all Western Europe startled by the announcement that Turkey had proclaimed a form of repudiation of interest. That confession of bankruptcy, long expected by was yet so sudden at the time the world was taken by it, and for a week or two it was the common subject of thought and comment amongst men. It was discussed from the press, and bondholders were created or ridiculed, as the might be, while they wailed their miserable plight at gatherings. Sober politicians felt that the event had significance for Turkey, when it did; and that,

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through Turkey, it might have grave significance for Europe. But already the downcome of Turkish credit has ceased to interest by itself any but those who have actually lost their money. Other great events have succeeded; in other ways the situation has become strained; and it is felt that the mere bankruptcy of the decrepit empire was but one episode in the miserable drama which, for the sake of our common humanity, we may hope is now drawing towards a conclusion. And, just as men's minds were once more settling down to watch the movements of the great powers to obtain the *pas* in dealing with the insurgent districts of Turkey, there came another thunderclap tending once more to direct men's eyes from the near to the farther East—from the single fate of Turkey to the wider question of what is to follow her dissolution, and who is to succeed the Sultan as suzerain of the great highways between the East and the West. England has become a member of a French joint-stock company, by purchase of the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal.

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ce 'Turkey can pay half,' the Sultan took 400,000*l.* from the treasury for his urgent needs. He spends and lavishes as if he were the richest monarch in the world, while the people grovel and die beneath the tax-gatherer's heel. The estimate of the *Economiste* correspondent is mainly too low. Still, so far as it goes, the figures given by him are interesting. He puts the mere cost of feeding the 7,000 slaves, eunuchs, attendants, and officials who form the Sultan's household at 511,000*l.*, by estimating it at 7*francs* per diem per head; but his figures giving details of this are so low that this also must be an underestimate. The 600 horses in the Sultan's stables are put down as costing 21,600*l.* Turkish, which is remarkably little. A mean sum of 1,000,000*l.* is said to be spent annually on presents of this kind by the Khedive to the Sultan, which are taken as so much money to his purse. The pensions paid to members of his family, his officers, and others, on the so-called civil list, are set down at 1,000,000*l.*, enormously below the fact. 1,000,000*l.* goes to keep up the vast lodges and palaces built by the Sultan at fabulous cost out of the proceeds of the loans. Of these he has built eight. He is now building a magnificent mosque with a sort of convent attached, composed of seventy houses all in one. The cost of this is enormous, and the land has to be appropriated from those now living on it in the quarter of the town. An estimated expenditure of 560,000*l.* per annum is laid to the credit of this work for every year since the late Medjid came to the throne. These are but leading points in the outlay of this sovereign; and, as we have said, they are probably underestimated, it being most difficult to get at the truth where the body has the greatest interest in concealing it. We have dwelt,

however, on this aspect of Turkish government and of Turkish finance more fully than might have seemed needful, because it illustrates so clearly what the actual condition of affairs is; it brings to the front the hopelessness of expecting anything from the much-paraded reforms decreed the other day. Turkey cannot reform at all while at its head a slothful sensualist sits doing nothing but sucking the last drops of life's blood out of the dying populations. Here we have a strange picture, of a being living in the seclusion of a harem, utterly oblivious to all the facts of life around him, oblivious to the wants of his people and all that constitutes government, and the honour of nations, gratifying his whims at any cost—dozing on the ruins of a once fair heritage. Surely, it will impress the English public to some extent with the depth of the folly of which they have been guilty, and at least help to prevent the lures of the cunning wire-pullers of finance who wish themselves to escape, before the house falls about their ears, from substituting fresh victims in their room. We will add but one touch to this picture. It is found in an extract from the *Times* of Nov. 11, relating some facts regarding the last Turkish budget which have never been credibly contradicted:

The 'officious' *Politische Correspondenz* of Vienna has recently made some observations upon the financial condition of Turkey which are worth attending to. In giving the history of the decree ordering the reduction of the debt payments, its Constantinople correspondent says that the Grand Vizier laid an abstract of the actual financial position before the Sultan on October 1, which differed very materially from the Budget recently given to the world. We doubted its figures at the time, and said the deficit would probably be nearly double what it set forth, but if there is any accuracy in the statement of the Vienna journal our surmise was very far under the mark. Including a floating debt of T.12,000,000*l.*, the actual deficit on the year was shown by the Vizier to be T.31,000,000*l.*, the revenue being T.17,000,000*l.*, and the expenditure, the

it is too late, the triumph of the insurgents may before the winter is over be as horrible as fiend could devise. They in their mountain fastnesses with their hardy habits, and their secret or open backers in Hungary, Servia, and Montenegro, can afford to look on and let their foe at least starve first.

In a sense, and that by no means a light one, the post-Crimean policy of England has done more than anything else to bring matters to this point in Turkey. We have petted the Turk till he has tired of us, advised him till he seemed glad to open his arms to Russia, and, above all, we have given a spur to the reaction natural to his rule by lending him money, at first with full and ostentatious official sanction and approval, and then from the habit and traditions that this approval begot.

The grinding oppression which has driven the Slavs to a revolt, which is one to the death with them, we have done much to bring to a white heat; and all that can be looked for now from the short-sighted policy that Lord Palmerston and his followers pursued is a speedier end to the curse that has sat on Eastern Europe since Amurath beat the Slavs at Kossova in 1389, than might have been hoped for had we fought the fight of 1854-55 only, and let our folly end there. We did not so choose, and the after-growth of that war has proved the surest means by which it could be proved to be an anachronism and a mistake. We have now again to revert to the course that might have been pursued before the Crimean war, and all the advantage gained by waiting is, that in the interval a new and vigorous German Empire has sprung up in Europe—an empire capable alike of keeping in check the ambition of Russia, and of restraining the dangerous recurring manias of the French, excited by that glittering but hideous bauble *la gloire*. That was

worth waiting for indeed, not in the reckoning, and loyally ally ourselves with many and with Austria, if Austria goes in the path towards the Slavs, it will be confessed that, after all, the efforts of England perish in vain in that long-drawn-out before Sevastopol.

Viewed thus, or, as we have seen in connection with previous chapters, the declaration of bankruptcy by the Turk is seen to be only a necessary sequence of the outbreak of the Slav. It might have come a few months sooner, but it was bound to come before long. That, in any case, it is almost a waste of money to go into a demonstration which Turkey can or cannot not pay her creditors. The historical growth of her debt affords the most amazing example of public credulity on record seems to prove that, if only bids high enough to overcome strong cupidity, he may calculate upon success, and what lies he tells. The result of the Turkish policy is the result of systematic deception. The money lent have been devalued by those who played the part of intermediaries between lender and borrower, and these themselves have sometimes half believed the lies they disseminated. From those no one acquainted with the history of Turkish rule, or rather the barbarous ineptitude of it, could have expected in his sober senses have been deceived as to the ultimate result of the business. Turkish avarice, Turkish lust, Turkish barbaric magnificence, all combined, and did combine, to boundless wealth opened up loan-dealings to the view, and it is a pure curse to him who has the population upon whose backs sits. Not one good word for the present value, not one true benefit to the people, no single reform,

is admissible within the limits of a single essay.

Without traversing the whole of the certain considerations stand prominently, which may be used as a guide to the formation of judgment upon the chances of bondholders have in the great partition or reconstruction of European Turkey. And, first of all, we think it may be taken as a universally admitted, that some change is at hand. Everything is against it; the insurrection may be against Turkish impotence; the necessities of Austria against the greed and ambition of Russia, the aspirations of the mixed populations of the Empire against other conflicting interests put her. The sum of all this, the present state of affairs is not tolerated no longer. Some solution of this Eastern question is therefore, inevitable. Turkey cannot decreeing reforms, but cannot be carried out with the machinery possessed and controlled by the Turk. The Turk cannot assimilate the Christian populations of the Empire; what oil is to water; they never assimilate. If the powers are ready to spring, but afraid of consequences, then the populations will successively rise and assert their own independence, and in the end will have a new perhaps troublesome power to contend with, Austria and Russia a danger in a pan-Slavonic federation.

The powers, however, are not likely to let matters sleep; all manner of incentives urge them on to the issue; and it need surprise none to find war raging next spring between the great powers of Western Europe. We ourselves have supplied the strongest possible motive to strife in the purchase of the Suez Canal shares, and there is evidence already that the powers concerned begin to look upon it as such. We have said by that

act, in effect, that England recognises that the partition of Turkey is inevitable, and therefore she will provide beforehand a means by which her claim may be maintained to what she considers her part of the spoil. No more direct hint to Russia could possibly be given than this; for to Russia it seems a return to the line of policy sketched out by Nicholas, and a sanction therefore of the dreams in which Nicholas indulged. To Austria, on the other hand, as to France, this step on our part looks like a menace, and Austria, at all events, may be roused by it to fight a last desperate battle for her existence. The jerking line at which Austria and Russia were fitfully tugging has suddenly been hauled taut, and a sudden success of the insurgents, an outburst in Servia or Montenegro, any little incident, may cause it to snap and precipitate Europe into a war of which there is no knowing the ending. The Turks evidently feel much the same thing. They say that, in annexing Egypt—for that is what the Canal transaction is taken to mean both in Turkey and in other countries—England has flung over her old ally. And the thought may well make the Turks desperate. From being disinterested spectators of the strife, ready to mediate for a peaceful solution of the burning question, were that possible, this country has suddenly stepped out as one of the principals in the quarrel. No explanations can convince the world that it is otherwise: our every interference in Egypt, where we must now, in spite of ourselves, appear to rule practically, if our bargain is to be worth anything, if Egypt is to be kept solvent, must make it more evident that we have taken a side, and the side hostile to the existence of Turkey as an empire. This cannot fail to hurry on the consummation; and there is no reason to be sorry that it should; but our statesmen had best cease to be hypocritical

able English subjects to be seen in. Is it worth their while thus to demean themselves—to whine like whipt dogs? Let us see how the Sultan applies himself to the business of the State, and perhaps that may help to a clear understanding of what such flattering words may signify. The means are at hand in some letters, trustworthy in our opinion, that have recently appeared in the *Economiste Française*. We will look at his occupations, his status, in a commercial sense, being sufficiently known to all the world.

At present it appears the chief things that occupy the head of the House of Othman are the deer in his gardens and the rare birds in his aviaries. He listens to the daily report of his chief of the aviary with much more attention than he bestows on the statements on public affairs presented by his Grand Vizier. Savage beasts, such as lions and tigers, are looked upon with less favour, and are banished to the farthest quarter of the seraglio. Still the general menagerie is kept, and all parts of the world are laid under contribution to it. No expense is spared, or trouble either, if a rare beast or bird can be secured for the collection. Sometimes the urgency is so great that all Europe may be alarmed. A war vessel will be seen to get up steam suddenly, and the newsmongers will telegraph the fact to the ends of the earth, stirring numerous questionings and surmises. After all, the vessel of war has no harm in her; she goes merely in quest of rare quadrupeds and birds of wondrous plumage. A great care of the Governors of Tripoli and Barbary is to gratify the Sultan's passion in this respect, and those who cannot find him a new animal send instead rich garments and fine jewels, a superb horse—stolen usually—or a beautiful slave. Their only hope of reward lies along this path of universal *backshush*. The Sultan

gives bountifully to those who gratify him, and the better humour his whims the richer they often find themselves. It appears also that the Sultan contracted a passion for architecture ever since some works of art were sent to him, and he has lately (1875) spent 60,000*l.* on this. What he spends altogether is not easy to tell; but what is certain is that the so-called 'civil list' does not nearly give the true picture. This same *Economiste* correspondent attempts to get at the truth, and many of his figures are on a fairer basis than the official ones, and are, so far as they go, judged by comparison, unequalled. He, following the lead of the paper, M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, puts the gross cost of the Sultan's personal surroundings at 2,000,000*l.* per annum; but, what goes to equip war ships to catch birds, this does not include the numerous presents, the expenses of his Majesty's household compel him to bestow. A correspondent of the *Times* like well informed says that, in pensions and architecture, the Sultan gets through 5,000,000*l.* a year, nearly a third of the entire revenue of the Empire. According to a count published some time ago in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the Turkish government appears to have no latitude in this respect except with 'a first charge on revenues.' When the Sultan cannot get money out of the treasury by fair means, he sends to plunder it, and bring him the spoils of the expedition. His household seems to be kept in a state of wholesale bribery in fact, and that is the case, any estimate of his household must be a guess. The other day, in the midst of the harrying and fiendish extortion with which taxes are being wrung from the wretched population in order that the finances of Turkey may show the way

argue besides that they dared not the people they came to rule justice of laying upon them as that belonged to the earlier driven forth. From all these loans the people of the land got no benefit; rather have been crushed and ground down their weight; why should be asked to take up such a

outlook is here anything but ing, therefore, but we confess ity for Turkish bondholders is eat. They have been engaged mere gambling as pitch and or the last dozen years at least, f they have lost, why then their y is gone.

ne people have congratulated elves on one thing, however. tting that ordinary Turkish are doomed, and that the es of getting paid on any so- of the Eastern question is for any of the common mort-secured loans, these say, 'Ah, e are better off; we have the e of Egypt secured to our ; and now that England has sted herself so closely in tian finance, we feel certain this tribute will be punctually onourably paid, until the loans eared off.' This is very pretty ning, but it is unfortunately the most fallacious in the

the first place, our purchase e Suez Canal shares has given o more direct influence over Khedive than we had before. nay write any fine morning, eclare himself independent of orte; and if the Porte cannot him back to allegiance, we ot compel him to go. If the ish Empire is reconstructed, to term famous in its application ilway and other swindles, the live can hardly help consider- himself lawfully absolved from lligance, and would probably r it off; and is it to be ght that he would after that

go on paying tribute to a power whose rights of suzerainty he did not acknowledge, or that we, what- ever our grasp of Egypt, could compel him to do so? The supposi- tion is extremely improbable. Again, it is by no means certain that the Khedive is as able to continue pay- ing this tribute as people suppose. But for the windfall our purchase has given him, there is not the slightest doubt that another six months would have seen him in- volved in utter and almost hopeless bankruptcy. He has been one of the most reckless gamblers of mo- dern times, and has gambled utterly without knowledge of the game he played. If his whims have been more rational, his ambitions nobler than those of the Sultan, they have been to the full as costly. Both rulers have once and again had to borrow at 25 and 30 per cent. in order to carry on debt incurred upon public or private works that did not yield a penny upon their cost, and in both instances all this could have but one end. For the moment we have averted the catas- trophe from Egypt, but shall we be able to continue to do so? Can we compel the Khedive to give up per- manently his dream of conquest in central Africa, to cease trying to annex Abyssinia, or to make an outlet for his mid-African trade by way of the territories of the weak- ened Sultan of Zanzibar? Are there any of his great hobbies upon which Mr. Stephen Cave can hope to control his will or caprice? It is very doubtful, unless we are prepared to pension him off upon his overgrown estates, and give him an allowance to play with and borrow upon to his heart's content. Short of a system closely analogous to that adopted in India, where we control native princes by means of a Resident, we can have no surety that the path of extravagance will no longer be pur- sued in Egypt.

The probability is that extrava- gance will continue until we thus

floating debt included, T.48,000,000*l.* As the Herzegovina insurrection is set down at T.2,000,000*l.* only, it is evident that this utterly bankrupt state of affairs must have been known long before the Budget was published, and we are therefore able in some measure to gauge the value of that document. The amended Budget shows that the charges on the debt were understated by T.4,000,000*l.*, and the income over-estimated by T.7,000,000*l.*

Possibly this may be an exaggeration in some parts, although we strongly suspect it to be only too near the mark; but, admitting it to be so, the position is at the best so radically bad that the late decree was not merely inevitable; it was a confession of only half the truth.

'But the January coupons are to be paid,' as enthusiastic philo-Turks will exclaim, 'and if so, how can affairs be so very bad?' The question is natural and fair, but it is not at all puzzling. These coupons will be paid by borrowed money, if paid at all. What is being done, in addition to wringing the necks of the wretched people, is to juggle with the floating debt, and to find means thus to carry over the new year, in the hope that something may occur to induce the public to relieve the syndicates holding that debt of the odd tons of pawned, unissued, and absolutely worthless bonds, that by an euphemism are treated as 'security' for the money advanced. These syndicates know well enough that Turkey is absolutely bankrupt; that, if the truth were told, she could not pay a penny on her debt obligations while the present rule lasts; but then they feel that to tell this would ruin them. They have played a strikingly desperate game, hoping always that they could adroitly slip out when the catastrophe did come, and leave the public to bear the horrors of it all. But then they hoped to foresee the end by at least a year, and there they were mistaken. The insurrection was not counted among the chances

they took into account, outbreak caught them in the snare. Heaven grant that may be kept there; that, the sharpest blow of this shall fall on the heads of those who have systematically misled the public on Turkish finance for at least these dozen years.

These, then, are the expedients that are to pay the debt demands due in January, if paid, a thing by no means—for of all the loans thing to be paid upon, the for some—the smallest—has been found. By carrying on the debt, by postponing the claims for a little, and getting taking only 600,000*l.* instead of about as many millions; by doing, by eking out the deficit with further loans, the syndicates may possibly get hold of the money. But what then? Will they have gained anything? No; no, the gullibility of the English public is deeper than its worst follies yet proved it to be. One expedient of this kind will not suffice to restore the credit of Turkey, so far as to make it probable that the bonds aforesaid can be loaned on any terms.

Is there, then, no hope for the Turkish bondholders? Yes, so long as they are all dependent upon the success of the chief event. Before Turkey can raise her head at all, and as a burden, she must be freed from the incubus of the Turk—must, in fact, Turkey no longer. Turkey must have that one cardinal reform that would give the Turkish bondholders a chance worth a straw. In reality, this debt question merges into the greater Eastern question, just as it took its origin. The possibilities of the future of Turkish finance are wrapped up in these questions, who shall succeed the Sultan? and what shall the result of this succession be? To answer these fully, it would be necessary to plunge deeper into Eastern

CRITICS IN WONDERLAND.

A STUDY.

The spirit of one who has never
 adventured to speak but in the
 flawless accents and cold and
 strains of a Dorian style,
 calls for voices innumerable,
 would find them but pallid and
 to raise full-throated carols in
 of what has too long been
 ed to sleep in the twilight of
 e. Unworthy though he may
 o touch so divine a lyre or
 a song so supreme, he will
 shrink from the task because it
 o glorious for the tremulous
 that attempts it. We may ad-
 what we may not emulate,
 e where we cannot soar.
 ll, that the tutelary deities,
 ver they may be, that preside
 those that strive to administer
 cal justice and cast the horo-
 s of the children (or change-
) of literature should hover
 to transfigure, attemper, and
 e the strain, is a boon that
 ot too heartily be craved.
 ing less could save the fervent
 nipper from falling unutterably
 of the auroral splendours of
 heme he ventures to celebrate.
 oughtless criticasters per-
 ce may smile, surprised at the
 ge and lofty pitch of the key-
 as struck above. Now, a
 rn essayist has asserted that
 ertain strangeness, something
 e blossoming of the aloe, is in-
 an element in all true works
 ; an axiom which I trust the
 r will bear in mind; and, if
 the forthcoming pages should
 e or stagger him by appalling
 omena of style and composi-
 let him think of the blossom-
 f the aloe and hold his peace,
 is a critic.
 r I, myself, also am a critic.
 t this the reader will at once

understand that I am a gentleman
 who has failed in art or literature—
 perhaps both. He never was more
 mistaken in his life. Not long ago
 I should have hesitated to un-
 deceive him, lest it should be re-
 tortored upon me that, then, if I had
not failed, but succeeded, I was in
 all probability not much of a critic.
 There is no fear of this now. For
 the prodigies of criticism to which
 I trust now to draw his admiration
 are the fruit of trials in various
 departments of art and literature,
 and success in every one.

The author, Girandole by name,
 is an Æsthetician by profession,
 dilettante painter and musician,
 and a poet too, of course. That
 his looming unborn epic is pre-
 destined to immortality is a fact
 which, we his friends are agreed,
 cannot seriously be deliberated.
 As yet, only part of the proem is
 published, and as that already
 takes three volumes, and still they
 come, some profane persons will
 have it that Girandole has deter-
 mined that, whether the whole is
 to be immortal or not, it shall be
 infinite. Well, say we the elect, and
 what then? A true poet may really
 be said not to write for men, but for
 gods. To call upon such an one to
 clip and reduce his work to suit the
 conditions of miserable humanity
 would be to expect an eagle to
 make itself at home in the cage of
 a tame canary-bird.

Though long and well aware of
 Girandole's versatility, and that
 he was a master of all his resources,
 save one—the art of leaving off,
 which, as I have just observed,
 it is foolish to demand of him, and
 which he may safely abandon to
 his inferiors, to whom it pro-
 perly belongs—I was, nevertheless,

about it. All things conspire together to bring about the end, and it is well they should.

When the end comes, however, Austria dares not suffer Russia to lay hold of the Danubian Principalities and the Black Sea coast, together with Constantinople; but alone Austria cannot master Russia; she is too disorganised, too chaotic, full of conflicting interests, antagonistic races, a house divided against itself. Still, if Russia grasps, so must she. She may therefore find it necessary to purchase the adhesion of Germany by a cession of her Germanic provinces, and to throw herself upon pan-Slavism as a means of coping with the Northern power. Germany, without doubt, would relish keenly a struggle with Russia, and if the Hapsburgs can manage to head the Slavs, Russia may be driven back, and the Eastern question settled by the advent of a peaceful, non-aggressive power on the Bosphorus. That would be an immense revolution in Europe, and it must be taken as a possible contingency.

There is, however, the other probability, and it alone is the one that holds out much hope for the bondholders of Turkey. Seeing that the situation is so strained, and the danger so great to both Austria and Russia in the event of a war over the carcass of the Turkish Empire, it may be that the great powers will seek to find a *via media* under which protected states will be erected on the basis of the various provinces of the empire. Roumania has already been so constituted, and Servia and Montenegro have by their fierce energy compelled their admission to a like status. Why not Bosnia, Bulgaria, Thessaly, or the home provinces, as they may be called? Why not declare Constantinople a neutral city, and permit these petty states to federate round it? The plan would have

many recommendations. It prevent war for a time at and would yet put so slight a between either Russia or and the gratification of their that they might be induced t pone the struggle, now so venient and dangerous. C other hand, as the price of emancipation, these states take upon themselves a por the Turkish debt. Relieve the incubus of Armenia farmers and rapacious T governors, the people mig able to take up about 40,00 nominal of that debt at a fi cent. charge. More than thi could not be asked to bea could not pay upon if they w

Save on some such plan we do not see that the comin plications offer the least cha any Turkish bondholder. maintenance of the *status* Turkey under the Sultan a barbaric horde, with their of stillborn reforms, the fran new 'hypothecations forming charge on revenue' with the pr up Porte, these would not bondholders any satisfacti cause Turkey is drained of res because her ruler has no t beyond the gratification of h appetites and whims, and the of government gives no gu for anything. What is decr day may be revoked to-morro the people have no remedy in the plots of the palace s assassin's knife. On the othe neither the partition of Eu Turkey between several pow its absorption by Russia cou any guarantee that bondhold terests would be adequately to, if at all. Both Austr Russia have their hands fu debt obligations already, a cost of organising and gov such a worn-out, divided cou Turkey would for long tax sources of either or both utmost. And the possessors

justly argue besides that they dared not do the people they came to rule the injustice of laying upon them burdens that belonged to the earlier race driven forth. From all these vast loans the people of the land have got no benefit; rather have they been crushed and ground down with their weight; why should they be asked to take up such a legacy?

The outlook is here anything but cheering, therefore, but we confess our pity for Turkish bondholders is not great. They have been engaged in as mere gambling as pitch and toss for the last dozen years at least, and, if they have lost, why then their money is gone.

Some people have congratulated themselves on one thing, however. Admitting that ordinary Turkish loans are doomed, and that the chances of getting paid on any solution of the Eastern question is small, for any of the common mortgage secured loans, these say, 'Ah, but we are better off; we have the tribute of Egypt secured to our loans; and now that England has interested herself so closely in Egyptian finance, we feel certain that this tribute will be punctually and honourably paid, until the loans are cleared off.' This is very pretty reasoning, but it is unfortunately about the most fallacious in the world.

In the first place, our purchase of the Suez Canal shares has given us no more direct influence over the Khedive than we had before. He may write any fine morning, and declare himself independent of the Porte; and if the Porte cannot bring him back to allegiance, we cannot compel him to go. If the Turkish Empire is reconstructed, to use a term famous in its application to railway and other swindles, the Khedive can hardly help considering himself lawfully absolved from his allegiance, and would probably throw it off; and *is it to be thought that he would after that*

go on paying tribute to a power whose rights of suzerainty he did not acknowledge, or that we, whatever our grasp of Egypt, could compel him to do so? The supposition is extremely improbable. Again, it is by no means certain that the Khedive is as able to continue paying this tribute as people suppose. But for the windfall our purchase has given him, there is not the slightest doubt that another six months would have seen him involved in utter and almost hopeless bankruptcy. He has been one of the most reckless gamblers of modern times, and has gambled utterly without knowledge of the game he played. If his whims have been more rational, his ambitions nobler than those of the Sultan, they have been to the full as costly. Both rulers have once and again had to borrow at 25 and 30 per cent. in order to carry on debt incurred upon public or private works that did not yield a penny upon their cost, and in both instances all this could have but one end. For the moment we have averted the catastrophe from Egypt, but shall we be able to continue to do so? Can we compel the Khedive to give up permanently his dream of conquest in central Africa, to cease trying to annex Abyssinia, or to make an outlet for his mid-African trade by way of the territories of the weakened Sultan of Zanzibar? Are there any of his great hobbies upon which Mr. Stephen Cave can hope to control his will or caprice? It is very doubtful, unless we are prepared to pension him off upon his overgrown estates, and give him an allowance to play with and borrow upon to his heart's content. Short of a system closely analogous to that adopted in India, where we control native princes by means of a Resident, we can have no surety that the path of extravagance will no longer be pursued in Egypt.

The probability is that extravagance will continue until we thus

interfere, and so long as it does, with such vast amounts of floating debt still unliquidated, and which will have to be provided for somehow within the next twelve or fourteen months, with wars going on, and extravagances such as the Soudan Railway in full progress, the chances of a pull-up are about as great as ever—only postponed. The pretext for repudiating all necessity to pay some three-quarters of a million on the score of Turkey may, therefore, be one that the Khedive will eagerly seize upon on the first opportunity; and it may well be asked, therefore, where is the comforting balm that Turkish bondholders lay to their aching pockets when they think that their money is secured on Egypt? They cannot foreclose on this mortgage any more than on the others dangled before their eyes so long, and now so useless.

Plainly the whole system of Turkish and Egyptian finance stands on a rotten foundation, has been pursued on a false principle, and can never without radical changes and support from without become sound and pure. Than these truths nothing can be more self-

evident, and people who have their money to Turkey cannot expect to reap other than the sown. Their loans have been an unpleasant feature in the question, they have hurried settlement, and introduced new complications, the issue which no man can foretell; that they have done nothing but prove a curse to the borrower, a source of misery and degradation to the unfortunate populations, who have been compelled to groan beneath the thus arbitrarily laid upon. This whole episode of Turkish finance is one at which every hearted Englishman may well hide his head with shame, that his fellow-countrymen in any way have been mixed in transactions fraught with so much misery to so many wretched people. We sneer at the Jew for their love of usury; but, look at this history, can any Englishman stand up before his fellow-countrymen and cast at the Jew a stone? The Jew of the Britisher is no less than the Jew of the Jew; they grovel side by side in this wretched puddle of speculation.



for the better, can be pointed to as the result of all this borrowing, of which the end is so miserable. This money was lost utterly, and worse than lost; it was as a fiery stimulant added to fever, hurrying on the inevitable dissolution.

Again we say, how could it be otherwise? The foreign loan mania that has filled the mind of the somewhat usury-loving British investor these twenty years past, more or less, has never been more unreasonably exercised than upon Turkey. It is madness to lend to any nation that has no national existence, no sense of patriotic honour, no power over its Government. Such a nation can offer no guarantee that what is promised will be done; all is dependent upon the caprice of a ruler responsible only to the cliques and plotters of the harem. He may give pledges, make assignments of revenues here and there, but these are no security for bondholders. He might have as well assigned them so many stars. We have stood speechless and amazed at the strange fatalism with which City people have overlooked all this. These persons, so often pointed at as preternaturally shrewd, appear to have a sort of superstition that, if a potentate like the Sultan executes a deed, it is as binding as an English mortgage; and you will hear them talk about this, that, and the other loan representing a first charge on such and such taxes, just as if it were actual facts that they dealt with. Even the repudiation, the pell-mell jumbling of all interests in one common ruin, effected by the decree of last October, has not yet torn the veil from their minds. They prattle innocently still, and may continue to do so till the end of their days, all lessons notwithstanding. But it is a melancholy sight, and not flattering to men's intelligence; and we may hope that a new generation will grow up whose sense will be sufficient to master their greed, and

prevent them from lending to countries that can offer no guarantee of honesty worth the paper on which is written.

Well, Turkey has had the money—Turkey and the hordes of bold financiers, corporate and individual, who played decoys for the public—and it has been spent on follies; so that there is nothing left on which to seize should further payments not be forthcoming. On these there is small likelihood, because Turkey cannot borrow more. All past obligations to bondholders have been paid with fresh borrowed money; the resources of the State have again been grossly over-estimated; the country is at the last pinch of poverty; there is an army; the insurgent districts, and troops in Bulgaria, who have been many months without pay, and of whose deaths in hundreds by starvation we may hear before the winter is over. Can men expect a country whose condition is throughout that of an exhausted spendthrift who has dissipated his patrimony and plunged up to his eyes in debt, to turn round suddenly and effect an honest compromise with its creditors? It might be possible were the exhaustion followed by signs of reform; but there is no such thing. Corruption, extravagance in high places, thieving of all kinds and degrees, continue just as before, and all decrees notwithstanding. Taxes are as grinding, and framed just as iniquitously; provincial satraps are just as impecunious and as eager to be speedily rich; all is misery, want, blindness, degradation inconceivable. Yet bondholders meet and make soft speeches to the Turk—approach his throne with flattery—hush all harsh hints of wrong doing, and hope by thus acting to place themselves in a favourable position before him. By speaking smoothly it is said he may deign to listen to their prayer, and to pay at least some of his debts. Surely this is a pitiable plight for honour

agreeably surprised at the title of certain new volumes of his which reached me the other day, *Critical Studies on Poets Ancient and Modern*. Because the world knew him not yet as an essayist, and as for critical armour, he had not proved it. Need I add that I was overjoyed, that I hailed with inward acclamations his appearance in our camp, and sat down to his book at my first leisure moment?

But expectation, brilliant though it had been, was as absolutely nothing to the reality of the treat in store, and of which the first page of the 'fytte' (as he fancifully styles his chapters) on which, opening the volume at hazard, I chanced to alight, gave one a glimmering idea.

'I saw in my dream' (began Girandole) 'a stately and a snow-crowned mountain, exceeding high, shining from afar, and arising like a sentinel Titan at the broad outlet of a solitary valley. It was girdled at the base with Alpine pastures—long slopes of greensward glittering with the laughter of many twinkling gentians and an efflorescence of pinks and ferns; a place of sunbeams and water-springs, and good for flocks in summer-time, with interludes of fresh foliage full of the rustlings of rills, and murmurs of breezes and birds. Above, on the mantling heights of haughty rock, loomed masses of brooding pines, haunted by shadows of a black darkness for which man has no name—a darkness passing the darkness visible—perceptible that obscured the land of Egypt, and silent as death or engulfed despair, but for a solemn midnight music of Æolian harps of tragic sound, prophetic winds that swept strings of unutterable sadness in a Cimmerian forest of boughs.'

Calmly again, and far higher, gleamed a vast frost-field of stainless white, from whose starry splendours sprang a radiant peak, the lofty harmonies of whose outline stood out in serene and matchless

severity against the blue bathed in such lights of solar as hang about the mount eventide—more intangible strains of music, requiems of Hyperion and hymns to Hyperion, waves of subtle motions, to be felt, not seen or heard—a music of the spheres, of illi-glaciers, of unfooted snows, wide inane.'

Pause here a moment. They are unaccustomed to the thing, will, no doubt, exclaim, inquire if, indeed, it is a critical essays they have got of. I myself (tell it not in went so far as to refer back title-page furtively to re-assess self, before I took up the story again at the 'wide'. The next sentence, however, plained everything.

'This,' (continued Girandole the clearest and most accurate plainest and most definite, citation mere words can afford poetical work of John Milton better can I give.'

If not he, much less I or a So plain and accurate a description, indeed, in the ear of a telligent reader, to speak for But just to avoid the possible charge of obscurity, it have been suggested that, parable of Milton and his Girandole should append, as fanciful allegories, we, as cl used to have to read on Sunday interpretation at the end of telligent and unimaginative in the form of questions and answers.

Q. What is the mountain?

A. J. Milton.

Q. What do the Alpine p represent?

A. *Lycidas*, *L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*.

Q. What is meant by the tians?

A. The songs in *Comus*.

Q. Why is the darkness forests dwelt upon?

ce 'Turkey can pay half,' the
n took 400,000*l.* from the
ary for his urgent needs. He
nd lavishes as if he were the
t monarch in the world, while
ople grovel and die beneath
x-gatherer's heel. The esti-
if the *Economiste* correspondent
ainly too low. Still, so far as
go, the figures given by him
teresting. He puts the mere
f feeding the 7,000 slaves,
hs, attendants, and officials
form the Sultan's household
at 511,000*l.*, by estimating it
ranks per diem per head; but
r figures giving details of this
that this also must be an under-
ate. The 600 horses in the
n's stables are put down as
g 21,600*l.* Turkish, which is
kably little. A mean sum of
00*l.* is said to be spent annually
ns, besides the enormous sums
ed on presents of this kind
by the Khedive to the Sultan,
which are taken as so much
g to his purse. The pensions
to members of his family, his
er, and others, on the so-
civil list, are set down at
00*l.*, enormously below the fact.
0*l.* goes to keep up the va-
lodges and palaces built by
Sultan at fabulous cost out
e proceeds of the loans. Of
he has built eight. He is
uilding a magnificent mosque
a sort of convent attached,
osed of seventy houses all in
. The cost of this is enormous,
land has to be appropriated
those now living on it in the
uarter of the town. An esti-
l expenditure of 560,000*l.* per
n is laid to the credit of this
of work for every year since
l Medjid came to the throne.
ese are but leading points in
itlay of this sovereign; and,
have said, they are probably
-estimated, it being most diffi-
to get at the truth where
body has the greatest interest
ncealing it. We have dwelt,

however, on this aspect of Turkish
government and of Turkish finance
more fully than might have seemed
needful, because it illustrates so
clearly what the actual condition of
affairs is; it brings to the front the
hopelessness of expecting anything
from the much-paraded reforms de-
creed the other day. Turkey can-
not reform at all while at its head a
slothful sensualist sits doing nothing
but sucking the last drops of life's
blood out of the dying populations.
Here we have a strange picture, of
a being living in the seclusion of a
harem, utterly oblivious to all the
facts of life around him, oblivious
to the wants of his people and all
that constitutes government, and the
honour of nations, gratifying his
whims at any cost—dozing on the
ruins of a once fair heritage. Surely,
it will impress the English public to
some extent with the depth of the
folly of which they have been guilty,
and at least help to prevent the
lures of the cunning wire-pullers of
finance who wish themselves to
escape, before the house falls about
their ears, from substituting fresh
victims in their room. We will add
but one touch to this picture. It
is found in an extract from the
Times of Nov. 11, relating some
facts regarding the last Turkish
budget which have never been
credibly contradicted:

The 'officials' *Politische Correspondenz*
of Vienna has recently made some ob-
servations upon the financial condition of
Turkey which are worth attending to. In
giving the history of the decree ordering
the reduction of the debt payments, its
Constantinople correspondent says that the
Grand Vizier laid an abstract of the actual
financial position before the Sultan on
October 1, which differed very materially
from the Budget recently given to the
world. We doubted its figures at the time,
and said the deficit would probably be
nearly double what it set forth, but if there
is any accuracy in the statement of the
Vienna journal our surmise was very far
under the mark. Including a floating debt
of T.12,000,000*l.*, the actual deficit on
the year was shown by the Vizier to
be T.31,000,000*l.*, the revenue being
T.17,000,000*l.*, and the expenditure, the

flitting through deep forests of mysteries unborn; the 'touches of odours of melody divine, unsurpassable, nay unattainable, that fall like dew on the piteous soul, where broken butterflies of dead hopes strew the weeping turf;' the 'fumes of melancholy that light as with incense the sonorous airs of the land of never-to-be-fulfilled promise'?

The gorgeous colouring, the pageantry of words, are at first a little confusing. The effect on the mind is like that produced on the eye by the spinning of a variegated top—almost too much for the limited vision of the young and inexperienced disciple. This, however, is only when the master's fancy is at full speed. For it must not be supposed that Girandole, though so fond of mosaic-writing, is incapable of steadily and thoroughly following out a simile. On the contrary, when he has got hold of a metaphor he likes, he is a perfect master of the wire-drawing process, and gloriously revels in it. I quote a charming instance from his criticism on Spenser, where he compares the *Fairy Queene* to a piece of fancy work, and dwells on the image at some length. The poet in his study disappears, and instead we see him standing at his loom and weaving away with his shuttle as hard as he can:

'More brilliant and eloquent a fabric than the web of Philomela, here is the tale spread before us, a warp on which the poet has worked pictures with a hand as well rapid as sure. The figures are woven here in wools of Tyrian purple; here in fine silks, with sometimes a woof of gold thread. The worker may have hurried over some of his groups. His materials have not the infinite tints and gradations of a painter's colours mixed on a palette, his tapestry has not the aerial perspective or *chiaroscuro* of a picture. But the lines are as

broad and as strong; the figures, the flashing flower feathers, the sweet wrought and sprigs and buds, if rubbed and dimmed by time, till they are somewhat obsolete, remain an eternal marvel of fond and ingenious skill.'

The old maxim, that the sometimes greater than the Girandole may be said to have triumphantly refuted, as he applies to description or definition. Thus he rightly scorns a temperance in anything, all in the tempest, torrent, or wind of his passion, whether extolling his friends or scolding down his enemies. The last I expect no quarter from him; presently we find him thus out the just phials of his wrath over some prostrate scribbling foe:

'For such paid parasites themselves critics, such creatures bound over to eat the days of their lives, no nor human nor divine, could aught but rancour from the venom they are pleased to consume. They hold their temporary existence on the condition that shall sting; the nobler the greater the ignoble work which they strike in their way. To meet such in the fair fight would be as though were to take up the glove at him by his lackey. The cringing crew are not worth the crush of a boot-heel.'

It may be objected that I do not think them worth a grain of powder and shot, never mind. He is not content with killing the life out of a knave or a fool; he spends an infinity of time in the dead and mangling of the main. But for my part I will be the last to call upon him to desist. For (what is the point) his readers here have done all that is in his power to dole at his very best.

Girandole, be it observed, will belong the glory to the real source of the lies on the other side of (English Channel) of having led our greatest poet from a charge of having directly or indirectly inculcated morality. The was a difficult one in the so much in the apparent of Shakespeare's art—ly where the materials are original—to 'lean to virtue's in a remarkable manner. That would somehow connect this, in which the poet contrasts directly with some of his conaries, with the superior of his work, is perhaps to be ad. So strong, indeed, is the impression, that it is doubtful if the world will at once accept Girandole's subtle hypothesis among the sentiments that led the dramatist's vivid pictures of evil, detestation of and nothing to do; that the of his serious plots was it, not design; and that the tionably healthy moral in of his art is in no way part of its excellence or endurance.

At all events our author deserves at least the highest credit for the first to try to establish a theory.

Certain of our master singers mostly complains, again and that he has no words to speak, cannot trust himself to make empty. Of all fears, these are the most groundless. For words Girandole has always and to spare. Should the vocabulary be too faint or else, he does not shrink from using or introducing rare strange forms as appropriate rare and strange themes on he is touching; and the images of the unfathomableness of Shelley, and the unsurpassability of Shakespeare, are here portrayed in sentences whose extension

is not the least remarkable point about them. He can always rise to the level of the composition he is criticising—nay, soar above it. For in the works of even Shakespeare and Shelley themselves, we shall find the unlimited vigour of the former, and the fanciful imagery of the latter, fettered, clogged, and hampered by those essentially vulgar qualities people choose to call taste and judgment, however exciting or transcendental their subjects might happen to be. But Girandole's descriptive genius is far too lofty and free to be circumscribed by the rules of psychology, and the reader should be prepared to assist, in his mind's eye, at a concert, a battle, divine service, an Indian pageant, an opera, and a storm at sea, all in the course of one paragraph. What was *Round the World in Eighty Days* to this? After the first hour's enjoyment of such a series of dissolving-views, with appropriate designs and special effects of a beauty literally inconceivable, indescribable unless by a second Girandole, well might I say to myself that the force of fancy can no farther go, and that a falling off must follow. But how was I undeceived when I came to the chapters on the ancients.

Hitherto Girandole has confined himself to metaphors from nature or natural mythology. But now he perceives at once that such are too base metal for the handiwork required; and in his 'fytte' upon Grecian lyrics he suddenly sees—(or hears, or feels, or scents, I forget at this moment which) 'an islet of the purest gold, rising out of the midst of a sea of melted sapphire. The rocks are of dazzling quartz crystal, palm trees, laden with ripest fruit, grow down to the edge of the beach, where the very pebbles are precious stones, flawless gems of ruby, topaz, and emerald, frozen meteors of love, and crystallized sparks of holy joy.'

Even fairyland has usually been cramped and shackled by a few general laws of nature. It required a Girandole to freeze meteors and crystallize sparks, and grow trees out of 18-carat gold. But to his truly miraculous imagination all things are possible; and, as I went on, I was scarcely surprised to find myself bathing in fiery dew, drinking distilled sunshine, weaving veils out of the air, and generally disporting myself in hitherto unheard of, undreamt of ways.

'Fancy yourself,' (he exclaims, in one of his loftiest flights of inspiration,) 'singing Marcello's 19th Psalm on the top of Mount Vesuvius during an eruption. Around glow the flames, ever fresh from the craters of hell, whence the lava shoots hissing and foaming in a fiery torrent. Over all the song ascends in calm to the untroubled heaven and the listening moon.'

Only the other day a lady was lamenting to me her ignorance of the classics, and consequent inability to form any idea of the genius of Greek song. I shall tell her to go up to the top of Mount Vesuvius on a fine night, to stand there and sing Marcello's 19th Psalm to the listening moon.

I have observed before that Girandole has a strong idea of the fitness of things; that he carries out, as no man has ever done before him, the principle that the critic should be in harmony with the matter he has to treat. When, in another part of his work, he comes to speak of the mediæval Italian poets, he is careful to write, so to speak, in character. His style, very properly, is 'sicklied o'er with a pale cast of thought.' It takes a morbid hue, drapes itself in long strait garments, puts a halo round its head, and carries a censer. A youth uprises whose eyes are laden with dreams, and who has a certain weirdness in his beauty as he glides along, pale, tall, yellow-haired, slim,

and *débonnair*, through a garland of lilies; and faint, always faint, a perfectly unaccountable but most fascinating faintness, strange, always strange, till stiness has become quite the order of the day.

At every page I find myself getting whether it is a poet's picture he is speaking of. Indeed, in the Girandolesque, though like the senses, are all fused one another, till it is impossible to say whereby we shall know apart. Now could anything more boldly original than this be? Were ever criticisms so profound and yet so subtle, delicate and yet so forceful, broad and so clear—so *ever*, and so everything else, as the Girandolesque? Nay, the color of language is coarse and insubstantial to afford a tolerable medium with the glories of these critical, may be faintly adumbrated.

To some it will seem astonishing that one critic should be so far from enthusiastic in praising art. But, as Pliny has very pointed out, a man can praise to his own advantage, and should always praise, whether superior, your inferior, or equal. Praise your superior cause, if he is not to be puffed up; much less are you. Praise your inferior or your equal because it appertains and adds to your glory, that he whom you exceed shall appear as great as you. Besides which, you gain an all-important advantage of a form and a framework for verbal pyrotechnics. A wise man that Girandole exemplifies in that puts the wisest of us to shame. This is clearly apparent in his 'fytte' (entitled 'The Prism'), he devotes to modern English.

And, like a prima donna, reserves her very highest and most exquisite *floriture* for the last bar, the critic here becomes

th. As the game grew faster, ments grew more reckless, dients more desperate, until ast it was felt that nearly ethods were exhausted. The ncers had come to the end of breath and their vocabulary, lenders had nearly exhausted faith, and poor Turkey had falto the extreme of impecuniosity decrepitude. A signal for the of the curtain on the final act ie drama was looked for any and it came in the at first petty reak in Herzegovina.

1 occurrence of this kind was non enough under the grinding ale of the Turk. Where people still some spirit, even when have been long accustomed to ery and wrong, the theft of their erty and the abduction of their hters, they will try to fight. stimes, after long struggles, risings have been partially ssful; usually they have failed no outside aid was forthcom- But this time almost everything favourable to a bold and hardy on the part of the miserable who had taken arms in their s with the energy of perishing

The Turkish Treasury was y, the army disorganized, and outstores or ready cash. Offi- of all grades had sunk in cor- on, and the temporary borrow- xpédients of the Empire were st at the last shift. A new d loan was needed to relieve ressure, and if this little rising l put enough strain upon ish resources to prevent that taking shape, the Turk would ught at the worst time, and n helplessly on his back. her respects, too, the time of oubleak was, on the whole, y chosen. Casual circum- es possibly led the Slavs eak out when they did, but the less did they take the ime. It was early enough in ar to allow Turkish troops to

get into the province in great numbers, but too late to permit such troops as Turkey could send to subdue the people, and get out again before the rigours of winter made their position dangerous. The insurgents were therefore encouraged by everything almost to hold out; and, leaving out of sight the probable secret machinations of Russia, or the half-cloaked aid of Servia and Montenegro, they had motive enough to fight bitterly and to use wile and feint to lure their adversaries to their doom among the mountains. And at all events the rising had an immediate and visible effect. It forced from the Turks a declaration of bankruptcy.

Thus far the insurrection has been decidedly a success. Various opinions may be entertained as to the extent to which fighting has been successful on either side, for both sides may tell what is not true. But of the broad fact there can be no doubt. The Herzegovinians have succeeded in drawing a large Turkish army into their mountains, and there that army will need probably to winter. If it does winter there, the chances of its perishing are at least five to one. Turkish papers teem with accounts of the inefficiency of the army transport, the difficulty of finding animals, and of feeding them when found. The country is also much exhausted by the intensified pressure which the past twenty years of loan-concocting have brought to bear on the wretched tillers of the soil, so that food for the men can hardly be got. And all the money raised on loans having been recklessly flung away to gratify the besotted tastes of the miserable tyrant at Constantinople, there are no roads, few bridges, and therefore no facilities for intercommunication between districts. Relief to the perishing, ill-conditioned garrisons and troops will consequently be hard to bring, and unless evacuation be resolved upon before

and that 'Too much magnifying of a man or matter doth irritate contradiction and provoketh envy and scorn.' But everything depends upon the point of view. That these effusions redound to the honour and glory of the critic's fertile fancy and command of language is more than enough to justify every extravagance, at least to all minds that are raised even one degree above the condition of brutish idiocy.

Mr. Browning, too, is very finely handled.

'A roaring cataract of thought, with reffluent eddies innumerable, coruscating with drops bright and clear as diamonds, and glittering as with tears, while the stream rushes on in its matchless strength of depth and height. Such a spectacle as only the mind's eye of an intellectual eagle can behold and not be dazzled by the contemplation.'

That intellectual eagle, Girandole, who has evidently *not* been dazzled, proceeds, however, in his task of commentary, to point out in the poet one or two grave *défauts de ses qualités*. But here, surely, Mr. Browning will quite forgive the blame, for the sake of such praise.

Mr. Rossetti's poems are

'An enchanted palace, where wanderers are feasted on golden fruits of the Hesperides, and made drunk with cups of charmed wine. Over all these spreads a strange fragrance as of affluent flowerage, in which the soul and the senses are steeped, not stifled, but kindled to new and mystic ardour. A wondrous and changeful light fills every place; lulls us to dream in the bower; thrills us with prayer and exaltation in the chapel, with thought and brooding terror in the hall, with love and joy in the garden, with pain and wild grief in the wood.'

Observe how we ring the changes inexorably on all the emotions

till there is not one of them and the veriest son of Adam plead exhaustion.

It is now Mr. Swinburne and here Girandole really surprises himself, and rises to such heights of inspiration as 'the eye hath not heard, the ear hath not seen; man's hand is unable to taste, his tongue cannot receive, nor his heart to report.'

It will probably be unnecessary, on no less authority than that of Solomon, that 'I blesseth his friend with increase of voice, rising up early in the morning, he shall be counted upon little better than a curse.'

To such, suffice it to recall what has already hinted, that the poet of these eulogies, unique in his kind, is, that the poet treated soon lost in the critic who would eulogise, works of art in themselves as such rightly claim and demand the entire attention of the critic. So, we say thankfully, let Girandole lay on praise and spare not.

'No poet, of equal or inferior rank, ever had so exquisite a gift. This to begin with: 'And among all other bards of all ages and country, shall we find that approaches him as a poet? No poems, as pictures, can be more perfect than these we could name. A single phrase, any two words, will do it. Here are more colours than glow in the rainbow.' (It is a little feeling of surprise that find Girandole alluding to the rainbow as a thing that has colour and not a musical scale.) has achieved for us, in poetry, an unachievable thing. The most passionate Italian melodies, the glories of Italian painting, have not approached what is unapproachable—the marvel of this man's hues of heaven, the most exquisite subtle expression of eternal empyrean truths, solid as the solar sphere, fleeting as the finest

re, revealed in these poems
to have ears to hear, and eyes
d, and supersensuous facul-
d to apprehend the divine.
before were such luscious
f summer bloom, such rare
icate wines, served up by a
amaze, ravish, and satiate
sta. What wonder if the
l a quiver with overmuch
and bewilderment of enjoy-
olds her wearied wings, and
her faint eye-lids, should
o very death from the ex-
agony of delight !'

feels the reasonableness of this
tive interrogatory. Thus,
general display of illumina-
scades of fire and salvos of
and shells, comes a final
to 'quail, crush, conclude,
ell,' and, in the solemn
that follows, we close the
of this most remarkable

is indeed criticism. For my
have only to add, as the
gentleman said of the waltz,
w that I know what it is, I
of all things. I have been
for years a critic, plodding
he dull ordinary highroad,
heartily tired of it. It is
work ; and do my best, the
takes no notice of me per-

Most assiduously have I
ying to practise myself in
style. Not in pale imita-
The resources for such

critical airs and variations are
practically illimitable, and also the
subjects. Why should poets and
painters only be privileged to have
judgments passed upon them in
the Girandolesque style of writing.
Once started, why need we stop ?
For Criticism, forsaking the flat
and arid lowlands, has scaled the
loftiest heights, and soared farther
into realms hitherto untrodden by
one of her tribe—an ærial world of
ineffable, unutterable visions, and
unparalleled, inexpressible ecstasies,
there to lose herself in the lovely
cloud and wonderland of poesy and
song.

I feel assured that this powerful
and subtle school of criticism is
destined to swallow the rest, as
Aaron's serpent did all the others ;
yet it is not often that so great a
master can be expected as Giran-
dole, our Aaron and Moses in one
(for he brings us a new code of
laws), and greater than both to-
gether. If it be said that these
novel commandments are, in the
main, but translated or adapted
from the French, and that Paris is
the true modern Mount Sinai
(Monsieur Hugo claimed for her
a still more solemn title)—this re-
mark boots little—save to those
who may happen to take some
scientific interest in the opinion of
minds of the insect and reptile
orders.

B. T.



THE FRENCH FISHERY CLAIMS ON THE COAST OF NEWFOUNDLAND.

BY JAMES WHITMAN.

THE Island of Newfoundland is one of the oldest, if not the oldest, of English colonies. Discovered during the reign of Henry VII., in 1496, by Sebastian Cabot, he took possession of it in the name of that monarch, and recorded the event by cutting an inscription, still legible, on a large rock upon the shore.

Besides being the oldest, it is also the nearest colony to England; yet less is known about it than of those vast colonial possessions at the antipodes—discoveries of yesterday compared with Newfoundland. During the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and the two Charles, its trade and fisheries engaged far more of the attention of the Crown and Parliament than they do at present. In the reign of Elizabeth there were 260 ships employed in the Newfoundland fisheries, and the seamen nursed therein mainly assisted in manning the fleets which defeated the Spanish Armada.

Among the brilliant names which adorned the Court of Elizabeth, those of Sir Walter Raleigh and his half brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, appear conspicuous in the early annals of Newfoundland. There, too, Sir Francis Drake has figured in his semi-piratical and warlike adventures. That of the great Bacon stands in the list of distinguished names formed into a company under royal sanction for the purpose of promoting the colonisation of the island. Sir George Calvert, one of the Secretaries of State, first founded a little colony at Ferryland near Cape Race in Newfoundland, before, as Lord Baltimore, he founded that of Maryland.

The whole of the early history of Newfoundland is full of the romantic incidents of the French, then almost continuously waged in that quarter of the world; till finally, after long changes, the island was firmly in the possession of Britain by the TREATY of Utrecht in 1713, which

allowed to the subjects of France to catch fish, and to dry them on land in part only, and in no other place besides the said Island of Newfoundland stretches from the place called Bay of St. John to the northern part of the said island from thence running down by the side reaches as far as the place called Richbourg.

Subsequently, by the Treaty of Versailles, 1763, the locality 'permissive right for the French to catch fish, and to dry them on land,' was changed to a point on the coast 'beginning at Cape St. John, passing to the north and descending by the western side of the Island of Newfoundland to the place called Cape Ray,' 'the French fishermen shall have the fishery which is assigned them, as they had the right to enjoy that which was assigned them by the Treaty of Utrecht.'

In the language of Lord Palmerston, in his note of July 1842 to Count Sebastiani, the French Ambassador,

the right assigned to French subjects by the Treaty of Utrecht was 'to catch and to dry them on land' within the strict described in the said treaty, and the condition not 'to erect any buildings upon the island 'besides stages, boards and huts necessary and useful for drying of fish,' and not to 'resort to the said island beyond the time necessary for fishing and drying of fish.'

he 'Turkey can pay half,' the Sultan took 400,000*l.* from the treasury for his urgent needs. He lavishes as if he were the monarch in the world, while the people grovel and die beneath the conqueror's heel. The estimate of the *Economiste* correspondent is only too low. Still, so far as the figures given by him are interesting. He puts the mere cost of feeding the 7,000 slaves, 18,000 attendants, and officials forming the Sultan's household at 511,000*l.*, by estimating it at 5*s.* per diem per head; but the figures giving details of this cost are also must be an underestimate. The 600 horses in the Sultan's stables are put down as costing 21,600*l.* Turkish, which is a very small sum. A mean sum of 100,000*l.* is said to be spent annually on presents of this kind by the Khedive to the Sultan, which are taken as so much to his purse. The pensions of members of his family, his officers, and others, on the civil list, are set down at 100,000*l.*, enormously below the fact. 100,000*l.* goes to keep up the valences and palaces built by the Sultan at fabulous cost out of the proceeds of the loans. Of these he has built eight. He is building a magnificent mosque and a sort of convent attached, and has ordered seventy houses all in the city.

The cost of this is enormous, and the land has to be appropriated to those now living on it in the quarter of the town. An estimate of expenditure of 560,000*l.* per year is laid to the credit of this work for every year since the Medjid came to the throne. These are but leading points in the story of this sovereign; and, as we have said, they are probably underestimated, it being most difficult to get at the truth where the Sultan has the greatest interest in concealing it. We have dwelt,

however, on this aspect of Turkish government and of Turkish finance more fully than might have seemed needful, because it illustrates so clearly what the actual condition of affairs is; it brings to the front the hopelessness of expecting anything from the much-paraded reforms decreed the other day. Turkey cannot reform at all while at its head a slothful sensualist sits doing nothing but sucking the last drops of life's blood out of the dying populations. Here we have a strange picture, of a being living in the seclusion of a harem, utterly oblivious to all the facts of life around him, oblivious to the wants of his people and all that constitutes government, and the honour of nations, gratifying his whims at any cost—dozing on the ruins of a once fair heritage. Surely, it will impress the English public to some extent with the depth of the folly of which they have been guilty, and at least help to prevent the lures of the cunning wire-pullers of finance who wish themselves to escape, before the house falls about their ears, from substituting fresh victims in their room. We will add but one touch to this picture. It is found in an extract from the *Times* of Nov. 11, relating some facts regarding the last Turkish budget which have never been credibly contradicted:

The 'officials' *Politische Correspondenz* of Vienna has recently made some observations upon the financial condition of Turkey which are worth attending to. In giving the history of the decree ordering the reduction of the debt payments, its Constantinople correspondent says that the Grand Vizier laid an abstract of the actual financial position before the Sultan on October 1, which differed very materially from the Budget recently given to the world. We doubted its figures at the time, and said the deficit would probably be nearly double what it set forth, but if there is any accuracy in the statement of the Vienna journal our surmise was very far under the mark. Including a floating debt of T.12,000,000*l.*, the actual deficit on the year was shown by the Vizier to be T.31,000,000*l.*, the revenue being T.17,000,000*l.*, and the expenditure, the

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ing, agricultural, or other pur-

is admissible within the limits of a single essay.

Without traversing the whole of certain considerations stand prominently, which may be taken as a guide to the formation of judgment upon the chances which bondholders have in the event of a partition or reconstruction of European Turkey. And, first of all, we think it may be taken as a universally admitted, that some element is at hand. Everything is against it; the insurrection may be against Turkish impotence; the necessities of Austria against her greed and ambition of Russia, the aspirations of the mixed populations of the Empire against her conflicting interests put her. The sum of all is, that the present state of affairs is not tolerated no longer. Some portion of this Eastern question is therefore, inevitable. Turkey may decreeing reforms, but cannot be carried out with the machinery possessed and controlled by the Turk. The Turk and the Christian populations of the East are what oil is to water; they never assimilate. If the powers, each jealous of the other, are ready to spring, but afraid of the consequences, then the population will successively rise and assert their own independence, and in the end will have a new and perhaps troublesome power to deal with, Austria and Russia a danger in a pan-Slavonic federation.

The powers, however, are not likely to let matters sleep; all manifest incentives urge them on to the issue; and it need surprise none to find war raging next year between the great powers of Europe. We ourselves have supplied the strongest possible motive to strife in the purchase of the Suez Canal shares, and there is already that the powers concerned begin to look upon such. We have said by that

act, in effect, that England recognises that the partition of Turkey is inevitable, and therefore she will provide beforehand a means by which her claim may be maintained to what she considers her part of the spoil. No more direct hint to Russia could possibly be given than this; for to Russia it seems a return to the line of policy sketched out by Nicholas, and a sanction therefore of the dreams in which Nicholas indulged. To Austria, on the other hand, as to France, this step on our part looks like a menace, and Austria, at all events, may be roused by it to fight a last desperate battle for her existence. The jerking line at which Austria and Russia were fitfully tugging has suddenly been hauled taut, and a sudden success of the insurgents, an outburst in Servia or Montenegro, any little incident, may cause it to snap and precipitate Europe into a war of which there is no knowing the ending. The Turks evidently feel much the same thing. They say that, in annexing Egypt—for that is what the Canal transaction is taken to mean both in Turkey and in other countries—England has flung over her old ally. And the thought may well make the Turks desperate. From being disinterested spectators of the strife, ready to mediate for a peaceful solution of the burning question, were that possible, this country has suddenly stepped out as one of the principals in the quarrel. No explanations can convince the world that it is otherwise: our every interference in Egypt, where we must now, in spite of ourselves, appear to rule practically, if our bargain is to be worth anything, if Egypt is to be kept solvent, must make it more evident that we have taken a side, and the side hostile to the existence of Turkey as an empire. This cannot fail to hurry on the consummation; and there is no reason to be sorry that it should; but our statesmen had best cease to be hypocritical

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Newfoundland fishery, nor in any of the in-

argue besides that they dared do the people they came to rule injustice of laying upon them loans that belonged to the earlier driven forth. From all these loans the people of the land got no benefit; rather have been crushed and ground down by their weight; why should he be asked to take up such a cry?

The outlook is here anything but bright, therefore, but we confess pity for Turkish bondholders is great. They have been engaged as mere gambling as pitch and for the last dozen years at least, if they have lost, why then their day is gone.

Some people have congratulated ourselves on one thing, however. Noting that ordinary Turkish loans are doomed, and that the chances of getting paid on any loan of the Eastern question is small, for any of the common mortgage secured loans, these say, 'Ah, we are better off; we have the fate of Egypt secured to ourselves; and now that England has rested herself so closely in Egyptian finance, we feel certain this tribute will be punctually and honourably paid, until the loans are cleared off.' This is very pretty reasoning, but it is unfortunately not the most fallacious in the world.

In the first place, our purchase of the Suez Canal shares has given us no more direct influence over the Khedive than we had before. We may write any fine morning, declare himself independent of the Porte; and if the Porte cannot bring him back to allegiance, we cannot compel him to go. If the Turkish Empire is reconstructed, to a term famous in its application to railway and other swindles, the Khedive can hardly help considering himself lawfully absolved from allegiance, and would probably throw it off; and is it to be thought that he would after that

go on paying tribute to a power whose rights of suzerainty he did not acknowledge, or that we, whatever our grasp of Egypt, could compel him to do so? The supposition is extremely improbable. Again, it is by no means certain that the Khedive is as able to continue paying this tribute as people suppose. But for the windfall our purchase has given him, there is not the slightest doubt that another six months would have seen him involved in utter and almost hopeless bankruptcy. He has been one of the most reckless gamblers of modern times, and has gambled utterly without knowledge of the game he played. If his whims have been more rational, his ambitions nobler than those of the Sultan, they have been to the full as costly. Both rulers have once and again had to borrow at 25 and 30 per cent. in order to carry on debt incurred upon public or private works that did not yield a penny upon their cost, and in both instances all this could have but one end. For the moment we have averted the catastrophe from Egypt, but shall we be able to continue to do so? Can we compel the Khedive to give up permanently his dream of conquest in central Africa, to cease trying to annex Abyssinia, or to make an outlet for his mid-African trade by way of the territories of the weakened Sultan of Zanzibar? Are there any of his great hobbies upon which Mr. Stephen Cave can hope to control his will or caprice? It is very doubtful, unless we are prepared to pension him off upon his overgrown estates, and give him an allowance to play with and borrow upon to his heart's content. Short of a system closely analogous to that adopted in India, where we control native princes by means of a Resident, we can have no surety that the path of extravagance will no longer be pursued in Egypt.

The probability is that extravagance will continue until we thus

season (1875) I am informed by the best official authority in Newfoundland that the same depredations on the part of the French, are, if possible, still more objectionably exercised. Again, the rights allowed to the French upon the shore are described in the Declaration as follows:

The French fishermen building only their scaffolds, confining themselves to the repair of their fishing vessels, *and not wintering there*; the subjects of His Britannic Majesty on their part, not molesting, in any manner, the French fishermen, during their fishing, nor injuring their scaffolds during their absence.

The very wording of this document implies the presence of British fishermen on this part of the shore where the French were allowed under the treaty 'to catch fish and to dry them,' and very different words would have been used were it understood that the treaty conveyed an exclusive right to the French. The French have also egregiously violated the terms of the treaty which forbids them 'to erect any buildings besides stages made of boards, and huts necessary and usual for the drying of fish'—inasmuch as they have erected numerous large and permanent establishments all along the coast.

There can be no doubt that the present French occupation of the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon is a glaring violation of both the treaties of Paris (1763) and Versailles (1783).

By the sixth Article of the Treaty of Paris—

The King of Great Britain cedes the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, *in full right*, to His Most Christian Majesty, *to serve as a shelter to the French fishermen*; and his said Most Christian Majesty engages *not to fortify the said Islands; to erect no buildings upon them, but merely for the convenience of the fishery; and to keep upon them a guard of fifty men only for police.*

The fourth Article of the Treaty of Versailles reads:

His Majesty the King of Great Britain is maintained in his right to the Newfoundland, and to the *adjacent islands as the whole were assured to him by the Thirteenth Article of the Treaty of 1763*, excepting the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which are ceded in *full right*, the present Treaty, to His Most Christian Majesty.

In the Treaty of Paris the islands are ceded to the French 'in full right,' and the meaning of the words is added, viz., *as a shelter to the French fishermen*, and the French engage 'to erect no buildings upon them, but merely for the convenience of the fishery, to keep upon them a guard of fifty men only for police.' In the Treaty of Versailles, the words 'full right' are used without explanation; it is evident from the context of this Article (IV.) so ceding the islands, was only in confirmation of former treaties wherein the meaning of the term (full right) had been defined; which definition, and conditions attached, it was necessary to reiterate.

These islands lie very close to the south coast of Newfoundland, and are fortified by the French; and are necessary for their squadron, and they carry on their depredations besides, being free ports, to the base of large smuggling operations most injurious to Newfoundland, as well as to other neighbouring British Colonies.

In regard to the Act authorizing the Government of Newfoundland to remove the property of British subjects from the so-called 'French shore' Hertslett has marked it in his collection, as having expired, and annulled. Yet even admitted to be in present force—the Act was passed to remove such premises which had possessed themselves of the premises previous to the war of premises previous to and occupied by the French. No instance did the Act apply to premises which was it ever in any manner in regard to premises occu-

CRITICS IN WONDERLAND.

A STUDY.

THE spirit of one who has never adventured to speak but in the merest accents and cold and strained strains of a Dorian style, calls for voices innumerable, would find them but pallid and to raise full-throated carols in spite of what has too long been used to sleep in the twilight of peace. Unworthy though he may be to touch so divine a lyre or to sing a song so supreme, he will shrink from the task because it is too glorious for the tremulous that attempts it. We may admire what we may not emulate, where we cannot soar.

Still, that the tutelary deities, whatever they may be, that preside over those that strive to administer impartial justice and cast the horoscopes of the children (or changes) of literature should hover over to transfigure, attemper, and temper the strain, is a boon that is not too heartily to be craved. Nothing less could save the fervent shipper from falling unutterably out of the auroral splendours of the theme he ventures to celebrate. Thoughtless criticsasters perceive may smile, surprised at the range and lofty pitch of the key—as struck above. Now, a German essayist has asserted that certain strangeness, something like the blossoming of the aloe, is an element in all true works of art; an axiom which I trust the reader will bear in mind; and, if the forthcoming pages should amaze or stagger him by appalling phenomena of style and composition, let him think of the blossoming of the aloe and hold his peace, for he is a critic.

For I, myself, also am a critic. In this the reader will at once

understand that I am a gentleman who has failed in art or literature—perhaps both. He never was more mistaken in his life. Not long ago I should have hesitated to undeceive him, lest it should be retorted upon me that, then, if I had *not* failed, but succeeded, I was in all probability not much of a critic. There is no fear of this now. For the prodigies of criticism to which I trust now to draw his admiration are the fruit of trials in various departments of art and literature, and success in every one.

The author, Girandole by name, is an *Æsthetician* by profession, dilettante painter and musician, and a poet too, of course. That his looming unborn epic is predestined to immortality is a fact which, we his friends are agreed, cannot seriously be deliberated. As yet, only part of the poem is published, and as that already takes three volumes, and still they come, some profane persons will have it that Girandole has determined that, whether the whole is to be immortal or not, it shall be infinite. Well, say we the elect, and what then? A true poet may really be said not to write for men, but for gods. To call upon such an one to clip and reduce his work to suit the conditions of miserable humanity would be to expect an eagle to make itself at home in the cage of a tame canary-bird.

Though long and well aware of Girandole's versatility, and that he was a master of all his resources, save one—the art of leaving off, which, as I have just observed, it is foolish to demand of him, and which he may safely abandon to his inferiors, to whom it properly belongs—I was, nevertheless,

dance along the so-called 'French shore.'

The vast interior of Newfoundland has long remained a *terra incognita* to the inhabitants of the island, who, for the purposes of fishing, reside principally upon the coast. Crude ideas of fear and wonderment have been based on superstitious fictions of the numerous savage Indians still supposed to roam over immense tracts never approached by the white man; or if so, never permitted to return. It was not till the spring of 1822 that an adventurous traveller (W. E. Cormack) started upon an exploration of the interior, and succeeded in crossing the island after a 'four months' excursion of toil, pleasure, pain, and anxiety.' An interesting description of his journey has been lately republished in Newfoundland by the Rev. M. Harvey, of St. John's, entitled, *Narrative of a Journey Across the Island of Newfoundland*.

The Red Indians—the Aborigines—Mr. Cormack speaks of as 'even feared yet, and as very athletic men, occupying the Great and other lakes in the northern part of the island.' But he met with none of them. Immense deer, similar to the reindeer, are to be found. These, with various species of wild fowl in great abundance, and a plentiful supply of fish in the rivers and lakes, should go far to attract the English sportsman from the now overcrowded haunts of Norway. There is an absurd idea abroad that the salmon in Newfoundland do not rise to the fly. Nothing can be more erroneous. The numerous rivers on the Western shore would afford a paradise of sport to the salmon-fisher; while the climate there, and through the interior, during the summer and early autumn months, is perfection. Besides the deer, wolves of great size, bears, foxes, and martens abound. Interspersed with lake

and mountain, vast savannah of wonderful extent, and of great fertility, exist throughout the island. The Hon. Noad, Surveyor-General of Newfoundland, after a personal examination of the western shore of the island in 1847, describes the districts he visited of great fertility, 'capable of the degree of cultivation, and the production of any description of crop, with limestone retained, and timber of the most serviceable description; and could be cleared at an average of about forty shillings an acre.'

Timber in large quantities of various varieties exists throughout the extent of the western shore of the quarter of a mile distant from the coast. The numerous rivers, and frequent availability of the sea, offer the greatest facilities for emigration on the largest possible scale. To no colony in America could emigration be directed more advantageously, with greater prospects of success.

But to ensure its development, as well as that of the immense natural and mineral wealth lying unproductive there, it is justifiable and unendurable that the French must be resisted in some manner to overcome the operation is to keep the portion of a British Colony with the riches of the soil and the bounty of the sea, in a state of stagnation, for the object of making it a nursery for the seamen with to man the fleets of France. In case of a war it could then be said of England, she 'win the arrow which impelled the dart.'

In 1763 the elder Pitt negotiated the Treaty of Paris, which concluded by Lord Bute. With manlike sagacity Pitt contemplated the whole exclusive fishery of Newfoundland; and when the terms of the treaty were laid before Parliament, poured forth his oratory against them. He

own views in relation thereto, I contended several times in vain for the whole exclusion, but I was overruled; I was overruled, not by the enemy, but by another

these French intrusions and encroachments were solely the result of individual effort and enterprise against cantile competition, there could not be the same ground for complaint. But they are the settled facts of the successive French encroachments. The system of bounties in the first instance does not pay to her fishermen, but it does them too effectively to compete with the unaided British fisherman. Along with the usurpation of the soil, its effects are pernicious to our colonists, and the whole matter is fast drawing to a head.

The present state of negotiations between England and France in relation to the settlement of the difficulties is said to be based upon a series of joint resolutions adopted by the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly at Newfoundland, in 1867, at the request of Her Majesty's Secretary of State, communicated to those bodies at the opening of their session (1867) by the Governor of the Island. The following is that portion of the Governor's speech referring thereto:

President and Honourable Gentleman of the Council:

Speaker and Gentlemen of the Honourable House of Assembly:

During the last summer I was enabled to visit many districts of the Southern and Western Coasts, of which I could not previously acquire any personal knowledge.

In the course of my tour I obtained much information, which will be of use to me in the administration of the affairs; and I used the opportunity of acquainting myself with the circumstances of the settlements and the character of the country on a considerable portion of the West Coast. The report of Mr. Murray, the Geological Surveyor, and his exploration of portions of the coast encourages enterprise in mining,

and the success attending some undertakings already commenced affords ground for reasonable expectation that exports of ores will before long form a prominent feature in our trade. You are aware that there is reason to believe that considerable mineral wealth exists in districts of the island within the limits commonly known as the French Shore; and many applications have recently been made respecting grants of land in these localities, which, in obedience to instructions from Her Majesty's Government, I have hitherto been obliged to decline to issue. I shall lay before you a recent despatch from the Secretary of State relating to this subject, in which he expresses his regret at the inconvenience which results from the unsettled state of the questions respecting British and French rights on the coast, but states that, pending their settlement, he has no alternative but to instruct me, for the present, not to make any grants of land on that coast. At the same time, Lord Carnarvon expresses the readiness of Her Majesty's Government to re-open the negotiations with the French Government which were broken off in 1860, if only satisfied that there were a reasonable prospect of bringing them to a successful termination. The negotiations referred to were founded on the report of the Commissioners appointed in 1859, and it was explained in a despatch from the late Duke of Newcastle, which shall be furnished to you, that the convention which was then proposed had not for its object in any way to enlarge the territorial or maritime rights of France, or to abridge those of Newfoundland, but primarily, and almost exclusively, to provide a machinery capable of securing that the just rights of each party, under the existing treaties, shall be respected by the other.' His Grace further stated, that the comparatively unimportant clauses of the proposed convention which had not this object, contained provisions which would confer material advantages on some of the inhabitants of Newfoundland; and that he did not anticipate that they would be considered by the community of Newfoundland, any more than by Her Majesty's Government, either as injurious to their interests or as involving such modifications of their rights as was contemplated in Mr. Labouchere's Despatch, No. 10, of 26th March, 1857.

I recommend you, therefore, to request Her Majesty's Government to resume these negotiations, of which the settlement would probably remove all obstruction to the effective development of the territorial resources of the colony. It would be easy to specify such rights as the colony is not prepared to relinquish, and, these

30 *The French Fishery Claims on the Coast of Newfoundland.*

being excluded from the negotiation, to leave Her Majesty's Government at liberty to complete the proposed agreement.

The importance can hardly be overrated of the prospect thus opened to us, and of which practical experiment has already demonstrated the value, of developing the mineral wealth of the colony. Means of employment would then be afforded to numbers of the people who now are without any alternative on failure of the fisheries. And we might hope, under such circumstances, that the revenue would be relieved from those constantly recurring draughts for poor relief, which have almost entirely paralysed all effort for legitimate public improvements.

In accordance with which request the following Report was adopted and passed by both branches of the Legislature in 1867 :

The Joint Committee appointed by resolution of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, in reference to the question of British territorial rights and French privileges, on that part of the coast of this island called the French Shore, respectfully report :

That they have had under consideration the speech of his Excellency the Governor at the opening of the present session, and the despatches therein referred to, with the treaties and other documents relating to the subject matter of their inquiry.

Your Committee submit that no question can arise under the treaties, as to the dominion of the soil on the so-called French Shore, in common with the whole Island of Newfoundland, belonging to the Crown of Great Britain; and such right, in all negotiations between the two nations on the subject of the treaties, has never been impeached. But certain privileges are claimed by the French under these treaties and accompanying declarations, in making erections and otherwise, on the coast, for fishery purposes; and it is contended that British subjects are prohibited from having fixed settlements there.

Your Committee further submit that, without French permission, it is lawful for British subjects to construct buildings and reside therein, for purposes apart from those of fishery, and to make use of the strand for all purposes essential to the exercise of the Territorial Dominion of the interior land; and that the term 'fixed settlements,' referred to in his Britannic Majesty's Declaration, applies only to such as are in connection with the fisheries. On the coast are French establishments of a substantial character, unauthorised by the treaties

It would appear to your Committee that the objection to issuing grants has arisen from the construction of the French to their treaty right of the shore in connection with and whilst it is advisable to have certainty on this point should be by amicable arrangement, yet your Committee submit that the territory is unquestionably in Great Britain. The Executive is authorised to issue licenses for agricultural, and other purposes, which have no object the interruption of the competition in the fishery.

Your Committee are, however, of opinion that in the construction of the treaties, the respective rights and privileges of the subjects of both countries there has not been general agreement, and they would recommend a fair adjustment for the service and execution of existing laws which did not concede any right of fishery to the French on this island, nor any rights whatever at Belle Isle and Labrador.

With this view, and in the absence of the suggestions of Her Majesty's Government, for the resumption of negotiations with the Government in order that the utilization of the rights may no longer be obstructed.

Your Committee recommend the Legislature should state to Her Majesty's Government, that they are not prepared to agree to any concessions to the Government of France which should curtail French rights of fishery which they not now possess under existing treaties, but they would recommend the Government to consent that the valuable and exclusive right to purchase bait, both for the cod and the caplin, on the southern coast, should be reserved to the French, at such times as the subjects may lawfully take the same, under the terms herein contained be upon.

It being thus clearly understood that no further concessions with regard to fishery are to be excluded from negotiation, your Committee are of opinion that it would be desirable, for the interest of both parties, if Her Majesty's Government be able to make such an arrangement with the Government of France as to settle the following matters - viz :

1. The establishment of a Joint Commission, which shall only deal with matters as regards fisheries, and in case of disagreement to be made to the respective Governments: all other questions dealt with by the competent authorities.
2. That the existing British

ice 'Turkey can pay half,' the n took 400,000*l.* from the ury for his urgent needs. He and lavishes as if he were the it monarch in the world, while eople grovel and die beneath ax-gatherer's heel. The esti- of the *Economiste* correspondent tainly too low. Still, so far as go, the figures given by him teresting. He puts the mere of feeding the 7,000 slaves, shs, attendants, and officials form the Sultan's household at 511,000*l.*, by estimating it rances per diem per head; but er figures giving details of this that this also must be an under- ate. The 600 horses in the n's stables are put down as ug 21,600*l.* Turkish, which is rkably little. A mean sum of 00*l.* is said to be spent annually ms, besides the enormous sums ied on presents of this kind by the Khedive to the Sultan, which are taken as so much g to his purse. The pensions to members of his family, his er, and others, on the so- l civil list, are set down at 00*l.*, enormously below the fact. ol. goes to keep up the va- lodges and palaces built by Sultan at fabulous cost out e proceeds of the loans. Of he has built eight. He is building a magnificent mosque a sort of convent attached, osed of seventy houses all in . The cost of this is enormous, e land has to be appropriated those now living on it in the uarter of the town. An esti- l expenditure of 560,000*l.* per m is laid to the credit of this of work for every year since l Medjid came to the throne. ese are but leading points in utlay of this sovereign; and, ave said, they are probably -estimated, it being most diffi- to get at the truth where body has the greatest interest ncealing it. We have dwelt,

however, on this aspect of Turkish government and of Turkish finance more fully than might have seemed needful, because it illustrates so clearly what the actual condition of affairs is; it brings to the front the hopelessness of expecting anything from the much-paraded reforms decreed the other day. Turkey cannot reform at all while at its head a slothful sensualist sits doing nothing but sucking the last drops of life's blood out of the dying populations. Here we have a strange picture, of a being living in the seclusion of a harem, utterly oblivious to all the facts of life around him, oblivious to the wants of his people and all that constitutes government, and the honour of nations, gratifying his whims at any cost—dozing on the ruins of a once fair heritage. Surely, it will impress the English public to some extent with the depth of the folly of which they have been guilty, and at least help to prevent the lures of the cunning wire-pullers of finance who wish themselves to escape, before the house falls about their ears, from substituting fresh victims in their room. We will add but one touch to this picture. It is found in an extract from the *Times* of Nov. 11, relating some facts regarding the last Turkish budget which have never been credibly contradicted:

The 'officious' *Politische Correspondenz* of Vienna has recently made some observations upon the financial condition of Turkey which are worth attending to. In giving the history of the decree ordering the reduction of the debt payments, its Constantinople correspondent says that the Grand Vizier laid an abstract of the actual financial position before the Sultan on October 1, which differed very materially from the Budget recently given to the world. We doubted its figures at the time, and said the deficit would probably be nearly double what it set forth, but if there is any accuracy in the statement of the Vienna journal our surmise was very far under the mark. Including a floating debt of T.12,000,000*l.*, the actual deficit on the year was shown by the Vizier to be T.31,000,000*l.*, the revenue being T.17,000,000*l.*, and the expenditure, the

ERASMUS.

WHO that has spent an hour in the portrait-gallery of the Bodleian has not had his eye caught by a small painting of Holbein's, in which the features of Erasmus have been preserved to us by that hard but faithful hand? The picture is the work of a master, and it is a labour of love, being the portrait of his friend. A many-wrinkled, more than deeply-graven, face tells of hard work rather than anxiety, of privations undergone through the scholar's insatiable thirst for learning rather than suffering encountered in the cause of truth or humanity. A few thin, grizzled locks escaping from under the cap speak but vaguely of the light yellow hair of the young Dutch student; and the complexion once fair is concealed by an undergrowth of bristles left by the careless shaving of the votary of the Muses rather than the Graces. The long sharp nose indicates a searching mind, and, perhaps, betrays constitutional timidity; the wide mouth is at rest, though suggestive of humour; but the grey eye twinkles visibly, and, if we cannot hear the thin voice, we are sure that its utterances would be couched in clear and elegant language. The dress is not that of the Augustinian monks, which, according to his brethren, he disgraced, and which, according to himself, disgraced him: but the grave rich garb that became the Imperial Counsellor, the theologian, and the priest.¹

Though Erasmus' portrait not seldom taken he had been reluctant to sit for it, liking to trust his words than his face to posterity. It was not till year 1517 that he was first painted (It was by the Flemish artist Quintin Matsys.) By that time his name was known over Europe and Theodore Beza could adorn his portrait with the following epigram which was much admired in his day:

Ingens ingentem quem personat
Erasmum,
Hæc tibi dimidium picta tabella re
At cur non totum? Mirari desine, l
Integra nam totum terra nec ipsa

This world-wide reputation acquired solely by the pen, Erasmus was the first who made any deep impression on society that means alone. He was a man to translate his words into deeds. He thought and he wrote, and there the matter ended, as he was concerned. But others were found to hatch the egg he laid. Erasmus, indeed, disowned the offspring, and pronounced the crow instead of a chicken; though he may not have liked it, the egg was none the less of his laying.

The original sources for the Erasmus are not scanty. A sketch of it was confided by him to his friend Conrad Goclenius, professor of Latin at Louvain, and fixed to the large edition of his works published at Leyden in 1703.² I

¹ 'Cute corporis et faciei candidâ, capillitio in juventutis sufflavo, oculis caesiis festivo, voce exili, linguâ pulchre explicitâ, cultu honesto et gravi qui Casareum siliarium, theologum et sacerdotem doceret.'—*Beati Rhenani ad Carolum C. epistola*, prefixed to the Leyden edition of the works of Erasmus (1703), to the pages of which all references will be given, except in the case of the *Colloquia* and the *Enchiridion*, when the Tauchnitz (stereotyped) edition will be used instead.

² Bayle speaks of this as 'une vie d'Erasme composée par lui-même, à ce qu'on prétend et publiée par Morula, l'an 1607, sur l'original qu'Erasme avoit laissée en dépôt à Goclenius, professeur en langue latine à Louvain.' He pronounces the production careless and untrustworthy, and later writers have used a tone of apology in citing this

is admissible within the limits of a single essay.

But, without traversing the whole of the certain considerations stand out prominently, which may be taken as a guide to the formation of the judgment upon the chances of the bondholders have in the case of a partition or reconstruction of European Turkey. And, first of all, we think it may be taken as a universally admitted, that some force is at hand. Everything points to it; the insurrection may be against Turkish impotence; the necessities of Austria against the greed and ambition of Russia, the aspirations of the mixed populations of the Empire against other conflicting interests put her. The sum of all is, that the present state of affairs cannot be tolerated no longer. Some solution of this Eastern question is therefore, inevitable. Turkey is busy decreeing reforms, but they cannot be carried out with the machinery possessed and controlled by the Turk. The Turk, the Christian populations of the Empire, what oil is to water; they never assimilate. If the powers, each jealous of the other, are ready to spring, but afraid of the consequences, then the populations will successively rise and assert their own independence, and in the end will have a new, perhaps troublesome power to deal with, Austria and Russia a danger in a pan-Slavonic federation.

The powers, however, are not likely to let matters sleep; all manner of incentives urge them on to the issue; and it need surprise none to find war raging next spring between the great powers of Western Europe. We ourselves have supplied the strongest possible motive to strife in the purchase of the Suez Canal shares, and there is evidence already that the powers concerned begin to look upon it as such. We have said by that

act, in effect, that England recognises that the partition of Turkey is inevitable, and therefore she will provide beforehand a means by which her claim may be maintained to what she considers her part of the spoil. No more direct hint to Russia could possibly be given than this; for to Russia it seems a return to the line of policy sketched out by Nicholas, and a sanction therefore of the dreams in which Nicholas indulged. To Austria, on the other hand, as to France, this step on our part looks like a menace, and Austria, at all events, may be roused by it to fight a last desperate battle for her existence. The jerking line at which Austria and Russia were fitfully tugging has suddenly been hauled taut, and a sudden success of the insurgents, an outburst in Serbia or Montenegro, any little incident, may cause it to snap and precipitate Europe into a war of which there is no knowing the ending. The Turks evidently feel much the same thing. They say that, in annexing Egypt—for that is what the Canal transaction is taken to mean both in Turkey and in other countries—England has flung over her old ally. And the thought may well make the Turks desperate. From being disinterested spectators of the strife, ready to mediate for a peaceful solution of the burning question, were that possible, this country has suddenly stepped out as one of the principals in the quarrel. No explanations can convince the world that it is otherwise: our every interference in Egypt, where we must now, in spite of ourselves, appear to rule practically, if our bargain is to be worth anything, if Egypt is to be kept solvent, must make it more evident that we have taken a side, and the side hostile to the existence of Turkey as an empire. This cannot fail to hurry on the consummation; and there is no reason to be sorry that it should; but our statesmen had best cease to be hypocritical

that he may get his books published, or that he may visit Italy, the dream of the scholar, where the days of Augustus had been brought back from the dead. In reading the story of Erasmus we seem to have got into some quiet inn while the world fares on its way outside, and whoever drops in comes as a friend. We hear much, indeed, of scenes of violence and bloodshed, of warlike kings and still more warlike popes, much of proud rebellion and patient martyrdom; but it is only as tales to be discussed over the fire. When Bologna was vainly resisting the arms of the pontiff Julius, Erasmus was taking his doctor's degree at Turin; when Luther was uttering more than Vatican thunders against the Pope on his throne, Erasmus was paraphrasing the New Testament in florid rhetoric; when Louis Berquin perished at the stake in Paris for disseminating the works of Erasmus, their author was safe at Bâle recommending prudence and flight. We shall run over the life of Erasmus, noticing the people with whom we shall be brought into contact on the way, and the position of Erasmus himself with respect to the Revival of Letters and the Reformation.

Erasmus' birth took place at Rotterdam on October 28, the Feast of St. Simon and St. Jude. It should have been on the day sacred to St. Thomas, the doubting apostle, for with him was born modern scepticism. But though the day is fixed, the year is not.⁵ Bayle brings forward many arguments to prove that the date which appears on his statue in Rotterdam, 1467, is correct; Hallam wonders that any one can accept them. The point may well be left open, since Erasmus himself could not decide it.⁶

The corruption of the system generated in Erasmus his own destroyer. His father the son of a respectable family of Ter-Gouw, or Gouda, youngest but one of ten children. It was right that a tithe should be offered at the temple, and Erasmus was singled out for the sacrifice of his life. But the youth did things in the same light as his parents, and fell in love with Margaret, the daughter of a poor fisherman of Zevenbergen, who bore him a son. Somehow the affair was to have been smoothed over when, three years later, a child was expected, it was expedient to remove the family from Rotterdam, and Gerard himself from the wrath of his father. In Rome, where he gained a livelihood by copying manuscripts, his family got up a false report of his death, in consequence of which he took refuge in the city, though he soon discovered that he was never taken, they were never parted. The lady showed herself unworthy mother to her sons and a widow to a living husband. Erasmus had a stain affixed to his birth through the system which he lived to hate so intensely—however, shared with too many others those days to attract very much attention, except when a young Demosthenes arose in Scaliger's school.

Erasmus was christened after his father; both Desiderius and Erasmus being disguised by this name, which in Dutch cognate signification. It is fortunate that neither the Latin nor the Roterodamus, which was his companion on title-pages, was a criticism.

The education of Erasmus commenced at the age of four

⁵ 'De anno quo natus est apud Batavos nobis non constat; de die constat a.d. quintum Kal. Novembr. Apostolis Simoni et Judæ sacer.'—*Beat. Rhenan., Origen.*

⁶ 'Nam ipse nunc annum quinquagesimum secundum, aut, ad summum ago.'—*Er. Op.*, iii. 508, A.

argue besides that they dared to the people they came to rule injustice of laying upon them burdens that belonged to the earlier driven forth. From all these loans the people of the land got no benefit; rather have been crushed and ground down their weight; why should be asked to take up such a

outlook is here anything but ringing, therefore, but we confess pity for Turkish bondholders is great. They have been engaged as mere gambling as pitch and for the last dozen years at least, if they have lost, why then their

some people have congratulated themselves on one thing, however. Noting that ordinary Turkish are doomed, and that the chances of getting paid on any sort of the Eastern question is small, for any of the common mortgaged secured loans, these say, 'Ah, we are better off; we have the state of Egypt secured to our backs; and now that England has vested herself so closely in Egyptian finance, we feel certain this tribute will be punctually honourably paid, until the loans are cleared off.' This is very pretty reasoning, but it is unfortunately one of the most fallacious in the world.

In the first place, our purchase of the Suez Canal shares has given us no more direct influence over the Khedive than we had before. He may write any fine morning, declare himself independent of the Porte; and if the Porte cannot get him back to allegiance, we cannot compel him to go. If the Turkish Empire is reconstructed, to a term famous in its application to a railway and other swindles, the Khedive can hardly help considering himself lawfully absolved from allegiance, and would probably throw it off; and is it to be thought that he would after that

go on paying tribute to a power whose rights of suzerainty he did not acknowledge, or that we, whatever our grasp of Egypt, could compel him to do so? The supposition is extremely improbable. Again, it is by no means certain that the Khedive is as able to continue paying this tribute as people suppose. But for the windfall our purchase has given him, there is not the slightest doubt that another six months would have seen him involved in utter and almost hopeless bankruptcy. He has been one of the most reckless gamblers of modern times, and has gambled utterly without knowledge of the game he played. If his whims have been more rational, his ambitions nobler than those of the Sultan, they have been to the full as costly. Both rulers have once and again had to borrow at 25 and 30 per cent, in order to carry on debt incurred upon public or private works that did not yield a penny upon their cost, and in both instances all this could have but one end. For the moment we have averted the catastrophe from Egypt, but shall we be able to continue to do so? Can we compel the Khedive to give up permanently his dream of conquest in central Africa, to cease trying to annex Abyssinia, or to make an outlet for his mid-African trade by way of the territories of the weakened Sultan of Zanzibar? Are there any of his great hobbies upon which Mr. Stephen Cave can hope to control his will or caprice? It is very doubtful, unless we are prepared to pension him off upon his overgrown estates, and give him an allowance to play with and borrow upon to his heart's content. Short of a system closely analogous to that adopted in India, where we control native princes by means of a Resident, we can have no surety that the path of extravagance will no longer be pursued in Egypt.

The probability is that extravagance will continue until we thus

only attained the age of thirteen. They experienced the traditional fate of orphans. Three guardians had been appointed by their father, one of whom was Peter Winckel, the schoolmaster of Ter-Gouw. This man appears to have been a regular Pecksniff—selfish, grasping, sanctimonious, and eminently respectable. The modest sufficiency left by the father was ill-applied, and the boys were to be got into a monastery, whether they liked it or not. Erasmus, having mastered Latin grammar and the logic of Petrus Hispanus, was, according to the ideas of the day, ripe for the university, whither he desired to go (*Er. Op.*, iii. 1822, F). Great was the indignation of the guardian when the place he had so kindly obtained at Sion College, near Delft, was refused. Erasmus 'did not know the world or the cloister or himself; he would like to wait before deciding on so momentous a question.' His brother followed suit. Storming was found of no avail; and the milder expostulations of the guardian's brother were called in. A feast is spread on the lawn, and the young recusants are invited to sit down to a chat. The result is a compromise, and the boys, instead of being sent to a university, are placed at another seminary at Herzogenbusch, or Bois-le-duc. It was in the hands of the same Brotherhood of the Common Life (*Fratres Collationarii*), but had not, like Deventer, been reached by the rays of that sun which had already risen beyond the Alps. Two years and more were spent here by a scholar who knew more than his masters. Meanwhile, no effort of art or bullying was omitted to secure the lads for the service of Holy Church. Though his brother was ready to give way, Erasmus still held out.

His constitution was delicate. Vigils and fasts he was averse to, for, once awake could not get to sleep again, while the very smell of Lent often resulted in a fever.

It was not the solicitation of monks or guardians, but the illness of the student, *otium* at length proved fatal to the plans of Erasmus. His old schoolmaster, Cornelius Werden, who had his dormitory at Deventer already taken vows, more love of ease than piety, came back from Italy, and, he had not brought learning with him, he had brought an estimate of its advantages. It struck that his clever friend might use, and Erasmus was regarded as a charming picture of the such as has often deluded modern imagination. The Cistercian monastery of Emaus, near Gouda, now received him as a novice. A year after, when time came for taking vows, it was too late to go back. At least the monks had got Erasmus; he had caught a Tartar. We have been particular in dwelling on this part of Erasmus' history, because hatred of monks was the one strong passion that animated him through life. This that gave venom to his and gall to his pen. He wrote them now, but not of the his animosity and contempt; words were the more ironical because they could not beget to ignorance. Erasmus had the authority, and the only this story. We must take the word of a man who would say of himself that he so much a lie that, even as a child, liars, and, as an old man, positive physical loathing for

¹¹ *Compendium Vitæ.*

ven at great detail in a Lambertus Grunnius, secretary of Leo X., by which Erasmus obtained remission of his vows (*Er. Op.*, iii. 1821 et seq.). He and his brother are mentioned in this letter under the names of Florentius and Geronimus; but in such particulars as documents have in common agree exactly with the *Admonitio Vitæ*. Peter, under the name of Antonius is painted in similar terms, and is declared to have been always his brother's superior. We hear no more of Erasmus after this with the exception of his seclusion to his death.¹²

His years were now spent by Erasmus in the society of men who were characterised by Dean Milner as 'zealots who were devoted to the study of the Scriptures.' Erasmus, on his own admission, did not escape a taint of this. But his thirst for learning was insatiable. 'scorn delights and serious days,' for Pallas she has gained the apple if she had been judge. Long years, when the genial spirit of Erasmus in the cloister had been with men of every stamp, the monks of Stein made effort to regain Erasmus. He returned to the Continent after a long visit to England, Erasmus having arrived at the castle of Harnes (or Hannes) near Calais, his friend, Lord Mountjoy, prior, found a letter awaiting him from Servatius, formerly a monk, but now prior of the same house.

The letter pressed him to return, and reproached him with his idleness and the disuse of

the habit of his Order. Erasmus' answer contained more truth than flattery. He remarked that if Jewish ceremonies were taken away from monkish life, he would not like to say what there would be left; and explained that, having cast about to find how he himself would be least liable to temptation, he thought he would accomplish it best by keeping away from the cloister.

His six¹⁴ years of seclusion, however, left their mark in letters of gold on the life of Erasmus. Naturally prone to learning, he was here driven, more than ever, to take up with it as a refuge from a society that disgusted him. Fortune bestowed upon him a friend of similar tastes in William Hermann, an ardent student and elegant writer of Latin verse.¹⁵ He and Erasmus spent days and nights together in reading classical authors and practising composition. Even in detail we may trace the outlines of the Erasmus of literature in the studies of the young Augustinian. At the request of a school-master he epitomised the Introduction of Laurentius Valla to the niceties of the Latin language,¹⁶ and in course of doing so conceived a high admiration for the style of a man who has in other respects been often compared to him. Another author for whom Erasmus conceived a lasting affection was St. Jerome, every word of whom he copied out with his own fingers (*Er. Op.*, iii. 1795, E). In the preference given by Erasmus to Jerome and Origen over Augustine, we see a foreshadowing of the contest with

'is germani mortem moderatissime tuli.'—*Er. Op.*, iii. 1053, E.

'ptatibus, etiamsi quondam fui inquinatus, nunquam servivi.'—*Patri Servatius* letter prefixed to the Leyden edition.

Charles Ruelens (Introduction to the reprint of *Erasmi Silva Carminum*) reduces it to four. The ordinary view has been followed in the text.

g other productions, his book of *Odes* may still be read, published by the Erasmus (*Er. Op.*, iii. 1782, C).

variarum lingue Latine libri sex.

Luther. If only all Churchmen had been as conversant with the writings of Jerome as himself, Erasmus was of opinion that the connection of piety with barbarism, and elegance of diction with a semi-Paganism, which he proclaimed it the object of his life to remove, would never have been established. When Erasmus afterwards (1516) brought out his great edition of Jerome, he exalted him as a writer above even Cicero.¹⁷ The defence of learning against monkish bigotry was begun by Erasmus at Stein in his *Antibarbarorum Libri*,¹⁸ the first book of which has come down to us as afterwards republished; and if he there indited *De Contemptu Mundi*, he showed in that treatise a profound contempt for the cloister too.

But he was now to exchange the cloister, which he certainly hated, for the world, of which he did not take so very gloomy a view after all. Henri à Bergis, Bishop of Cambrai, having prospects of the purple at Rome, wished to take thither with him a secretary skilled in writing Latin. Great must have been the joy of the scholar at this unexpected opening for the fulfilment of his fondest hope. His friend Hermann mourned his departure and envied his luck:

At nunc sors nos divellit, tibi quod bene
vertat,

Sors peracerba mihi.

Me sine solus abis; tu Rhœni frigora et
Alpes

Me sine solus abis.

Italiam, Italiam lætus penetrabis amœnam.¹⁹

The bishop never went but it was not without his leave to quit the cloister, which he had solemnly obtained from the prior of his convent. The Bishop of Utrecht, diocese it lay, and from the Order of St. Augustine. The Bishop of Cambrai granted him leave to go to the University of Paris. He even procured a pension; and Erasmus was not to put his faith in a lesson which he sometimes afterwards. Previous to Erasmus was ordained the Bishop of Utrecht in the year 1492.

Arrived in Paris, Erasmus paired to the poor man's day, Collège Montaigu times were hard, but this was something out of the ordinary. The Rector himself had retired from the ranks, and, if we may believe the tale, being employed in labour all day, had done his work by moonlight at the top of a tower. The only animal food given to students was rotten eggs; beds were on the ground, and lacked flooring. Erasmus made his existence as best he could. His constitution received a shock which it never recovered. Collège Montaigu, now lived to fall under the name of Rabelais.²¹

After a course of such squalor, an illness attacked Erasmus, and he was driven to take refuge with his patron the Bishop.

¹⁷ 'Loquitur Cicero; tonat ac fulminat Hieronymus. Illius linguam miror etiam pectus.'

¹⁸ The first sketch of the treatise was made in the convent when Erasmus was twenty; but it was not till two years afterwards that it was thrown into the dialogue between Erasmus himself, Hermann, and their common friend in the letter to Johannes Sapidus prefixed.

¹⁹ Quoted by Beatus in his letter to Charles V.

²⁰ 'Promissum est stipendium annuum; nihil missum est. Sic solent Compendium Vitæ.

²¹ 'Captives among the Moors and Tartars,' he says, 'murderers in a crime not to mention the dogs in the houses, are treated better than the hapless inmates of this college.'—*Gargantua*, liv. i. ch. 37, quoted by M. Nisard.

Because they refer to *Samson* and *Samsonides*, who was blind.

so on throughout the key.

was no vain boast on the part of Girandole to declare that this is the plainest and driest form of description in which he could deal. The prelude is bald and pro-compared with what meets us as we proceed further to explore the genius of Milton as delineated. Thunder-clouds of the finest verse surcharged with dreams and winged fancies billows of aspiring thoughts bodiless visions, till all are led into the mystery of a grand flood. Tone lustres glow in a wide and flowery expanse of and stars. Gossamer threads of lighter song weave interludes to lead us one hour. The next, comic splendours fall on us, us, till the soul, overwhelmed by the fiery affluence of sound, in an ecstasy as of wine, and tone-drunken with sheer majesty of utterance and the force of tones of harmonious libations.

As a critic I used to prefer to myself sober; but the man who is dull and insensible indeed can read through this essay without feeling simply intoxicated. Girandole, as Girandole expresses himself to have been with the poetical beauty of *Paradise*

The ravished senses require minutes to recover themselves before setting to work once more.

It is not Girandole's manner to give you the same dish twice.

In his chapters on the Elizabethan dramatists, he leaves solemnity and mystery for something of the rousing and athletic style—for instance, in this extract on the subject of Webster, in which it were, comes down upon us as a descending as of Jove the terrorer.

At he means amounts, I see, to this: that the ruling passion here, in its passion, pathos,

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love, rage, malignity, is, force—supreme in all. For soft sentiment, for delicate wit and humour, we must look elsewhere. But hark how splendidly he puts it:

'It is the battle of the Giants fought over again, Cyclopean passions all at war, a rage as of mountains and hills flung upon one another, of trees torn up by the roots, and rocks hurled headlong. Nay, the struggles of Typhon were but as infant's play to the throes of these invincible natures. Giant hates, flinging bolts of murder, remorseless love fiercer than revenge; the rapture and anguish, the resignation and despair, of this mammoth brood have all of them the true Heraclean ring.'

Fearfully and wonderfully worded this, but one among many such tempestuous passages. Again and again, as we dip into the fascinating pages of these volumes, we are literally stunned by the glitter and dazzled by the sound of this veil of glorious words and images. It is to be hoped that no formalist will be so precise as to carp and cavil if, as I go on, light should very frequently stun and sound blind, and a veil be distinctly audible; in other words, to find me lapsing into what I will call the Girandolesque. Pyramus's 'I hear a hand, I see a voice,' has interest as an early specimen, a very poor one of course; still it may be recommended to beginners as the A B C of this style, whose glory it is to keep the five senses in a perpetual and delightful jumble, till we feel with regret what a point was missed by the poet in not sighing for

The song of a vanished hand,
And the glow of a voice that is still.

What shall be said of all the luminous perfumes, melodious visions, and fragrant music which the study of Keats has revealed to Girandole, and Girandole reveals to us; the 'radiant fireflies of thoughts

letters of introduction to Father Richard Charnock, Prior of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine (his own Order), and head of St. Mary's College. Everything in England delighted Erasmus, even the climate. No words could express the charm of manner that he found in Charnock and Colet.²² To judge from a letter written to Andrelinus, the 'dragon of prudery' must have been asleep in the society of English ladies in the time of Erasmus.²³ But the Muses reigned here as well as the Graces. There was no need to go to Italy now, since Italy had come to England. The expressions of a polite guest ought no doubt to be taken with a certain abatement; but in truth the names of Linacre, Grocyn, More, Colet, and William Latimer²⁴ could stand comparison with any at the time in Europe. Erasmus was not above making use of his opportunities, and applied himself to Greek under the English scholars. Linacre, Latimer, and Grocyn had all been pupils of Chalcondyles²⁵ and Politian at Florence. But it is upon Colet that we must now fix our attention, whose influence upon the mind of Erasmus—that, is upon Europe—cannot be estimated too highly.

Colet, too, had been to Italy, and, if he had come back without knowing Greek, he had, instead, caught something of the enthusiasm of Savonarola: though in him it took a different direction from what it did in that Hebrew prophet dropped down into the middle of Italy in her most brilliant and most corrupt

era. But the zeal of Colet a conspicuous, was not a distinctive feature in his character. Colet was the prototype of the Latitudinarian, who would reduce Christianity from a doctrinal system to a few facts, sharing of Christ's spirit. Colet believed the facts. At the time of Erasmus' arrival in Oxford, Colet, then a young man fresh returned from Italy, even in deacon's orders, was giving the university by a series of lectures on the Epistle of St. Paul. He took the part of the writer in whatever seemed to him their most obvious mistake, keeping to that thorough method not learnt from Savonarola. This was quite a new thing for people in Oxford. They followed him from curiosity, and afterwards brought their note-book. The scholastics had treated lectures as a quarry of text, and they had quite lost sight of the fact that there might be a living sense in them. As regards the Mosaic code, however, Colet adopted a method of interpretation. Words were not to be taken in their literal meaning. Moses, he thought, possessed a higher knowledge than he could not impart it. His understanding of a semi-barbaric people except by a sympathetic adaptation. Some interesting letters of Colet to a person named Radulphus have recently been brought to light. A single letter from one of them will sufficiently indicate the view adopted.

²² 'Quorum moribus nihil fingi potest suavius, mellitius, amabilius.'—*Er. Op.*

²³ 'Sunt hic Nymphae divinis vultibus, blandae, faciles, et quas tu tuis Camis anteponas. Est praeterea mos nunquam satis laudatus. Sive quo venias, omni exciperis; sive discedas aliquo, osculis dimitteris; redis, redduntur suavia; vel propinquantur suavia; disceditur abs te, dividuntur basia; occurritur alicubi affatim; denique quocunque te moveas, suaviorum plena sunt omnia.'—*Er. Op.*

²⁴ Sometimes confounded with Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester.

²⁵ Demetrius Chalcondyles, one of the Greeks who sought refuge in Florence after the Fall of Constantinople (1453).

of importance in the pre-nation, because it is related by Erasmus in his *Seleni of* 1528. The passage runs thus: 'For would have fixed the of the days, save by that full and sage fiction to set ple, as it were, before the o provoke their imitation, y six days they might put o their daily labours, and ie seventh in devout con-on of God.'²⁶

he present we must part let, but it will be necessary t to him again.

leaving England Erasmus oduced by More to Prince hen a boy of nine years, great dignity. The in-took place at Eltham, ere all the royal children e exception of Arthur, of Wales. The acquaint-s of honour, if of little use, years.

January of 1500, Erasmus to the Continent; and not loss of all his money at wing to a statute of Henry ainst the exportation of the realm, could mar the ness of his recollections of . What drew him back to tinent was to effect the ion of his *Adagiorum Chi*. This event, says Beatus, ed an epoch in the study s on the hither side of the ad it established the repu- Erasmus for erudition on e basis. Not long after d the first fruits of his with Colet in his *Enchi-*

ridion Militis Christiani (the pun is not reproducible), which exhibits a simple, natural, and, at the same time, spiritual view of religion. Ignatius Loyola, indeed, found that the book cooled his piety, and forbade the reading of it to his Order: but at the time of its publication people's piety had not reached fever-heat, and it was thought very edifying. Erasmus, with his usual candour, relates a good thing said against himself—'That there was more religion in the book than in its author.'

A few years afterwards we have a significant publication from Erasmus, which is doubtless to be attributed to the workings of his own mind rather more than to the influence of Colet. In a letter prefixed to his edition of Laurentius Valla's Annotations upon the New Testament, he contended that there were errors and bad grammar in the Vulgate, and derided the idea of the infallibility of translators. Simple as this seems, it was a great step for the time.

The next time Erasmus is in England we find him introduced by Grocyn to Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury. The Primate had a reputation for munificence, and it was with high hopes that Erasmus presented him with his translation of the *Hecuba* of Euripides into Latin verse. A very moderate return was made by the Archbishop, who thought he might possibly have been treated to a dedication at second-hand—'*Sicut soletis vos*,' explained Grocyn to Erasmus, as they rowed back from the palace.

quam dierum numerum statuisset, nisi ut illo utilissimo et sapientissimo fig-asi quodam proposito exemplari, populum ad imitandum provocaret, ut sexto ie diurnis actibus fine imposito, septimo in summâ Dei contemplatione per—Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers*, p. 54. The contact of Colet with Savonarola, confessed, rests entirely on the very probable conjecture of Mr. Seebohm. la was at his zenith when Colet was in Italy. Who could go to Italy without Florence? And who could come away from Florence uninfluenced by the of a whole city mad upon religion, except a few 'irreconcilables,' who were not it?

On his return to the Continent Erasmus published the *Hecuba*, to show that he had no fear of rival claimants. Warham was ever afterwards among the kindest of his patrons. Another important acquaintance made on this visit was John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.

Erasmus had now the means to accomplish his long-cherished dream of a visit to Italy. But the days of romance for him were over, and he talks of himself as an old man when he is crossing the Alps. In truth he is about forty. He did not travel alone, but in company with the two sons of Baptista Boier of Genoa, chief physician to Henry VII. Their attendant proved very disagreeable, quarrelling with the king's herald, who was sent to escort the party. After receiving the degree of doctor at Turin, he came in for the entry of Julius II. into Bologna. The spectacle of the Vicar of Christ triumphing like a pagan general gave the peaceful Erasmus an impression which he never lost.

After a year spent at Bologna he removed to Venice, wishing to have a new and enlarged edition of the *Adagia* printed at the Aldine press. Erasmus enters the office, but Aldus is too busy to look up. The inscription over the door might have warned him of the reception likely to be accorded to a stranger coming unannounced :

Quisquis es, rogat te Aldus etiam atque
etiam,
Ut siquid est quod a se velis, perpaucis agas,
Deinde actutum abeas; nisi, tanquam
Hercules,
Defesso Atlante, veneris suppositurus
humeros;
Semper enim erit quod et tu agas,
Et quotquot
Huc attulerint pedes.

But the present visitor would have been made an exception to the general rule, had Aldus known who he was. And, moreover, Erasmus had come to put his shoul-

der to the wheel. Scaliger admits that he did the work of ten men in one day for Aldus, it is only for the sake of that he took it out of him. Friends as well as enemies had something to say to Erasmus this score; but he writes pleasantly enough to Servatius: '*Cebrietatem semper horruimus*'. Probably Erasmus, being of a choleric temperament, required and to drink more than other men. Pleasant would it be to linger with Erasmus in the house of Manuzio, to glance backward at the labours of this earnest worker to the publishing of the *Hecuba*, *Leander* of Musæus in which he dwells on the affectionate intimacy that subsisted between him and Erasmus, and on the society that assembled in his house but a regard for proportion would not press on. Many towns were visited, besides Padua and Siena among the others. During part of his stay in Italy, Erasmus directed the studies of Alexander, natural son of James IV. of Scotland, a youth then twenty, but already Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who afterwards fell on his father's side at Flodden. This is a hint of the history of the youth, which this brief notice!

Erasmus was not going to Italy without seeing Rome. He received a flattering welcome from some of the Cardinals, among others the Cardinal de' Medici, who did not refuse him when he became Leo X. the instance of the reign of Leo X. Erasmus composed declamations and against a war which the Pope of the Church was making against the Venetians. These efforts proved most convulsions. The Cardinal Don Juan was just making tempting seductive offers of patronage to Erasmus, when a still more

certain prospect presented the news of the accession of the new king of England of Henry VIII. His recollection of the visit of the foreign scholar to Eltham had been revived by a letter in the king's own handwriting, which had reached Erasmus in Italy a few days before.

With hopes of royal patronage encouraged by letters from friends, Erasmus sets out for England.

A train of thought was raised in his mind on the way by the name of his friend who had sown the germ of the famous *Εγκώμιον*. It was to be seen that Erasmus repaired to London. More was now on his thirty, and married to his second wife, Alice Middleton, and had an affectionate guardian of his infant daughters in whom he was much delighted. He was engaged in business as a lawyer after his retirement under the shadow of royal displeasure, in which Erasmus had found him on his first visit to England. Next day More, though, like Colet considerably younger than Erasmus, probably exerted a greater influence upon his mind than any other man of the time. The fascination of the society is a frequent subject of remark; and in genius he was acknowledged to stand alone among his countrymen.²⁷ It is a question whether it was at Oxford or London that Erasmus first made the acquaintance. At all events it was about the time of his first visit to England that he was hurried away by his summons from Oxford, out of the way of the idle, if not dangerous, pleasures of the new learning that was coming into vogue, to London upon the duties of

the profession for which he was designed. What More's father thought of the course of lectures delivered by his son on the *De Civitate Dei* in a London church, shortly after his being called to the bar, does not appear. In their love of learning and relish of wit Erasmus and More were kindred spirits, and they revelled in the intercourse which they now enjoyed. Encouraged by More, Erasmus sat down to finish the satire which he had commenced on his journey. In a letter to Ulrich von Hutten, Erasmus says of More: 'Indeed, it was he who instigated me to write my *Praise of Folly*, which is as much in my way as for a camel to dance.' This is a graceful exaggeration, for the original inspiration came only from the name of More, and the *Colloquies* with innumerable passages in other works in the same vein of humour, remain to refute this disavowal of originality.

The part played by More throws light upon that played by Erasmus; so far as it is an elucidation of one mystery to produce another. The intellectual tendencies of both Erasmus and More left the Reformation lagging in the rear; yet both in the end assumed an attitude of hostility to it; both seemed to countenance superstitions which they despised. Even if we are debarred from arguing to the liberal tone of More's theology from a professed romance, there is plenty of other evidence to point to. His approval of the *Praise of Folly* would in itself be sufficient. But the support lent by More to Erasmus was not confined to private approbation. In 1519 More received a letter from a monk, acting as the mouthpiece of his Order, in which great apprehension was expressed

Erasmus Coletus, vir acris exactique iudicii, in familiaribus colloquiis subinde Britanniam non nisi unicum esse ingenium; cum hæc insula tot egregiis instructa.' So writes Erasmus of More (*Op.*, iii. 477, A).

lest he, the greatest of English laymen, should allow himself to be contaminated by Erasmus, and a charge was brought against the latter on the ground of denying the infallibility of the Fathers. In a very cogent reply More alluded to the controversies between Augustine and Jerome, in which they flatly contradict one another, and sided against faith in favour of the laws of thought. From the same letter it is clear that what went a great way to prevent Erasmus from sympathising heartily with Luther had the same effect upon More—the Augustinian tenets of Luther. Speaking of the doctrine of the damnation of unbaptised infants, he asks how many there are who believe it now except Luther, sticking tooth-and-nail to Augustine? ²⁸ But to have withheld support from Luther and to have displayed the intolerance More is related to have done are two very different things. The intolerance itself may have been exaggerated, and Erasmus records it to More's credit that during his chancellorship no one was executed for heresy; but, when all reductions are made, the discrepancy that still remains between the More of literature and the More of practical life, the one undoing the precepts of the other, may well make us pause before harshly condemning a less degree of inconsistency in Erasmus. What in the lower nature of Erasmus we are tempted to ascribe to cowardice was certainly in the high-souled More never due to such a cause. The truth seems to be that More, notwithstanding the boldness of his speculations, was a very slave to authority; he was ready, at the bidding of the society

in which he lived, to abjure private convictions in deference to the traditions of the past. The same sort of spirit betrays even in the *Utopia*, which proposes a scheme of social tyranny²⁹ equalled by that of Comte himself. The sacrifice of the individual fellows is the root of all mischief but it may be carried to a vicious excess as to defeat its object and degrade the individual which is in the end to injure the community. Had More and like More been allowed to follow the paths they had opened up, might have been a reformation accomplished on a different basis to what actually took place; but was, the daring self-assertion of Luther, accompanying what held to be intellectual errors, tamed back More in England, did Sadolet and others in Italy, the old beaten track of submission to the Church.

We left Erasmus composing *Praise of Folly* in the hot More, and, though the book was published till his next return to the Continent, it will be as well to give a brief notice of it here. As bold as was ever written, it is geniously thrown into the mouth of Folly herself, which afforded Erasmus a convenient outlet if his votaries felt aggrieved. As it is shown, is altogether by folly, and folly is his best friend from the cradle to the grave. Folly has done speaking food for merriment she often turned to wormwood; but the greater part of the production is the lightest and happiest vein. The science, the medicine, the theology, the institutions—pc

²⁸ 'Nisi quod Lutherus fertur Augustini doctrinam mordicus tenens antiententiam rursus instaurare.'

²⁹ E.g. 'If any be desirous to walke abroad into the feldes, or into the court belongeth to the same citie that he dwelleth in, obtaiuinge the good will of his father the consente of his wife, he is not prohibited.'—Reprint. Trans. by Ralph Robinson

religious—of the day, all come to their share of derision; the scholastic system is made less fun of; not the reign—hope himself is spared.³⁰ And Europe only laughed; Leo X. took the book through and enjoyed it without resenting the insult to predecessor; while such was the chance of the monks, who, of course, came in for the hardest gibe, that not until the book had been translated did it dawn upon them that they were being made fun of. In his writings Erasmus created the maxim which he puts into the mouth of Folly, and which in private intercourse he was more inclined to respect: 'Whatever the man has in his heart, he shows on his face and declares with his lips; but men have two tongues, with one of which they speak the truth, with the other what the occasion seems to demand.' (Tauchn., ii., 55). But the freedom of Erasmus's public utterances never did harm with men of culture and refinement, by whom he seems always to have been regarded as a kind of licensed jester. The high places of earth were in that day full of wickedness, but in Church and State alike men were ready to laugh at their own corruption, till Luther turned them into a frantic defence of it.

Some four years after the publication of this book the monks found a champion in Martin Dorpius, one of the rising lights among the orators at the University of Louvain.

Dorpius expostulated with Erasmus on his disrespect for the University along with another object of veneration, the received text

of the Bible. With regard to the former charge, Erasmus blandly pointed out to him that the object of the *Laus Stultitiæ* was precisely the same as that of the *Enchiridion*, only compassed in a somewhat different fashion. Dorpius was eventually convinced and expelled.

We have seen that on a former visit to England Erasmus had made the acquaintance of Bishop Fisher, of Rochester. Fisher was Chancellor of Cambridge, and an advocate of the new learning, which he desired to see introduced there. Through his influence Erasmus was now invited to Cambridge, where he took up his residence at Queen's. He was formally appointed Margaret Professor of Divinity, and if not also Professor of Greek, he at all events gave lectures on that subject.

Erasmus has himself left a sketch (*Op.*, iii. 130, A) of the change that came over the studies of Cambridge about this period. Thirty years before his arrival this seat of learning had been fast bound in Scholasticism. Alexander,³¹ the *Parva Logiculæ*,³² a garbled Aristotle, and the subtleties of the Scotists had till then constituted the food of the Cambridge intellect. Now, however, the sluggish waters were stirred. Latin authors whose very names were before unknown were being introduced; the study of mathematics, in which Cambridge was destined to attain such excellence, was set on foot; Aristotle, restored to his proper dress, denied all knowledge of the person who had passed under his name before; and Erasmus had come to sow the

³⁰ Tauchn., vol. ii. p. 380.

³¹ Not the Greek commentator on Aristotle, but Alexandre de Villedieu, a Breton author of the *Doctrinale*, a treatise on grammar in leonine verse, written about 1170 and taught in all the schools of Europe.

³² The work of Petrus Hispanus, who was raised to the Papal chair as John XXI. in 1277. See Mansel's *Aldrich*, Introduction, p. xxxviii. (4th ed.). The mnemonics, 'Barbara Celarent,' &c., seem to have leapt in maturity from the head of this

seed that was to bear fruit afterwards in a Porson and a Shilleto.

The beginning made by the Oxford-taught Dutchman was, however, modest enough. We find him writing to a friend that he had hitherto lectured on the Grammar of Chrysoloras³³ to a thin audience, but hoped to have a better attendance when he commenced that of Theodore Gaza³⁴ (*Op.*, iii. 110, C). The work of Erasmus was well carried on afterwards by Dr. Richard Croke, who had been to Leipzig, not to learn, but to teach Greek, and who was appointed by Fisher professor at Cambridge in 1519.

Erasmus did not stay long at Cambridge. He was always more bent upon learning than teaching; and, besides, he did not find Cambridge pay. The living of Aldington, in Kent, which was presented him by Warham, was doubtless a post far more to his liking; but, though Erasmus loved ease, he included in that conception ease of conscience, and resigned the living, as he did not know a word of English. Warham, however, insisted on his retaining an annual sum out of the revenues, gracefully remarking that he taught the teachers.³⁵

During this visit Erasmus renewed his intimacy with Colet, who was now Dean of St. Paul's, to which post he had been appointed

in 1504. Week after week, year after year, the voice of Colet was heard pleading now in London as before in Oxford, for the religion of the spirit in place of religion of observance; nor would he ever accept a single farthing of his labours. His method of preaching was, instead of illustrating single text, to choose a subject, such as the Gospel of St. Matthew, Apostles' Creed, or the Lord's Prayer, and give a series of lectures upon it. His sermons drew Lollards, who had no easy time of it just then. It was while Erasmus was at Cambridge that his friend Ammonius of Lucca³⁶ wrote to him a sentence that was destined to be better remembered than any author's: 'that it would be no wonder if the price of wood went down, there were so many heretics being burned.' Things indeed were coming to such a pass that energetic measures of reform were thought necessary. Convocations met in St. Paul's, and upon Colet devolved the duty of preaching before the Bishops. Without mixing matters, he gave them to understand that they had better begin reforming themselves.³⁷

But Colet's labours were confined to matters ecclesiastical. He had already founded his school in St. Paul's Churchyard for the free education of 153 children. For this he would fain have

³³ Emanuel Chrysoloras taught Greek in Italy when sent over on an embassy to quest aid against the Turks. He was afterwards induced to return and teach Greek publicly at Florence. Died in 1415, at Constance, during the time of the Council; without leaving a numerous brood of Hellenists behind him.

³⁴ Theodore Gaza came to Italy in 1430, when his birth-place, Thessalonika, fell into the hands of the Turks.

³⁵ The speech which, being *read* *roze*, we may suppose to have been simple enough reported by Rhenanus in all the pomp of rhetoric: 'Quis te æquius ex ecclesiasticis inventu vivat, qui scriptis utilissimis ipsos ecclesiarum præfectos, presbyteros instruat doces, adjuvas, unus omnes; nec illos tantum, sed et cunctas ubique terrarum ecclesias quibus illi singulis singuli dumtaxat præsent et prosint.' Would that Tacitus had been the model of the scholars of the Revival!

³⁶ An Italian who, having come to seek his fortune in England, had been appointed Latin-secretary to Henry VIII.

³⁷ The sermon is given in *extenso* in Mr. Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers*.

us as head-master; but us was not to be entrapped, he gave a Fellow of Cambridge a severe rebuke for speaking lightly of the work of the school. The great scholar, however, took an affectionate interest in the new institution, and wrote

use prayers and hymns to praise the mild Jesus, to whom it was dedicated.³⁸ Further, to testify his devotion, and not without a view to pecuniary return, he sent a treatise, *De Copiâ*,³⁹ for the use of the school, in which he was the ingenuous youth of the school, how it is possible to express a simple sentence like 'Tuæ me magnopere delectarunt' in many ways as to fill several

In ringing the changes on the sentence—selected on account of the absence of synonyms to words that compose it, 'Semper vivam, tui meminero'—he is aided by the name of More (by which he replaces the pronoun) to exuberance, till the head of the school swims with the never-failing flow of an always happy vocabulary.

His other book composed for the use of St. Paul's school must have attracted moment's notice, though it was only touched up by Erasmus. When wanting a Latin Grammar for his school, asked Linacre to write one. Linacre complied, and great pains composed a Grammar of six books, which was afterwards brought into general use. Erasmus, however, thought it above the capacity of his scholars, and, at risk of offending Linacre, re-edited it by a short treatise of his *On the Construction of the Parts of Speech*. This re-edition came from the hands of Erasmus, Lily, and others, and came into vogue under the

name of Lily's Grammar. Lily had been appointed head-master of St. Paul's school by Colet. He had studied Greek in Italy, and resided for some time in the Isle of Rhodes, where Greece still lingered on in decrepit decline.

But where, all this time, were those visions of royal patronage which had lured Erasmus across the Alps? The excitement of war made Henry forget to play the Mæcenas, if he had ever meant to do so. Under the auspices of Julius II. the Holy League had been inaugurated for the expulsion of the French from Italy; and Henry, who had joined it, was engaged in harassing the French in their own country, where he succeeded in capturing Tournay. The proceedings set on foot by Julius in Italy resulted in the battle of Ravenna, which was disastrous to all concerned. But the days of this fire-eating pontiff were numbered, and in 1513 he was succeeded by the more peaceful, though, in his own way, not less pagan, Leo X.

Failing to see his hopes accomplished in England, Erasmus went off again to the Continent. Better prospects seemed there to open to him; as he received the honour of being appointed Counsellor to the young Prince Charles of Austria, who was then holding Court at Brussels. To vindicate his title, and deserve his pension, Erasmus, a year or two later, wrote a treatise entitled *Institutio Principis Christiani*, which, of course, was dedicated to Charles. When the Prince, on the death of Maximilian, became Emperor under the title of Charles V., he wished to show his zeal for Erasmus by appointing him to a bishopric in Sicily. The idea tickled and somewhat frightened Erasmus, who would not have ex-

³⁸ They may be read at the end of the Leyden edition.

³⁹ *De utraque verborum ac rerum copiâ libri duo.*

changed his independence for any bishopric.

But Erasmus had other reasons for coming to the Continent besides hopes of patronage. The fame of Aldus at Venice was being rivalled at Bâle by the Amerbachs and Froben. They had already issued an edition of the *Adages* without leave asked of the author, and now Erasmus, instead of resenting the 'piracy,' if such a term were applicable to this sort of action before the days of copyright, came to supply them with his latest additions and corrections. Froben was now the head of the firm, Amerbach, the father, being dead, but having left worthy representatives in his sons, whom he had got carefully educated in the three learned languages. Erasmus, who had enjoyed his *incognito* appearance to Aldus, announced himself at first as a plenipotentiary from the monarch of letters, and broke the revelation of his identity by declaring that he was so like his employer that there was no knowing one from the other. Froben's delight, which knew no bounds, was of a piece with the whole reception of Erasmus, for his journey through the German towns had been like a triumphal progress. This visit of Erasmus to Bâle was not of very long duration, and, as we shall have to accompany him thither again, the important acquaintances whom he there made can afford to wait for notice. During his stay he was immersed in labours on the New Testament and on St. Jerome.

With a flightiness characteristic at once of the man and the author, Erasmus again makes off for England. On his way he falls in at Frankfurt with Reuchlin, who begs him to exert his influence at Rome

on his behalf. This great aim must not be passed over with casual mention.

The case of Reuchlin was the battle-field on which the forces of obstruction and progress first tested their strength. It resulted in victory for the latter—a victory soon abused. Reuchlin was the earliest of the great Transalpine scholars, being some dozen years older than Erasmus; nor was his fame, like that of Erasmus, purely literary. A long life was drawn to an honoured close, when the declining years of the scholar were molested by the monks. In his youth Reuchlin had visited Italy, and Johannes Argyropylus,⁴⁰ begged him speak Greek, had mourned the exile of his country beyond the Alps. But Reuchlin, not content with Greek, had gone on to Hebrew since the death of Jerome neglected by Christian scholars. He had studied the Cabbala, and was deep in mystical meanings of Scripture. In his last extant letter to Erasmus Colet characteristically observes that the end of these studies is only be pious and enlightened, and that there is a shorter way to these—through Christ. The monk, however, thought the Cabbala a road, either long or short, to edification. Greek was an 'heretical language,' but Hebrew was worse than heresy. A Jew named Pfefferkorn who had been led to a conviction of his errors, was in the year 1493 put forward to propose that all Hebrew books, except the Old Testament, should be committed to the flames. Reuchlin naturally opposed the design. From that moment he became the victim of a furious persecution from the Dominicans headed by James Hochstraten, the Inquisitor, by Arnold of Tungen

⁴⁰ One of the earliest of the Greeks who found their way into Italy. He supported the philosophy of Aristotle at Florence, which did not take there as well as the Plato introduced by Gemistus Pletho.

y a third, whose heart was in fault than his head, Oratius. Hochstraten cited him before the Court of Inquisition at Mentz, in 1513, but he refused to have Hochstraten, a declared enemy, for his

On the 14th of April, in the following year, the Bishop of Cologne, to whom the case was committed by Leo, imposed silence on the enemies of Reuchlin—an imposition. The persecution ended with unabated violence, and Reuchlin was formally condemned by the Universities of Paris, Erfurt, and Louvain. All powers of darkness were arrayed against him, but, on the other hand, he received sympathy and support from men of culture everywhere.

Not till the case was tried at Cologne and Reuchlin acquitted on the 15th of April, 1516, that he obtained any triumph from his foes, if even then.

Reuchlin was amply avenged by the most unsparing satire ever written—the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*. The blow was dealt in a simple and so fine was the point that the monks did not know about for some time with- out knowing they were wounded. Just while before, the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* had displayed sympathy of men of letters for Reuchlin, and now some worthy monks, disclaiming all pretensions to themselves, and hinting in the title at the arrogance of their adversaries, are supposed to put round letters on their side of the controversy containing their own comments on one another couched in pretentious Latin, together with comments on men and things general, and many communications from friend to friend. By means the eyes of the public are aided to take a steady view of the monks undazzled by the

traditional nimbus—and Luther became a possibility. The credit or otherwise of the satire is divided by Sir William Hamilton between three persons—Hutten, Crotus, and Buschius. It was brought out in two parts, the first of which was published in 1516, the second in the year following. In the former year Sir Thomas More writes thus to Erasmus:

The Letters of Obscure Men are rapturously received both by the learned who see the joke, and the unlearned who take them seriously. The latter, when we laugh, think we are ridiculing the style, which they don't profess to defend, but say it is quite compensated by the goodness of the matter; and that there is a fine blade hidden under a rude scabbard.⁴¹

Most assuredly there was: but we might be inclined to think that More was here giving the rein to his own wit, did not Sir William Hamilton remind us that an edition of the book was dedicated by Michael Mattaire to Sir Richard Steele, and reviewed by that critic, without either editor or reviewer having the faintest suspicion that the letters were not genuine. Steele's theory was that someone had thought the cheapest and most effectual way of exposing the monks would be by publishing their own letters.

Erasmus seems to have had no hand in the *Epistles*, at the publication of which he always professed himself rather shocked; but as a matter of course they were ascribed to him, just as every fatherless joke fastened itself at Rome upon Cicero and in England upon Sydney Smith. The *Julius Exclusus*, in like manner, the *Captivitas Babylonica*, the *Eubulus*, the *Lamentationes Petri*, the *Nemo* and *Febbris* of Hutten—everything whose parents disowned it, provided its Latin garb were fairly respectable, was ascribed to a mind prolific enough in its own produc-

⁴¹ *Er. Op.*, iii. 1575, A.

tions. All such surmises, however, were made short work of by Erasmus.⁴²

In writing to Leo X., Erasmus, according to request, put in a very earnest plea for Reuchlin. The cause was, indeed, entirely his own, not one which, like Luther's afterwards, he might not approve of, or could shelve; nor was there anything in this conduct to give the lie to the caustic remark of the authors of the *Epistles*: 'Erasmus est homo pro se.' The mention of this letter carries us back again to more than a year before the acquittal of Reuchlin at Rome. It was written from England, and contained a curious mixture of the freedom warranted by Erasmus' intellectual position with the servile flattery of the day, the latter element, however, greatly predominating. But much of the praise that appears extravagant was doubtless sincere; for Leo was a man of peace and letters—large elements these in the ideal of Erasmus. The attack on Reuchlin had warned

Erasmus that he had better see his own safety while yet there was time, if he meant, as he fully did to go on publishing; and what better refuge could he find than behind the ægis of Rome? The object of the letter then was to leave to dedicate to Leo his forthcoming edition of St. Jerome. The Pope returned a very gracious permission, and at the same time as a letter to Henry, recommending Erasmus to his notice. But the 'Flying Dutchman' had again left for the Continent before these dispatches reached England. The Pope's letter took effect with the King, and when Erasmus afterwards made his appearance in England, he and Wolsey at long last showed themselves really bent on securing the scholar, by their offer of a good house and a pension of 600 florins, if he would only be content to settle. But it was then too late; nor shall we after this have occasion to mention England in connection with Erasmus.

(To be continued.)

⁴² He says: 'Nullum adhuc opus conscripsi, neque conscripturus sum, cui non præfigerem nomen meum.'—*Op.*, iii. 324, A.



AN AUTUMN IN WESTERN FRANCE.

II.—MORBIHAN.

t of the travellers who
forth on his journey
rittany in the middle of
as many compensations
broken spell of glorious
his predecessors have
enjoyed from May till
. If the days are short
enings long, if the fitful
sunshine alternate with
wind and April-like
the roads are miry and
lanes, so suggestive of
e, impracticable, at least
e satisfaction of a com-
nn and blazing wood
any a lovely rainbow
the yellow woods and
pastures, of additional
id majesty lent by sombre
ashing winds to the lonely
t, the mountain torrent,
e all, the rocky coast.
e can be no doubt that,
reature comforts go, he
better: the best rooms
disposal, he can dine how
he pleases, he can have
at in the diligence, the
and carriage; in fine,
of everything, without
anyone else. Thus,
I started from Nantes
the 15th of October,
tered an unusual amount
ther for the time of the
nk such an inconvenience
ndurable than that of
ys, crowded inns and
riages, and all kinds of
d hindrances inevitable
e 'Tourist' season. It
to be market-day, when
any countryfolks travel
ne de Bretagne; and an
at occurred to me, whilst
the train, gave the key-
hat Breton character of

which I had heard so much during
the last few weeks. An old peasant
woman in the characteristic cos-
tume of Morbihan—black dress,
embroidered chemisette, and spot-
less white *coiffure*, with broad lap-
pets pinned up so as to form a kind
of Ionic scroll on the head—came
up to me and said, 'Are you
going into Brittany? If so, travel
in the same compartment with me,
and then we can help each other
with our baskets. This is the tone
taken by all—friendly, nay, familiar,
yet perfectly respectful, and with-
out a vestige of anything that
could be called impertinence. The
Breton is proud, dignified, serious.
Whether you converse with your
driver, whose bare feet are encased
in straw and *sabots*, and who can
only express himself in imperfect
French, or with the learned doctor
you find quietly pursuing his avo-
cations in his native town at the
Land's End of France, you per-
ceive the same leading charac-
teristic—an ardent love of all
pertaining to La Bretagne, a lofty
bearing, and a depth and balance
of character, quite consistent with
our preconceived notions gained
from history and romance. It is
the same with all classes—inn-
keepers, shop-people, townsfolk,
and countryfolk. They receive you
with courtesy, nay, *bonhomie*, and
do everything in their power to
make you comfortable, but with-
out any obsequiousness, and much
less servility; and not the least
of the numerous pleasures of tra-
velling in Brittany is the per-
petual intercourse with frank out-
spoken countryfolks, who neither
bow nor cringe to their so-called
superiors, but treat them exactly
the same as their own friends and
neighbours. The same democratic
spirit more or less animates all the

French population, though not always combined with the sturdiness and sterling qualities of the Breton character. Thus, third-class carriages are provided with foot-warmers and reserved compartments for ladies, and third-class passengers meet with the same courtesy and respect as first and second. Those who travel third class in England know well enough that it is not so, and that ladies travelling alone that way have to put up with smoke, often with drunken passengers, and other inconveniences. If you wish to become acquainted with the countryfolks and see their costumes, moreover, you must travel in Brittany by third class, especially on Sundays and market-days, when they go in holiday dress.

Vannes is the usual halting place of travellers entering Brittany from Southern or Central France, and, though hastily dismissed by guide-books, has a peculiar interest. In the first place, Vannes is the threshold of that vast consecrated ground—for whether the stones of Carnac and Locmariaquer are sepulchral, monumental, or religious, we must so regard it—of those Celtic ancestors whose worship and history have been lost in remote ages; and, in the second, the little Museum contains relics of that complicated historical stratification which makes Brittany so interesting a country alike for the archæologist, the historian, and the artist. By turns Celtic, Gallo-Roman, Christian, Protestant, Catholic, Brittany is still the land of mysticism, legend, and romance, and all this is realised by the traveller who begins his survey here with the rough hewn implements of these rude forefathers—mere chips and fragments of flint and stone—then passes on to the oar-shaped weapons of jade and other stone, polished smooth as an egg, and showing considerable skill and manipulation; then to the

small metal knives and daggers, in form reminding you of the thick ribbed, spade-shaped leaves of some water-plants; the bracelet solid pieces of bronze beaten out in patterns; the rude pottery; then to the highly finished Roman coin medallions, and ornaments, the mediæval arms, escutcheons, and embroideries; lastly, the relics of those powerful ecclesiastical foundations whose traces are scattered plentifully over Brittany. Thus we have an index to the book which is about to read; if many of its chapters remain mysteries, still light is at least thrown upon some.

It is worth while to enter the churches, not for the sake of architectural beauty—for there are here insignificant, and filled with every imaginable kind of trumpery; grotesque saints, as simpering Virgins, artificial flowers, gold tinsel, and death's-heads mixed together—but to see the people. There are always men and women kneeling before this saint as that; often market folks, who deposit their huge baskets on the ground whilst they pray, will often a rapt expression on the toil-worn, weather-beaten face. And on a bright summer day—on this 16th of October I speak—reminded me of July—there is a more charming walk than the eastward of the town; on one side, above winding river, as shady walks and picturesque houses, rise the grey walls and towers of the old fortification; on the other, terrace upon terrace of green sward, with stately avenues, lead to a broad close green from whence you look across Lombardy poplars toward Nantes. Heath, woods, pasture and rivers make up a wide inviting prospect. How every inch of ground here teems with historical associations. It was at Vannes that Cæsar encountered the Gauls, then as now, 'ad bellum mobili'

que excitari;' then as now, et repentina consilia,' in fight he so graphically. All travellers should a brief account of the fight in the Maree Conas the Gulf of Morbihan. It was at Vannes that dean prisoners, after the counter with Hoche in the Quiberon, were tried, and of heroic men shot in the lawn-like enclosure I have d, the remainder meeting fate at Anray. That event to St. Anne, the Mecca of whither resort hundreds and of pilgrims yearly, all on foot as in the old it by excursion trains, flowing advertisement on s of the railway station 'Pèlerinage à Ste. Anne, Billets d'aller et retour à it, etc. etc.' The fact is, 'Pilgrimage season,' ex- ng the peasants, answers h to the 'Tourist season' and these cheap return St. Anne, Mont St. Michel, enees, Rome, and other re often used by pilgrims of health, pleasure, and f scene only. I remember young Catholic lady if any iends were gone on a cer- image that had just before om Nantes, and she said, ite; que voulez-vous? C'est a de voyager.' But all over now. The next morn- n I looked out of my he rain was pouring down s, and only a few peasants lging with big blue and ellas towards the mira- untain, and the shrine, ich mass is celebrated in air to vast multitudes on ays in the year. These , so poetically described Souvestre, are to be seen Brittany, but especially Anne, the family saint

of the Bretons, the protectress of sailors; and even on this wet morning, some trade was going on in wax-lights, rosaries, and artificial flowers. Devotion is combined with innocent gratification also, and outside every church on a Sunday you find booths of cakes, fruit, hot coffee, and, in some places, haberdashery, clothes, and toys. When the doors of the church were thrown open at half-past eight, crowds poured in, despite the bad weather, and, no doubt, at high mass and vespers there were crowds too. I never yet attended service in Brittany without finding the church quite full, and these congregations, made up of nuns in their quaint garb, and countryfolks in their characteristic and often beautiful costume, form a strange and imposing spectacle. The piety of the poorer people is touching to behold; they will raise rosary or image to their lips and kiss it passionately, and remain for hours kneeling or crouching on the stones before some favourite saint. Nor are the men less devout than the women. On Sundays there is an equal number of both sexes, who on market days will leave their business to say a prayer in church quite as a matter of course.

At the station I saw a girl in the costume of Bannalec, an interesting and captivating figure; she had a sweet, tender, pensive face, and her dress was piquant and becoming past description—a *coiffure*, in two parts, the upper fitting to the head and flowing from each ear in a fan-shaped lappet, the under covering the crown of the head like a nun's veil; a large muslin collar, closely plaited like those in some of Vandyke's pictures; vest of dark blue cloth, cut square in front, showing a white worked chemisette, and braided with a rich orange, crimson, and green braid, the pattern corresponding in front and back; the skirt of that

substantial Normandy cloth these country people wear so much of, gathered in close folds round the waist, so as to form a graceful skirt. As we journeyed on to Auray in the rain, I saw many of these good cloth petticoats and dresses, blue, scarlet, green, orange, and purple, a comfortable sight on a chilly day! A silent, half-dead place is this Auray on a wet Sunday, yet the people do their best to keep themselves alive. All the shops are open, bands of music are playing, and the town-crier goes drumming through the town, announcing sales, concerts, and other events of public interest; a primitive method of advertising—also applied to deaths—common in Brittany, and one that strikes the stranger oddly. A spell of rainy weather is tolerable in this comfortable *Hôtel du Pavillon d'En Haut* (an inn in which, to borrow Charles Lamb's expression, you can snugify), with a charming landlady, and for chambermaid, one of the most beautiful creatures I ever saw in my life. At St. Anne the chambermaid was fresh as a rosebud, with a childish, naïve expression, delicious blue eyes and fair hair; but the Auray beauty is of a much rarer and more elevated type, though of the same country—rich olive complexion, with a tinge of rose, exquisitely chiselled features, dark velvety eyes and delicately pencilled eyebrows, are set off to their best advantage in her simple yet dignified costume of white contadina-like head-dress and black gown with loose-hanging sleeves, so graceful and so unfashionable. It is necessary to travel in Brittany to see what a beautiful thing a woman's dress may be; and our English girls would do well to copy many of their skirts, vests, and sleeves. The entire absence of vulgarity in texture is no less noteworthy. The richest ladies wear no softer cashmere, no finer cambric, no more

substantial cloth than these country women; but they must be seen Sunday, when all is fresh, spotless and bright.

Next day it cleared up, and as we drove towards Carnac, amid gleaming gorse, purpling fern and meadow woods, I said to myself, 'This is time to see Brittany.' It was one of those charming grey days, with breaks of blue, a soft west wind driving light cumuli across the sky and now and then an April-like shower, precursor of a lovely rainbow. The wild gorge at the beginning of the Carnac road reminds me of Haslemere in Surrey, and through my Breton journey I fit myself saying, How like Wales how like Sussex—how like Cornwall! So greatly does *La Péninsule Bretonne* resemble *La Grande Bretagne* sweeps of heath, with lovely lying pastures, herds of little black and white Breton cows; magpie jays, and crows flying about the hedges; quaint stone windmills low, thatched, one-storied cottages pine-woods, pools and marishes, and lastly the sea—such is the scene of the nine miles' drive from Auray to Carnac.

The Stones of Carnac, like the Pyramids of Egypt, are indescribable, and like the Pyramids superhumanly grand, monotonous, imposing. There is nothing human about them, and the traveller first arrived in this 'antique land' feels inclined to throw away inference, suggestion and all results of historic research, solving the mystery by *Titan Mythos* only. What giant precursors of the human race raised these obelisks of unhewn stone these altars untouched by hammer or chisel, these gloomy temples so and stupendous as the Cyclopean walls of Mycenæ? After all that has been written about the 'strange array' of Carnac and Erdeven, the underground temple, tomb, or prison of Gávr' Innis, and the brood

of Locmariaquer, one of the English living authorities on his theories with the same opinion that a well-known writer arrived at forty go. In 1835 Prosper Mérimé, Inspector-General of Historical Monuments in France, wrote the Minister of the Interior concerning the 'monuments called Druidic, the almost absolute want of authentic information in my researches as sterile participation, but at least they ample scope for the imagination.

There is nothing in history, hardly anything in tradition, throws any light on the mystery,' Mr. Fergusson; and another authority, H. Martin, the same, concludes his speculation by the observation that, of hypotheses projected, each is all far short of the truth. They cannot picture a wilder or more grandiose scene than the wasted ground of barbaric races by the sea. A little girl, wild and Arab, speaking only Breton, across heath and brushwood stones, as these monuments used by the poor people, and saving me, I wandered about the same scene alone. There were magpies chattering on the low hick bushes, and rooks cawing wild, and cattle grazing close together, otherwise, how savage it was, solitary, how silent! Beyond the forest of sombre pines, and gaunt oaks, and scattered farm-buildings by the wide-stretching sea, the pale blue and monotonous, all around, amid flaming red fading fern and heather, the bronze and reddish purple, by hundreds, the mysterious tombs, monuments, symbols now not what! No wonder the saint folks here, ever ready to be set marvels by the light of the legend and miracle, see in the balanzas the pagan perse-

cutors of Saint Cornely, metamorphosed by him in holy wrath into stone. Certainly, without any preconceived notions whatever, and without any reference to historic research, the spectator's first conclusion would be, that the plain of Carnac is a vast cemetery, and that the rude monuments scattered broadcast on every side were raised after the manner of the earliest we know of: 'Rachel died and was buried in the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem. And Jacob set a pillar upon the grave; that is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day' (Genesis xxxv. 20). We have to go to the Bible for another solution of the mystery, namely, that these unhewn dolmens and menhirs, were raised by worshippers of the one God, who thus carried out the Mosaic injunction (Exodus xx. 25): 'And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone, for if thou lift up thy tool upon it thou hast polluted it.' Again, in another passage (Deuteronomy xxvii. 5, 6) we have the same sentiment: 'And there shalt thou build an altar unto the Lord . . . Thou shalt build the altar of the Lord thy God of whole stones.' It seems almost certain that only religion in those barbaric times can account for works of such prodigious strength and magnitude. Whether, indeed, the Sun-god was herein symbolised, whose praises were chanted by so-called Christian Armorica, when the Druids had ceased to exist, or that strange serpent worship of a remoter period still, or whether these gigantic stone avenues are sepulchral or military monuments, raised in memory of great warriors in battles, none can tell. Here all is dark, mysterious, and inexplicable. In visiting the Celtic remains of Morbihan, the spectator is led from the contemplation of one marvel to another, gradually increasing in magnitude, till they culminate in a *crescendo*

beyond which imagination cannot go. From the summit of Mont St. Michel, the wide-stretching moor of Carnac, with all its countless menhirs, forming avenues miles in length, can be seen; but it is necessary to visit and examine carefully each separate group before taking a general survey. Thus I left my carriage at Kermario, on the left of the Auray road, and visited first the smaller stones near the little Gallo-Roman town lately excavated by a Scotch archæologist. Then I walked on foot to the far more stupendous remains of Le Bal and Kerlescaut on the other side of the village of Carnac. In the first, the menhirs, which are of no great height, are scattered about pell-mell; in the last, order is gradually perceived, and the stones increase in height till, at last, are seen waving lines and phalanxes, terminating in rows from ten to eighteen feet high. It is impossible to convey any idea of such a scene, especially on a grey afternoon, when the surging wind and the sombre colouring of the desolate plain lent added majesty and gloom to these innumerable monoliths, hoary with long white lichen, the growth of ages.

Yet this spectacle, imposing as it is, but faintly recalls the glories and achievements of primitive races, whose outcome and offspring we are. Every day these Celtic monuments diminish, and though some precautions have been taken, they are far from sufficient to protect them against spoliation and injury. Three hundred years ago a French writer, the Chauviné Moreau, counted from 12,000 to 15,000 menhirs (upright stones) at Carnac. At present 1,000 only is the number given by accurate observers, and on every side may be seen evidence of past destruction,

the inhabitants having used the demolished monuments as wall and farm-buildings. When Prosper Mérimée wrote in 1835, he spoke of 2,000 monuments having been destroyed at Carnac within a few years preceding his visit; that the work of demolition is gone on with greater rapidity in our own time, the natural consequence of more extensive clearing and cultivation. One observation will not fail to strike all beholders and that is, the grotesque elements introduced everywhere by the Tit builders. Alike menhirs, *peulvens* and dolmens show a *tour de force* in their construction; thus the menhirs are often placed on the narrowest point; the enormous stone forming the upper part of the dolmen is always the largest, and its corners just touch the supporting columns sometimes, as in the case of a tall monolith standing in a wide open plain leading to Penmarch, near Quimper, the effect of this arrangement is most striking. The menhir may be compared in shape to a blade, narrowing at the point which rests on the ground; but in many cases this grotesqueness is still more salient.

The squalor and almost savageness of the population here cannot be compared to the Arab and Kabyle villages in Algeria. Before every hovel is a pool of liquid manure as manure heap. The village street is a slough of filth and mire, and little wild-looking children ran after me, calling out in broken French 'Un sou! donnez-moi un sou, s'il vous plaît!' Breton is spoken everywhere, and it is useless to interrogate the country people in French. They shake their heads and go on. I drove to Plouharnel to see the little collection of Celtic and Gallo-Roman relics at the inn and from thence to Fort Penthièvre.

¹ *Menhir*, literally long stone. *Ir-min-Sul*, stone of the sun. *Peulven*, pillar stone.

a *détour* of two hours or so, that amply repays for the fatigue. In all my journeys, Algerian, Spanish, Oriental, I hardly remember so picturesque, or what the Germans call *malerisch*, or paintable a scene: stretches of moor, 'brown as the ribbed sea sand,' ribbed also by the action of the waves, and tinged with the gold of moss and gorse; gloomy tufts of pine and tamarisk, wild-looking women in blue cloth dresses and white hoods, keeping flocks of black and burnt sienna-coloured sheep, and on either side the greyish blue sea. At Fort Penthièvre I alighted and wandered about the cliffs, perfumed with a deliciously fragrant carnation, and gorgeous with patches of red and purple sea-weed. Time did not admit of driving to Quiberon, so celebrated in the history of the Vendean war; but none should miss the solitary, unspeakably wild and poetic drive to Fort Penthièvre. Coming home, we passed one or two long-haired peasants in broad hats carting away loads of the *Zosterima maritima* (used so plentifully in packing Venetian glass) and other sea-weeds for manure; and we met the diligence slowly wending its way towards Quiberon. But, otherwise, all was solitary and silent as the desert, and the deepening shades of the autumn twilight added new mysteriousness and poetry to brown gold waste, sombre pines, and purpling sea and sky.

Next day was fine and mild, and I started at ten o'clock for Locmariaquer (place of the Virgin Mary); after an hour's drive through wild scenery, reached the inn, and at once ordered a boat for the island of Gavr' Innis—in Breton, Ile de Chèvres. Whilst waiting for the boat I went into the church, which is full of painted wooden statues and images, quite worthy of a rude heathen temple. In the aisle stood a hideous carved bier covered with death's-heads, painted

white on a black ground—a common sight, as I afterwards found, Breton churchyards; and outside of course the life-sized Calvary, Christ on the Cross, also of wood crudely painted, yet not without touch of pathos. These *Calvaires* or crosses, meet you as often as milestones on the public roads, some cases rude as the Celts stones, in others carved, and even artistic. Soon, my boatman, named Morvan, appeared—how the natives savoured of Fingall!—and conducted me to a long narrow pier, where the boat, with two sailors, awaited us. This little journey to the *de Gavr' Innis* is by no means easy, though, as far as distance goes, so insignificant; but, on account of the currents, it is always necessary to make a long round either going or coming, according to the tide. Thus, after rowing strenuously for three-quarters of an hour, we had to get as near as possible to the coast of the opposite island, when the two sailors took off their stockings, and waded knee-deep to the rock, with ropes. The boat was towed by rowing round the corner, Morvan rowing I steering, the sailors getting along the rocks and sea-weed as best they could. Having arrived opposite Gavr' Innis, a sail was hoisted up, and we accomplished the rest of the journey easily. No wonder we can convey any idea of the strangeness of the expedition, and of the scenery of Morbihan (Little St. The islands of the Breton archipelago here lie as thickly together as those of the Ægean, and, according to local tradition, are numerous as the days of the year. In some cases they are mere uninhabited island-rocks; in others little oases of verdure, with chalets and gardens, farm-buildings and cornfields; and, seen on a bright autumn day, the blue and warm, the sea smooth and bluer still, they reminded

of the exquisite scenery of the Greek seas. We land, and clamber up the steep rocks of the green little island, ankle-deep in wet sea-weed, and plunging every minute into pools of water. As we reach the summit, a guide from the smiling little farmstead opposite comes with the keys and a candle, and we descend to the awful grotto—for awful it is indeed, gloomy as subterranean stone chambers of the Pyramids, and as wonderfully constructed. When Prosper Mérimée visited this tumulus forty years ago, it was on his hands and knees; but now a passage has been made, and following the conductor, we survey by a feeble light, as well as may be, the strange architecture before us. The chamber and gallery are built of huge blocks of granite, supporting the slabs forming the roof; and if anything could convey an idea of the strength, determination, and originality of the so-called Celts, it is such a work. The walls and columnar stones supporting the roof are covered with carvings, spiral curves indicating the serpent, outlines of weapons, and a kind of ornamentation like the tattooing of New Zealanders; the roof itself is a mere succession of enormous masses of the granite, airily, so to speak, superimposed upon the pillars. Here we have exhibitions of the same love of *tours de force*, ingenuity, grotesqueness, call it what we will, I have already spoken of, many of the slabs resting on their narrowest ends. One of these slabs measures twenty feet by sixteen, and the rest are twelve or fourteen feet in length—the entire gallery and chamber measuring fifty-two feet in a direction nearly east and west. The most curious feature in this monument is, that part of the stone of which it is formed does not belong to the Morbihan archipelago, but must

have been brought from a considerable distance, by what means is all mystery. No less mysterious is the engraving on the wall in which some writers have seen a primitive language, others hieroglyphics, others mere decoration. Nor has the ingenuity of archaeologists been less bestowed upon the circular openings on one side of the central chamber. Some suppose these rings to be connected with sacrificial ceremony, others with marriage rites, others with neither; here again all is unexplained. The tumulus of Gâvr Innis was discovered in 1838 by the owner of the island, but its present possessor is M. de Clémence, who has written a learned brochure on the subject, and who has built a little villa here as summer residence. Almost all the islands of Morbihan possess Celtic remains, but none so interesting as Gâvr Innis; as though the expedition is difficult in bad weather, it is not on account to be missed. Coming home we were drenched by a heavy shower; but at the comfortable little inn I got my clothes dried and an excellent lunch; after which it cleared up, enabling me to visit the wonderful broken column celebrated dolmen called *Table*, or Table of the Merchant. These are close together, and are the most remarkable of the numerous Celtic remains scattered about Locmariaquer. The fallen menhir, called here *Men-e-Hroek*, or fairy stone, is to me thinking as impressive as the shattered column of the Olympian at Athens. It is said to be the largest menhir known, being sixty feet in length, and the fallen drum of the column being six feet high and twelve feet broad. Forty years ago, the oldest inhabitants could not remember having seen it upright, and some authorities doubt whether

was ever raised on its base. It is broken into several pieces, which lie at right angles with each other, its gigantic proportions and sombre hue harmonizing with the wild scenery of the plain, the wide stretching sea, and cold grey rocky islets, dim as spectres in the fading light of the autumn afternoon.

The great cromlech close by is hardly less stupendous. It is a veritable table of stone, constructed of an enormous block of granite, lightly perched, if we may so express it, on four supporting masses, the whole standing out from the lonely landscape with weird, mysterious effect. Two wild-looking little Breton girls had guided me to the spot, and, dismissing them, I walked again and again round the shattered column and the strange grotto, altar, temple, whatever it might be, beside it. But the more the mind ponders on these phenomena—no other word seems so applicable—the farther off seems the solution; and I drove back to Auray, bewildered by the mysteriousness of this 'antique land.' What vicissitudes it has passed through! What transformations it has undergone! What revolutions it has witnessed! Surely from the time when the Titan builders scattered their works broadcast over the land until now, no other country has

had so strange a history. First con the record of the Druids, teach of youth, and their awful groves; sacred dance, the mystic chorus, dread priestesses; the bards, citers to glory; then of half Christianized Armorica, whose childr driven from La Grande to La Pet Bretagne, chanted in their ov tongue the Psalm of the exi Israelites—'By the rivers of Bal lon we sat down, yea, we wept, w we remembered Zion!'—of Artl and Merlin, and Gradlon king of mighty town of Is; of mediæ legend, and saints innumerable; a Protestant Brittany, as slo Catholicized as the Gaelic had be won over to Christianity; of country and of a people, in fa however much changed by circu stances, strangely faithful to its o character and tradition. Where you go, you find some relic of olc times fossilized in song, dress, a custom; and the Breton youths the present generation chant as tl march to battle the war song their forefathers in the days of c valry and romance—'C'est l'arn d'Arthur, je le sais; Arthur mar au devant! Si nous mourr comme doivent mourir des ch tiens, des Bretons, jamais nous mourrons trop tôt!'

M. B.-E



THE UNSEEN UNIVERSE.¹

THE object of this book, which the authors inform us in their Preface is 'to show that the presumed incompatibility of Science and Religion does not exist,' is not a novel one, but it is refreshing to find that instead of adding to the long list of abortive attempts to reconcile Genesis and Geology, they have dealt with a vital question in presenting arguments from the scientific side in support of the doctrine of a future life.

Written by two men deservedly eminent in that branch of science known as natural philosophy (for it is an open secret that the work is the joint production of Professors Balfour Stewart and P. G. Tait) this 'Eirênicon' has received but little favour from physicists, who for the most part pronounce it to be 'neither fish, flesh, fowl, nor good red herring.' While among the orthodox there are some who look askance upon it, since it 'com'st in such a questionable shape,' its voice the voice of Scripture, its hands the hands of Science; these for the most part accord it hearty welcome, because, although its coat is one of many pieces, ragged-edged quotations torn from the Bible indiscriminately, and stitched to hypotheses of Anaxagoras, Boscovitch, and Thomson concerning matter, it does ingeniously seek to reconcile the several manifestations of energy in the Cosmos with the several functions of the Trinity; sees in Genesis hints of La Place's nebular hypothesis and in the pseudo-Second Epistle of Peter a prediction of what Professor Clifford calls the 'last catastrophe,' when the sun, devouring Chronos-like, his offspring, shall draw

the earth and the other planets into his insatiate maw, and ultimately be swallowed up himself by ~~the~~ ^{the} hunger, hungrier sun. There is nevertheless, sufficient point in the difference between the authors and the ordinary 'reconcilers' to render a perfect *rapprochement* impossible. For although, as hinted above, they find themselves largely in accord with orthodox belief on certain 'essentials,' they accept the Darwinian hypothesis, which is not yet regarded as a buttress of the fall once delivered to the saints, although the approving reception of Dr. Abbott's recent *University Sermons* indicates that it will be; and they reject by inference the doctrine of the fall of man and a collective final judgment.

The three editions of the work which have been called for within the space of a few months, bear evidence to the interest excited by scientific treatment of the question of immortality. That question is one which, in its combined mystery and attractiveness, has occupied large, in some cases an unduly large, share of the thought of man since he first awoke to the question of his origin and destiny. Round it, like a planet tethered by centripetal force, the spirit of man revolves, nor is it likely that the day will come when it will no longer be the subject of inquiry and desire when intellect reigning undisputed over a tearless world, the reason will not take the trouble to ask, 'If man die shall he live again?' and the heart, mechanically swayed cease to yearn

For the touch of a vanished hand,
And the sound of a voice that is still.

¹ *The Unseen Universe; or Physical Speculations on a Future State.* Third Edition. London: Macmillan & Co.

nearly every argument on belief in a future life has proposed to rest must be given it very considerable modification or rather enlargements, of conceptions commonly formed. It must be made, and evidently that many elements of error which now exist in our notions must be cast out, there is no doubt whatever; but the subject remains unaffected by these surrenders—persistent and inviolable.

The book opens with a sketch, in a correct one, of the various forms in which belief in a life after death was held among the old nations of antiquity, and of belief among Christians from the time of Christ to the present. In an historical summary of teaching of Christ upon this subject, the authors profess to avoid committing themselves to any theory concerning his person, and yet they say (pp. 30, 61) that his relation to the universe was different from that of any mere man. This does not mean a clear statement, but that the authors intend to consider belief that Christ is God, and the question of a future life must be settled in their minds without all dispute, since he taught that the *Unseen Universe* is a religious book. And yet they show a vigorous scientific contempt for the doctrine of a physical resurrection, a belief in which would go so far as the very fragments of records concerning him enable a judge, to have been held by. This is, to say the least, inconsistent if it be held that he came with divine knowledge and authority. But concerning this, as concerning the larger question of the value and authority of the old books of the Bible, the position of the authors of the *Unseen Universe* is most unsatisfactory, and does not illustrate the very general error of practice of assuming

the divine origin and unity of a number of heterogeneous works, in making quotations hap-hazard from them to support a particular doctrine. One can understand the adoption of so irrational a method by Low Churchmen and Revivalists, but it might fairly be expected that men of scientific habits of mind would not be content to endorse by their silence the popular notions concerning the supernatural origin of the Bible.

That they have devoted some time to the comparatively unimportant subject of textual criticism is shown in the insertion here and there of notes discussing the subtle mistranslations which are supposed to affect doctrines of 'awful importance.'

Surely the time wasted on these fruitless logomachies should have been occupied with the needful initial statement of the grounds upon which the authors admit the validity of the claim made on behalf of the Bible to be a revelation of truths which, but for it, man could never have known. Surely if the value of a revelation depends, as depend it must, upon the clearness of that which it reveals, so that there cannot be uncertainty as to the meaning, the authors should have explained how it has come to pass that disputes have constantly arisen as to 'what saith the Scripture.' For example, at the present time a very large number among the orthodox are seriously exercised concerning the future of the wicked. Quite a literature of the subject has lately sprung up, disclosing three widely different opinions thereon. One section, numbering among its adherents prominent ministers of the Congregational and Baptist sects, maintains that man forfeited his immortality when he fell, and that it will be restored only to those who are regenerate through Christ. For the rest of mankind there will be a season, the duration of which is not

stated, of physical torture in hell, and then annihilation. Another section remains staunch to the saints' comforting doctrine of everlasting punishment (to which, perhaps, the most valid objection was the farmer's, 'that no constitution could stand it'), while the third section advocates the doctrine, certainly as old as Origen, of universal restoration. Each of these appeals to the Bible in support of his particular view; and, since each talks much about the meaning of the original Greek, the only inference we can draw is that upon a subject of no small interest the original Greek gives forth an uncertain sound. We cite this example only to show that in the absence of precise statements as to how they have reached such certitude concerning the Scripture revelation of a future state as their references to it imply, the authors of the *Unseen Universe* have failed to use an opportunity of relieving the perplexity of many minds. They cannot escape from their self-adopted position by disclaimers to the effect that they are not theologians and do but take the Christian records as they find them. While they withhold their reasons for constituting the Bible a court of appeal against decisions arrived at by the matured judgment of our time upon doctrines deduced from its several books, a bounden duty remains undischarged, the neglect of which is only aggravated by their trifling over nice distinctions of words.

For this weighing of mint, anise, and cummin, and the leaving of the weightier matters undone, we are probably indebted to the theologians whose 'ready and valuable assistance' is acknowledged by the authors in their Preface. We do not doubt the readiness of that assistance, for theologians are seldom called in to revise the proof-sheets of scientific books,

but we must take leave to question its value. It seems to us that the Delilahs of theology have for once caught the Samsons of science napping, and shorn their locks!

A series of chapters are next devoted to very clear and masterly expositions of the several hypotheses concerning the origin, mode of development, material, structure, and probable fate of 'the present physical universe,' as the authors term it, or, as we will call it, to prevent confusion of terms, the Cosmos, and to explanations of the principles known as the 'Conservation of Energy' and 'Continuity,' these latter being the bases of the authors' argument for the existence of the Unseen and Eternal Universe, out of which all things visible came, and into which they are returning.

The substance of these chapters goes to show that the Cosmos has an objective reality; that it had beginning in time, and in time will come to an end. Under the term 'stuff,' or 'matter,' there is included not only solid, liquid, and gaseous bodies, but also that extremely subtle, elastic form of matter known as ether, which is supposed to pervade space and to occupy the minute spaces between the atoms of all bodies, and is the medium in which energy is conveyed from the sun, as well as the vehicle by which light is brought from more distant suns, and thereby some knowledge of their physical constitution obtained. But matter forms the smaller part of the Cosmos. Besides it there is something which also has an objective reality, namely 'energy,' of the transformations of which matter is the vehicle. The attributes of matter which we formerly thought to have a substantive existence, e.g. heat being now called caloric, and electricity a fluid are now known to be modes of motion of an unknown force among the particles of matter. The doctrine of the reciprocal interaction

several classes of phenomena known as the 'Correlation of Physical Forces,' and is thus clearly defined by Sir W. R. Grove, whose monograph, bearing that title, is a standard book on the subject :

Light, heat, electricity, magnetism, and chemical affinity, are all convertible material affections; assuming either as cause, one of the others will be the effect. Thus heat may be said to produce electricity; electricity, heat; and so of the

Sir W. Grove also remarks, in his address on 'Continuity,' which may be found in the sixth edition of the same volume :

It is now proved that all these forces are variably connected *inter se* and with one another, and as to be regarded as modifications of one another, and as resolving themselves respectively into motion, and subjectively that something which produces or sustains motion, and which we call force.

By the principle of the 'Conservation of Matter' is meant that its total in the Cosmos is constant, and it cannot be increased or lessened; in brief, that matter is indestructible.

By the principle of the 'Conservation of Energy,' or, as Herbert Spencer prefers to call it, the 'Persistence of Force,' is meant, that in all the several modes of motion through which it is manifested, its sum-total remains unaltered; in brief, that energy is indestructible.

What matter is in itself, and what energy is in itself, are profound and probably insoluble mysteries. Now, energy is of use to us solely because it is constantly being transformed. We can get work done by still water, moving air, or heat equally distributed. To drive the wheel the water must fall; to propel the ship the air-currents must travel; to run a steam-engine the heat of burning coal must pass to the warm water of the boiler. And every hot body is parting with heat, which is diffused among

bodies less heated, there is a tendency towards equilibrium in an ultimate uniform temperature throughout the entire mass, and when that equilibrium is attained, it is obvious that, although the quantity of energy will remain, it will become unavailable for work. As Professor Helmholtz remarks :

The last weight will have reached its level. The last molecule of matter will have satisfied its strongest affinity. All parts of the universe will be equally hot, and no light-wave will cross the regions of space.

And then shall the end be. Long ere this the earth and the other bodies of our system will have been engulfed in the sun; the solar heat sustained by the impact of those huge masses will have been dissipated and the sun himself have met a similar fate, until the visible universe shall be resolved into its primitive nebulousity, and so provide material for the development of vaster solar systems.

And so on, growing in grandeur but diminishing in number till the exhaustion of energy is complete, and after that eternal rest, so far at least as visible motion is concerned.—*Unseen Universe*, p. 92.

With this fate before it, immortality in such a universe is impossible, and were the action of the principle of the conservation of energy limited to it, continued existence elsewhere would, on the authors' hypothesis, be impossible. They contend that since the Deity (whose existence as a personal God they regard as self-evident, although they do not disdain to quote a passage from Herbert Spencer in support of the 'self-evident') has conditioned all created beings as regards time, place, and sensation, we cannot conceive of any finite intelligence without some sort of embodiment. The connection of mind and matter is an impenetrable mystery, but their interdependence shows that for continuity of being an organisation connecting the in-

dividual with the past and affording power of varied action in the present is indispensable.

It is at this point that the principle of Continuity comes in to support the theory of the authors that the ether, which has the power of transmitting motion from one part of the Cosmos to another, is the vehicle by which the energy of the Cosmos passes into an unseen universe; energy from the individual, as well as that vast surplusage of force, the ultimate disposition of which remains, the authors' theory notwithstanding, one of the most perplexing yet interesting questions for our natural philosophers to investigate. (As a single illustration, take the fact that all the planets of the solar system together intercept only about the $\frac{1}{10000000000}$ part of the heat emitted by the sun, the earth taking about the $\frac{1}{100000000000}$ part.)

Continuity is based upon the theory that the sequence of events is orderly, not fitful; that the causes which are now producing certain effects operated in the past to produce like effects. In virtue of this principle the astronomer can calculate eclipses as easily backwards as forwards; in virtue of it the geologist learns in present formations the history of the deposition of the most ancient strata, and, in investigating effects apparently anomalous, feels no necessity to refer them to special interventions. In brief, we may borrow a verse from the Book of Ecclesiastes (chap. i. 9) as tersely defining this modern doctrine: 'The thing that hath been it is that which shall be, and that which is done is that which shall be done, and there is no new thing under the sun.' Although, in dealing with the question of the beginning of the Cosmos, the authors decline to admit any break in continuity—nay, insist upon the interference of a First Cause being driven back as far as possible—they appear quite

prepared to make a reservation in favour of the miracles said to have been worked by Christ, and cheerfully, it would seem at the suggestion of their theological advisers, sawing wellnigh through the bough on which they are sitting.

Putting the physical speculations of the book into as brief form as is possible, they are as follows: The principle of the dissipation of energy forbids us to think that the Cosmos had no beginning and the principle of continuity forbids us to seek in the hypothesis of creation *ex nihilo* (which is, in fact, unthinkable) for an explanation of that beginning.

We are therefore led to conclude that there is an unseen universe with which the Cosmos, being bound out of it, stands in the most intimate connection, and which is its related to a series of unseen universes beyond it, the ultimate one possessing 'infinite energy and which the intelligent developing agency possesses infinite energy. Of the nature and properties of the unseen universes we know nothing but we may readily conceive that their several densities decrease with the square of the distance, the matter of the first being inconceivably more rarefied than that of the solar system during which Prof. Huxley calls its 'nebular cubhood,' when it would have required many millions of cubic miles of such matter to weigh a single grain. Out of this 'unseen universe' the matter of the Cosmos and all life, which is not a species of energy or a phenomenon of matter has come, and into it there is ever passing the energy which the Cosmos loses. Our personal relation to this invisible state is as follows: Just as light is held to result from vibrations or undulations of the ether set in motion by self-luminous or light-reflecting bodies, so every thought occasions molecular action

the brain which gives rise to vibrations of the ether. While the effect of a portion of our mental activity is to leave a permanent record on the matter of the brain, thus constitute an organ of memory, the effect of the remaining portion is to set up thought-waves in the ether, and to construct these means, in some part of the unseen universe, what may be called a 'spiritual body.' By this process there is being gradually built up the resultant of our present desires, our future selves, and when we die our consciousness is in the mysterious way transferred to this spiritual body, and thus the continuity of identity is secured.

eternal form shall still divide
 'th' eternal soul from all beside.

Considering the tenableness of this curious hypothesis, it must be once admitted that we are forbidden by science to fix any limit to the area in which the several forces of force operate, and it is not denied that the thoughts and feelings of all of us do set up ethereal vibrations, which may vibrate to the unseen universe. As Mr. Babbage remarks in his 'Ninth Bridgewater Treatise' (ch. ix.):

'The pulsations of the air, once set in motion by the human voice (and by the roar of the lion, the bray of the ass, &c., the might have added!) cease not to fill the sounds to which they gave strength and audible as they may be in the immediate neighbourhood of the source, and at the immediate moment of their occurrence, their quickly-alternated force becomes inaudible to human ears. The waves of air thus raised perambulate the earth's and ocean's surface, and in twenty hours every atom of its here takes up the altered movement of that infinitesimal portion of primitive matter which has been conveyed to it by a countless channels, and which continue to influence its path throughout its future existence. But these aerial vibrations, unseen by the keenest eye, unheard by the acutest ear, unperceived by human sense, are yet demonstrated to exist by reason; and in some few and limited cases, by calling to our aid the most delicate and comprehensive instrument of

human thought (mathematical analysis) their causes are traced and their intensities measured. . . . Thus considered, what a strange chaos is this wide atmosphere we breathe! Every atom impressed with good and with ill, retains at once the motions which philosophers and sages have imparted to it, mixed and combined in ten thousand ways with all that is worthless and base. The air itself is one vast library, on whose pages is for ever written all that man has ever said or even whispered.

But the initial and obvious objection to the theory started by the authors, and which has been already advanced against it in criticisms on their book, is that they utterly fail to show how the effects transmitted by the ethereal medium into the unseen universe are there restricted to a particular spot; how, for example, the aerial pulsations which we are each at this moment setting up, and which beat their way unwearingly through the ether, are directed and nucleated, so that our several vibrations do not get mixed together, and so that no collision takes place whereby they are neutralised, as darkness results from the interference of light-waves, and silence from the interference of sound-waves. To make the objection raised perfectly clear, let us borrow an illustration from photography. By the action of the actinic or chemical property of light on a duly prepared substance, an image of the object to be photographed is obtained. To so localise the light-waves set up by the object as to prevent interference of light-waves from surrounding objects, the plate which is to receive the impression is confined in a camera, and a likeness is obtained. Were the light-waves from other bodies allowed to mix with them, the result would be a blot. The question suggested is, what is there in the unseen universe which does for the thought-waves what the camera does for the light-waves?

Where is, and from whence came, the anterior organism (for the

authors, it will be remembered, insist upon embodiment) which receives these thought-waves and gathers up into itself the force transmitted from its 'angel' or 'demon'? Is it that 'middle intelligence between God and man, and the uniting link which completes the chain of being,' of whom Plato speaks; that particular demon whom, according to the Greeks, each mortal receives at birth, and in whose invisible guidance their Socrates believed? Does it exercise any principle of selection which secures the 'survival of the fittest' of our thoughts, or does it mechanically incorporate the sum-total and thus involve the continuity of evil, together with the consequent immortality of that mysterious power? These are difficulties which the authors are bound to meet, for to assume that the vibrations create their nucleus is as absurd as to suppose that the colours of a picture can weave the canvas on which they are laid.

The authors have anticipated several objections to their hypothesis, but their replies do not touch the major difficulty, and they moreover lean to a method scarcely scientific, and not unfamiliar to readers of Butler's 'Analogy,' of meeting one difficulty by presenting another. One is reminded of the story told of a boy in some school where the Church Catechism was taught, and whose father was a Dissenter. It fell to the lad's turn to answer the question, 'Why then are infants baptized, seeing that by reason of their tender years they cannot perform them?' (referring to the baptismal promises). 'Ah! sir, why indeed?' replied the boy.

Among other difficulties of somewhat less importance is the support sought for the authors' hypothesis from Struve's theory of the distribution of stars in space. On the assumption that this is uniform he argued that the light which we ought to receive from stars of

given magnitude does not reach us and must therefore be absorbed in the ether. The force thus lost light may, the authors contend, undergo transmutation and pass into the unseen universe. But there are surely just as good grounds for contending that the surplus light does nothing of the kind, but remains as motion within the Cosmos to play some needful although as yet undiscovered part. Again, the gradual tendency towards equilibrium, which has been referred to already, may not be restricted to the Cosmos, but extend to the unseen universe. Neither does it appear that the organism in which we are each to dwell hereafter will be exempt from those conditions of change and ultimate decay which attach to all organisms so that at last we may, like Tithonus, sigh for 'the power to die.'

The hypothesis of a 'spiritual body' is a consistent deduction from the nebulous premisses of this book. It is an old story. The ancient Jews believed in an immortal bone, 'os sacrum,' the germ of the resurrection body; Descartes placed the soul in the pine gland; the mathematician said it must be extension; the musician said it was harmony; now come our authors, who say that it is vibration.

Although the able authors of the *Unseen Universe* have left the question of a future life exactly where they found it, we are grateful to them for their book, because they have, of course unconsciously demonstrated conclusively that science can offer no solution of the mystery, can affirm or deny nothing whatever respecting it. Science deals with phenomena. By its faculties of perception, comparison and generalisation, man discovers the sequences, uniformities, co-relations, and differences of these phenomena, and groups them into so-called 'laws of nature.' This is the magnificent, unending world

science. The great things done for her are an earnest that she will create yet,—she, who has made the world more beautiful for all, who has fought unwearied in her bloodless battle for unity, and given it bread and life where theology has given it death and despair. But her discovery of unity and continuity in the phenomena has not advanced us a step in the explanation of what are in themselves. What is the nature of matter and mind, the bases for the imaginary substrata of groups of natural phenomena, as Huxley truly calls them; what is the bond of union between them; what energy is; what life is; these are in the ultimate mysteries which science sheds no ray of light; to which her inductive method cannot be applied; and concerning which she 'can but tell us as to the depths of ignorance.' Beginning with the theses of atoms and ethereal matter, she logically concludes with admissions of nescience, and admits as Picton well puts it in the preface to his *Mystery of Matter*, 'all physical science, if only viewed far enough, has metaphysical issues which are full of profoundest suggestiveness.' They are therefore who, serving her with too much zeal but without title wisdom, deny absolutely to her she at least bids all be done; seem to us possessed of that spirit of dogmatism which we are accustomed to think is restricted to those red-stockinged anachronisms, and all their kin who have led their 'placet' at the San Council.

It is wiser are they who, assuming antagonism which cannot exist, use our books of reconciliation like one now under consideration. Between science and the traditional theology, they are coming only to those convinced of its truth; and such power as they

may have is for mischief in lulling the orthodox into a false security. As between science and religion, they arise out of strange misconceptions regarding the essential nature of the latter. Their writers forget, or are ignorant of the fact, that by religion we do not mean any particular expression of it, whether in the rudest fetishism or the most elaborated doctrinal mysticism, but that constant element the home and sphere of which is the emotions, the duty assigned to which is the regulation of the affections and the direction of conduct, which latter Matthew Arnold reminds us makes up three-fourths of life. Between religion, thus considered, and science, there can no more be collision than between the planets, which travel in different orbits while subject to the same controlling force.

Amidst the silence of Science in the face of the mystery of a future life, and the utter untenableness of the several arguments by which the intellect has sought to convince itself that such a life must be, it is to the emotions—from whence arise the springs of human action which have made man's methods of advance so unlike Nature's method, and rendered a science of human history impossible; where dwell the factors that persistently disturb our equations; wherein, could utility but enter, she would hear strange voices of compassion and self-sacrifice, and stand abashed before a reverence it is not hers to share; where the beauty of the universe steals in, unbidden, like the morning light, and unbroken on the prism of analysis; where the conviction of a Power 'closer to us than breathing, nearer than hands and feet,' remains unshaken by logic, untroubled by definition—that we venture to appeal for the justification of the belief of humanity in the splendid possibility of the life of a world to come.

Perhaps the strongest evidence furnished by the emotions is to be found in that sense of wholesome dissatisfaction with things as they are which is the condition of all healthy being, and which has been the motor power in the slow procession of human progress. We do not think it boundless conceit which causes man, in his sorrow, with strong mingling of hope, to think that the world has need of him to aid in the advancement of the race, since it is certain that it rests with him to bless or curse his kind, and to maintain that struggle to reach the perfection which is the ideal of humanity, and in which Nature aids him only as he controls her. Can we think that when that purpose for which the ages have travailed is attained, we shall discover how *purposeless* it is; that the race, with no ideal beyond, perfects itself only to die, and mayhap to begin the toilsome course once more? If in the ultimate victory over matter its conqueror dies, we may well ask: 'To what purpose . . . this waste?'

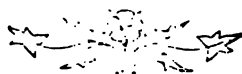
It is sometimes brought in argument against the validity of the testimony furnished by the emotions, that they are but transformed utilities, with the garrulity and diseased egotism of age super-added. The objection has little weight, unless it be conceded that the function of an organ is affected by tracing it to its origin; and the most divergent schools of philosophy agree that a super-sensual belief is not upset by discovering the history of its emergence among

sensible conditions. Upon this matter Mr. Sidgwick remarks:

No one appeals from the artist's sense of beauty to the child's; nor are the truths of the higher mathematics thought to be less certainly true because they can only be apprehended by a highly-developed intellect. In fact, this disposition to attribute some strange importance and special authority to what was *first* felt or thought belongs to an antiquated point of view. In politics we have quite abandoned the idea that even if we could establish the original condition of the human family, it would at all help to determine our obligations in our existing societies. The corresponding opinion still lingers in psychology and ethics, but may be expected to linger not very long as the assumption that our earliest consciousness is most trustworthy is not only baseless but opposed to the current theories of Evolution and Progress.

Finding that such answer as is forthcoming to this momentous question is not in the strong wind, neither in the earthquake, nor in the fire, nor in anything without but folded within the question itself, a sane mind ought not to give itself up to perplexity when considering the terrible inroads made by science on current beliefs; the sense of obligation to the past, of duty to the present, and of relation to the future as affected by what is done to-day, is intensified; thought and action are not diverted from the world that is to a different kind of world that may be, and the conditions under which we are, but not of our seeking or making, and accepted with loyalty as opportunities for serving and advancing that humanity of which we form part, and whose life and destiny it is ours as men and women to share.

E. C.



E FLEMINGS AND THE WALLOONS OF BELGIUM.

I

the Benedetti project came to light, public feeling at Brussels became rather sensitive. An action made during the Arnim expedition attributed to augment the loss: it was found that even the Emperor, in confidential talk, had dropped hints for an indemnification of France in the direction of the north. Quite recently, a new plan was spread, which has given rise to a great deal of indignation in Belgium. In the very month in which they celebrated the forty-fifth anniversary of their independence the Belgians were startled by their propriety by annexations made at Paris. Among them of note—a world-famed liberal Republican leader, and a journalist of great experience—Victor Hugo and Emile de Girardin—were this time the first in the eyes of the Belgians. Thus, in succession, a Napoleonist; an ex-Orleanist; a man, who had for years stood in the front of his country; an illustrious convert to, and champion of, a democratic cause; and a gifted, but erratic writer, who often had thoughts uppermost in the public mind: all had harboured, and uttered to, similar views on the subject.

Victor Hugo had pronounced for the annexation of Belgium to France by a comprehensive line. In his peace manifesto he claimed the frontier as the one necessary for setting up the new Federal Republic of the North. One more war was to be fought, so as to round off the soil. If that was done, the Belgians might once more, like the Dutch, play innocent games

with golden discs on the lawn. Now, to round off the French soil by so bold a sweep as Victor Hugo draws with his finger, means the conquest not only of all the German lands on the left bank of the Rhine, but of Belgium, and of a large slice of Holland as well. No wonder there were protests at Brussels and at Amsterdam.

On his part, M. Emile de Girardin professed to loathe the idea of a new war against Germany. In 1870, he also had asked for the Rhine frontier. 'The Prussians,' he then said, 'were to be driven across the Rhine by the butt-end of the French muskets.' In his recent articles he preached the giving up of the policy of revenge; but as a set-off he suggested the incorporation of Belgium with France. So unpleasantly did these various manifestoes strike the public ear in Belgium, that a semi-official note had to be issued in the *Havas Correspondence* at Paris, declaring that 'certain publications in which the annexation of Belgium to France is proposed have no other basis than the personal fantasies of the writers of those lucubrations.'

Nevertheless, M. de Girardin has returned to the charge. Hence renewed outcries at Brussels! To understand this Belgian susceptibility, we must bear in mind that the aim of French rulers to extend their dominion far into the Netherlands is of old standing, and that the difference of the forms of government which followed each other at Paris has made but little difference in the drift of the foreign policy of France. The spirit of conquest came up strongly under Louis XIV. Strips of territory on which dwelt a Flemish-speaking

people—kindred to the Dutch and the people of Lower Germany in race and dialect—were then repeatedly joined to the Bourbon kingdom after aggressive wars. To this day, France possesses, therefore, on her northern boundary, a Flemish population, which in various towns and villages still uses its Teutonic speech, and as a rule is at least bilingual. A glance at the mere names of many of those towns and villages shows their Germanic character, which in some cases dates back to grey antiquity. Already at Cæsar's time the mass of the Belgians—whose country then embraced the Flemish annexes at present held by France—belonged to the Germanic race.¹ The same is still the case with the Belgians to-day.

II

‘THE majority of the present Belgian people are, then, of Germanic origin and speech?’—many will, perhaps, wonderingly ask, who in their hurried travels through Ostend, Ghent, and Brussels, found the signboards at the hotels and the shops, the talk of the business men and of the serving class with whom they had to deal, to be almost exclusively French.

There is no doubt of it: the mass of the Belgians are of the Teutonic stock. They themselves often call their language *Neder-Duitsch*—i.e. Nether-Dutch, or Low-German. It is a tongue spoken in varied dialects throughout Flanders and Holland, and all along the German Ocean and the Baltic, by the dwellers in that part of Germany which lies, geologically speaking, on the lower and more level ground: whilst *Hoch-Deutsch*, or High-German—now the ruling language in German literature—has taken its rise in the higher and more mountainous parts of the Centre and the South.

To the ‘Nether-Dutch’ elements belong Antwerp, Ostend, Brug, Ghent. Nether-Dutch, in its popular strata, is even the capital—Brussels. Many of the common folk there instead of going to the French theatre, still go to their *schouw-burgen* to see plays given in a language which not only every native of Holland understands thoroughly but which even a Hamburger, Mecklenburger, a Hanoverian, or a Pomeranian peasant has very little difficulty to make out.

As regards speech, the Belgian Low Country may be mapped out into two parts of nearly the same width. The north-western section, which is by far the most thickly populated, belongs almost wholly to the Germanic race and its tongue. In the south-eastern, more thinly populated part, dwell the Walloons. These latter are of a Keltic race; their popular dialects are mainly of Romanic or Latin origin, with an admixture of words that have baffled linguistic research. The written language of the Walloons, and the language of the educated classes, is French. Through them and the more Frenchified classes at Brussels, that which is the truth is the native language of the lesser number has become the dominant, even the domineering, tongue in the public administration.

In the north-western, Germanic half of Belgium are included East and West Flanders; the province of Antwerp and Limburg; the greater part of Brabant; and a small strip on the northern border of Hennegau, or Hainault. The Flemish part of the kingdom comprises the cities once famed in medieval history for their industry and commerce, their populousness and their freedom. Even now, may be found in those cities the men whom, in spite of the legislative and the parliamentary debates being

¹ ‘*Proteriusque Belgas esse ortos a Germanis.*’—*De Bell. Gall.*, ii. 4.

n in French, the French is still quite foreign. To of this kind, who only s mother-tongue, the Wal- Welsh' inhabitants of the seem like an alien race; and rn. It is true, the more well- ple, and most men connected iness and industry in the part of Belgium, understand and speak it with a more on Germanic intonation— y brogue. But among the r, and among the popular the towns, there are many gnorant of French, or at sessing a slight smattering considerable portion of the lass even—not excluding itself—continues to this use of the Flemish tongue in e, or in dealing with friends me class. In commerce, especially in its larger ; before strangers; or in the fined social intercourse, it it *bon ton* to use French.

most reminds one of the among certain princely and tic families in Germany the last, and partly even nt, century. Using a Low- or Suabian dialect in ad- their valets, and being often es unable to speak High- correctly, they looked upon is the only language fit for circle.

III

DUITSCH was the speech of le, as well as of the public es, during the Middle Ages, part of Flanders. The ls good for Brabant. Under r-German parole ('*Schild ad! God help!*')—that is: and Friend! (*God help!*') great civic movements and s for freedom been carried

Charles V. issued ordinances in favour of the French tongue. Even before him, similar attempts had been made; but the Flemings offered a tough resistance, and ever and anon regained their rights of language with full success. Charles V., the gloomy tyrant, who hated with all his heart the civic spirit of the Netherlands, and who felt more as a Spaniard than as a German—being unable to express himself properly in German—made use with eagerness of every means which appeared likely to cow the Flemish spirit. Under him, French was therefore introduced in the relations between the Estates of Flanders and the Government; a procedure against which the communes often wrathfully rose. More energetic even than in Flanders was this opposition in Brabant. On account of the nearness of the Walloon race, the danger was the greater; hence the struggle assumed there a bitterer character.

Upon the whole, in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the rule nevertheless held good that wherever Nether-German or Flemish was spoken by the people, that language was used also in public debates and documents—barring the relations with the highest authorities and with the Walloon districts.² Gradually, however, under Austrian dominion a practice began to creep in of using French for such purposes, even in Flanders. State decrees were from thence published sometimes in French, sometimes in Flemish; but the original text of these decrees always was a French one. The Government of the much-lauded Maria Theresa, before all, fostered this abuse, which, in course of time, had a blighting effect on the literature and the intellectual development of the race affected by it. The

t of M. Gachard, Keeper of the Archives of the Kingdom, to the Minister of r.

aristocracy of the Low Countries yielded easily to this Frenchifying procedure. The people, the communes, still defended their own nationality and speech against such aggression.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Nether-German authors of the country made a strong push for restoring to the good, old, powerful speech its ancient and natural right. The French domination which followed the expulsion of the Austrians, nipped these hopes in the bud. Had the language-rights of the people been respected, the cause of Freedom would have gained, and taken strong root. But oppression, in matters of speech, went to the utmost extreme. The Report of the Committee established by the Belgian Government, in 1856, for the enquiry into and redress of the Flemish grievances, says:

What was the reward of our fathers who, counting on French fraternity, had, at the price of their blood, driven the Austrians beyond the frontier? It was the unavoidable reward of every imprudent alliance with a more powerful foreign nation—namely, deception and humiliation. . . . Twice made French, once by sabre-cuts, then by decrees of the Convention, our people had no longer any representatives who would have raised their voice to denounce a crime against simple humanity. Only ready tools of the new power were to be found; they had not the courage to defend a language which yet they carried in their hearts.²

In public affairs the Neder-Duitsch tongue, the tongue of the large majority of the Belgians, was strictly laid under a ban during French rule. It was only tolerated at the side of the French language in local affairs. In 1803 an even harsher ordinance, dated Prairial 24, year XI., was issued, enjoining that, after the lapse of one year, all public documents, of whatever kind, were to be drawn up in French. On the margin, a Flemish version

might be permitted. Documents referring to private affairs were not allowed to be drawn up in Flemish by the parties concerned; but, if public entry of such documents was to be made, a translation in French had to be added at the expense of the parties. The first paragraph of this ordinance was follows:

After the lapse of one year, reckoning from the publication of this decree, public documents in the departments what formerly was Belgium (*de la ci-devant Belgique*), as well as in those of the left bank of the Rhine, . . . where the custom of drawing up such documents in the language of the country is still preserved, must henceforth be written in French.

The harsh order, at one and the same time, did away with the language-rights of the Belgian Flemings, and of the German people from the Upper Rhine down to Kôln and Aachen. Under Napoleon this attempt at Frenchification was carried out with relentless rigour. In the schools of the Belgian towns the Flemish tongue was banished together with the noble remnants of Flemish history. The glory of the 'Great Nation,' the happiness of belonging to it, was incessantly held before the eyes of the youth. To print books in Flemish became almost impossible under the Imperial censorship. Every obstacle was placed in the way of the appearance of Flemish journals; the French Prefects declaring that they could not waste and control papers whose language they did not understand. It was regarded as an important concession when an Imperial decree, of December 22, 1812, permitted the publication of Flemish journals under condition of their being accompanied by a French translation.

French dominion, all in all, has lasted scarcely twenty years. But the

² *Commission flamande. Institution, Délibérations, Rapport, Documents officiels, publiés sous la surveillance de Membres de la Commission.* Bruxelles, 1859.

mination with which it had set to imprint its own stamp upon the whole Belgian people, undoubtedly had some effect. To destroy the nationality and the speech of the Flemings was, it is true, a task beyond its power. But on public opinion that speech had nearly lost its power under the short-lived French domination.

Even when, after the overthrow of Napoleon I., Belgium and the Netherlands were joined together as the Kingdom of the United Netherlands, years had to pass by before the Dutch Government itself resolved on giving back to the Flemish people its full rights.

IV

IN a disturbing influence made itself felt, which led to the secession of Belgium from Holland.

The Walloons were opposed to union on national grounds. The majority of the Catholic Flemings were on bad terms with the Dutch Protestants. Propagandists in the interest of the extension of French influence spread Liberal views. Jesuitical intrigues stirred up between the kindred Flemish and Dutch people the bitterest hatred by venomous calumnies. Small provincial rivalries in Flemish dialect, as seen in Holland, Flanders, and Belgium, were purposely magnified to their alleged importance, in order to hinder the full fusion between the Dutch and the Flemish peoples, which are virtually the same.

It was under such conditions that, in 1830, the September Revolution broke out at Brussels, which put an end of the connection between Belgium with Holland.

Some undoubtedly Liberal institutions were introduced by that date, the anniversary of which is, every year, celebrated in the

Belgian towns amidst much enthusiasm. Unfortunately, the Roman Catholic priesthood also got its large share of power and influence through this withdrawal of Belgium from Holland. For forty-five years, Liberal and Ultramontane Cabinets have alternated at Brussels with a regularity deeply hurtful to the spread of culture and enlightenment among the peasantry and the poorer people in the cities. The tenure of power of the Liberals has often been a precarious one. They had to act on the defensive, and were either not allowed enough time, or did not possess the necessary strength, for overcoming the obstacles which a remarkably organised hierarchy put in the way of their progressive measures. Another sad consequence of the September rising—which had mainly been carried by the Walloon and more Frenchified portion of the community, with the aid of French sympathisers from over the border—was the leadership which the Walloon element arrogated to itself in matters of language. Thus the kingdom became French in its outward look; and the Fleming was converted into the Ash-pitel or Cinderella of the estate.

At the outset, the Provisional Government, wishing, for a temporary political purpose, to spare to some extent the feelings of the actual majority, ordained that 'the citizens, in their relations with the Administration, are empowered to make use, according to their liking, of the French, Flemish, or German language.'⁴ The same was to be allowed in the relations of the citizens with the Courts of Justice, provided the judges and the counsel all understood the language chosen.

The German (that is, High-Ger-

Art. 5 of the Decree of November 20, 1830:—'*Les citoyens, dans leurs rapports avec l'Administration, sont autorisés à se servir indifféremment de la langue française, flamande, allemande.*'

man) language was mentioned in this decree, because at the side of the Flemings and the Walloons there dwells, in the Luxemburg part of Belgium, a small fragment of a population whose language is High-German. Properly speaking, the country is therefore trilingual. The decree, not referring as it did to Government and Parliamentary affairs, was certainly a modest enough concession. Equality of rights for the two chief tongues was not stipulated in it. Yet even so paltry a measure soon became, in but too many cases, a dead letter.

The men who had stood at the head of the rising of 1830 clearly made it their task to press down, to the degrading position of a so-called *patois*, a language spoken, written, or easily understood by the majority of the Belgians, all the Dutch, and by millions of North Germans—a language, moreover, which in Eastern Asia, for colonists as well as for natives, serves as a *lingua franca* as far as Japan. Whether the men in power thus acted in ignorance, or from Walloon contempt of the Flemings, or from a wish to deepen the gulf between Belgium and Holland, the bad result remained the same.

The Provisional Government declared that it was impossible to publish an official text of the laws and decrees in Flemish or German, because those languages, which 'are in use among the inhabitants of certain localities, change from province to province, from town to town!' As if the same could not be said of the various dialects of the Walloons, for whom French is the common medium! In this way the Belgian Neder-Duitsch tongue was robbed of its rights by a stroke of the pen. And to add a sneer to the injury, it was done under the parole:—'Freedom in everything and for all!' ('*La Liberté en tout et pour tous.*')

V

BEYOND doubt, this maltreatment of the Germanic majority grew became a germ of danger to the independence of the newly-formed State. The cause of Progress suffered from it. An alliance somewhat heterogeneous had brought about the Revolution of 1830. Albeit the Walloons exercised a paramount influence in those events, it cannot be said that the views of the various parties which had effected the revolution differed exactly according to difference of race. There were Liberal Walloons and Liberal Flemings; in the same way Jesuit Romanists of Walloon and Flemish descent.

But thanks to the activity of many French who came over and after the days of September the race difference between Flemings and Walloons by-and-by became almost an antagonism of which the Catholic priesthood turned insidiously to its own advantage. Aggrieved, insulted, sneered at on account of their mother-tongue, the Flemish peasantry, unsatisfied as they were with French, the more willingly their ear-priest, who spoke to them in good, old, homely tongue; turned them on against the Liberal Walloons of the 'Fransquillon' party, endeavouring to convert them from familiarity with the 'V' tongue into a hatred of progressive ideas.

To counteract this intrigue enlightened men of Antwerp, Brussels ought to have held a conference before the persecuted or injured language, so as to wring a victory from the hands of the foes of Progress. But for many years nothing whatever was done. In the social layers of the Flemings themselves, the native speech met with neglect. Among the Flemish the effect was a deplorable

same time, the would-be character of the more educated Flemings was so little appreciated by the real French that they were continually launched from Brussels to Paris.

—Comprends parfaitement le français !' said the Comtesse de So, who had just returned from the Belgian Little Paris to Bourg St. Honoré. —Imposément, Madame? —Imposément, Cet affreux patois de fla-

—I was six months in Belgium. After three months I could not understand it. Now I can understand every word of it in conver-

sion. Countess regarded as Flemish the French language of the *salons* of the Belgian capital. This is a sample of the many anecdotes of the current.

Between all these Parisian prejudices a doctrine was propagated that Belgium had no right of existence because 'it did not form a nationality; being simply a branch of the Gallic stem!' The short domination was, in fact, looked upon as a title for a lasting peace even as against the German invasions. Whole generations in Belgium have been indoctrinated with ambitious views, founded on a false untruth. In an official book, *The Historical Geography of France*, by Dussieux, which has been published and used under the name of Philippe, the very first paragraphs are thus:

France is not in possession of her natural frontiers. . . . The French region includes the county of Nice, Savoy, Alsace, Rhenish Bavaria, the Prussian provinces, the Duchy (!) of Luxemburg, &c. . . . Her natural frontiers are the Rhine, from its mouths to its source; from the source of the Rhine on the north, to the Col de Cadibone.

The same book, with gross mendacity added that this 'French' Belgium is inhabited by populations

of the same origin and speech as those of France.

This was the teaching even under a so-called Napoleon of Peace! Can we wonder at the fruits under the Government of a Bonaparte?

VI

IN view of the danger which often seemed to threaten Belgium, the Walloons ought to have seen how unwise it was to refuse equality of rights in language to the Flemings. Could the small kingdom hope to make a good defence, in case of an attack, if the patriotism of a large section of the population was thus systematically wronged?

And seeing that the French aim was to gain the line of the Rhine, 'from its mouths to its source,' had not the Belgians every reason to seek the friendship of the Netherlands, whose people were equally threatened by this resumption of the old cry for the Rhine frontier? With such a common danger before both States, it may be doubted whether it was wise, from a political point of view, to give the army of Belgium altogether a French appearance; whilst, in case of war, the Nether-German tongue, common to the Flemings and the Dutch, was undoubtedly a help for co-operation.

Memoirs by G. A. Snellaert and Hendrik Conscience have treated of this military question. The Flemings—similar in this, as in not a few other things, to the popular classes of England—do not readily take to the soldier's career. They rather like to go on board ship. The officers' rank in Belgium is, therefore, mostly occupied by Walloons. But among the mass of the troops, both races are, of course, proportionately represented. Not only is the word of command, however, given exclusively in French, but the whole intercourse is carried on in that language; and so severely is the Flemish tongue shut out that a

great many dangerous, even fatal, cases of home-sickness occur from that reason in the Belgian army.⁵

After 1830, the army was all at once thrown from a Flemish form into a French one. Many Frenchmen who had come over aided in this reorganisation. Now the firmest champions of the rights of the Flemish tongue do not wish to have this altered at present for the regular army, though they might quote the Swiss practice in their favour. Even the 'Flemish Committee,' which Government had instituted, did not advise the formation of separate Flemish and Walloon regiments. But they said, with a good show of reason, that at least the Civic Guards of the Flemish provinces might be commanded in their own language; that in the regimental schools that idiom should not be banished from the cursus of instruction; that in the regimental libraries Flemish works also should be received; that in the Military Academy not only English and German—the languages of the two nations which possibly might act as allies of Belgium—should be taught, as has been the case until now, but that instruction in Flemish should be added.

The soldier of Germanic origin should not stand before his Walloon comrade, in whose language everything is carried on, like a dunderhead who, if he cannot seize at once the officer's or sergeant's meaning, is subjected to gross indignity. The Belgian officer, if he be a Walloon, should not haughtily look down upon the men who come from the great stock of the nation. He ought to be able to speak to his soldiers in their own tongue, and to understand his neighbour of the Netherlands, with whom he might have to act on the field of battle. These are propositions which seem

to flow from the nature of things in Belgium. Yet they have been utterly disregarded.

VII

A COMPARISON with Switzerland may here be in its place. Even in Belgium, there are several peculiarities in the Swiss Republic: the German; the French; the Italian; and the 'Romansch,' which forms a subdivision of the German element within the Confederation. More than two thirds of the population are German in descent and in language. Yet all Swiss enjoy, by the constitution and by practice, the equality of their rights of language. A large German majority of the public does full justice to the rights of the minority. In Belgium, under the rule of a royal house of German extraction, under a Government of a Koburg Prince, the Germanic majority has not suffered, and still suffers, greatly, not without its own fault, it is to be owned.

A leader of the Flemish movement, in an essay—a quotation which may serve here as a specimen of the Nether-German language of Belgium—said:

Onbegrypelijk moet het den vreeschynen, dat onder den vryheden van dienst, vermaetschapping, druck onderwys—wat zeggen wy? dat onwettelik gewaerborchte taelvryheid eene schynvryheid voor den Vlaming staet; dat, in een word, de fransch dan fransch sprekende inwooner tot ambten en eeren geraken kan, ter vlamsch sprekende overal buiten blyft, en geen deel nomen kan an bestuer, an's lands welvaert, dan in ouders en voorouders veerloochen dan nadat hy onder het hatelike den nek geplooid en naer de fransch heeft leeren dansen.

That is:

Incomprehensible must it appear to a stranger that beneath the liberties of the ship, of public meeting, of the p

⁵ See Report of the Flemish Committee p. 126.

⁶ Art. 109 of the Swiss Charter:—'The three chief languages spoken in Switzerland are the national languages of the Confederacy.'

nstruction—what do we say?—that the legally warranted freedom of there exists but a sham freedom Fleming; that, in one word, the nothing but French, speaking in- t can reach all employments and s, whilst the Flemish speaking in- t remains everywhere shut out, not take part in the country's ad- tion, in the country's welfare, ex- he denies his parents and fore- except if he has bowed his neck he hated yoke of language, and has o dance after the French flute.

one conversant with German e at a glance from this that h holds the middle place be- German and English—coming se to the former language as a dialect spoken in Germany

The German who can read ard the Fox' in the *Platt* of n country will easily under- a Fleming. A look at the ens of High-German, Sua- Swiss, Dutch, Westphalian, lemish dialects, as given by ire,' shows how nearly akin re. An Englishman also, eps in mind the more Saxon lwork of his speech, will gly make his way into h. With full truth did a h poet and author once say oog en neerduitsch staen tot er gelyk de rechte tot der hand'—that High and -German stand to each other e right to the left hand.

VIII

e Belgian Nether-German a language serves as a key l the languages of the -for German, Danish, Swe- ren English; not to mention with which Flemish is well- entical. This fact has often ointed out by Mr. L. Jot- he elder, one of the founders gian independence, and a n by birth. In words for he Flemings owe him much

thanks he has shown up the great wrongdone by his Walloon kinsmen, whose attempts at Frenchifying their Germanic compatriots have cut off those latter from great sources of intellectual culture.

Low-German speech, which pre- vails along the German Ocean and the Baltic, is, in its Dutch form, the language of administration and commerce in various countries of Asia, Africa, and America. In the richest colonies of the Pacific it is the language of civilisation. China and Japan have, in a great measure, become acquainted with European civilisation through their intercourse with the Dutch, and through the use of Dutch books, which for the Fleming are Flemish books. Will it be believed, in presence of this fact, that Belgium is represented abroad by many a diplomatic envoy and consul who knows of Flemish as much as of Turkish?

Under the Government of the formerly United Netherlands, the members of both Chambers of the States-General made use either of the Dutch or Flemish tongue, or of French—according to each member's liking. In the Brussels Chamber and Senate, only French is spoken. A deceptive Gallo-Romanic stamp has thus been put upon the Belgian part of the Low Countries. Step by step the Flemish language was driven into the background, if not utterly expelled, even in the Courts of Justice and in communal affairs. Often the peasant was judged in a tongue of which he did not under- stand a syllable. When he travelled, he had to ask at the railway for his ticket in a language utterly foreign to him—a somewhat diffi- cult performance! A change, no doubt, might soon have been wrought, had the leading men among the Flemings, and the representatives of the Flemish provinces, practically maintained

their rights of speech. The great journals, written in French and conducted mostly by men of French birth, might, it is true, have sought to foil such self-help by refusing to report speeches made in *Neder-Duitsch*. But this would not have availed for any length of time.

Unfortunately, the Flemings allowed themselves to be influenced by a charge which Walloon writers readily preferred, and which was to the effect that behind the Flemish language movement there were Orangist aspirations—that is, tendencies towards the restoration of Dutch rule. This was a mere pretext, the more palpable as the Walloons, by their assertion, contradicted, so to say, themselves. Formerly they had laid stress on the alleged great difference between the Dutch and the Flemish idioms, in order to sow further disunion between the Flemings and the people of Holland. Now that this aim had been attained, they accused the Fleming who wanted to speak his own language that he was working for the political objects of Holland; ‘Dutch and Flemish being virtually the same tongue!’

Truly, a bit from a well-known fable of *Æsop*!

IX

For ten years, Flanders bore her grievances mutely. At last, in 1840, two hundred communes sent petitions to the House of Deputies at Brussels, in which they asked:

I. That all provincial and local affairs in the Flemish parts of the country should be conducted in Flemish.

II. That the State officials in those parts of the country should make use of the Flemish language in their relations with the communal authorities and the citizens.

III. That that language should be used before the Courts of Justice if the parties or the accused understood it.

IV. That a Flemish Academy, at least a Flemish section of the Academy at Brussels, should be founded for the furtherance of Flemish literature.

V. That Flemish should enjoy at the University of Ghent, as at the other State schools, the same rights as French.

Since the presentation of this petition, the grievances of the Flemings were—according to the report of the Committee alluded to—brought each year before the Chamber. Each time the majority set them aside without redress.

any small concession was occasionally made, means were found afterwards to misinterpret the law. Thus it was with the law concerning instruction in the middle schools. In Ghent and elsewhere Flemish was not taught at all in the first class, and in the second and third classes was disposed of in a single hour; whereas even for English and German a double number of hours was appointed.

What would the valiant burghers of Ghent have said if they could have risen from their graves?—the who, in the good *Neder-Duits* tongue, made the Counts of Flanders swear, before their accession to government, ‘*al de bestaende wetten vorregten, vryheden en gewoonten van't graefschap en van de steden Gent te onderhouden en te doen onderhouden.*’ That is: to uphold and to cause to uphold, all the existing laws, privileges, liberties and customs of the county and the town of Ghent. How the citizens of old would indignant wonder if they saw that, in the bringing-up of their grandsons, the first natural and customary right of a people was trodden under foot! What would an Artevelde, who would the great ‘*Ruwaerd van Vlandern*,’ the Protector of Flanders, have thought and said?

X

In Europe at large—even in Ge

which might be more specter-
interested in the matter—the
cause has by far not at-
tended to its merits, in
the endeavours made by
the eminent Germanistic scho-
larly it was owing to a
ignorance of the close bond
between the Flemish, the Dutch,
and the other Nether-German.
Partly, men felt repelled
at the immixtion of a retrograde
Catholic clergy, which
to lead Flemish aspirations

358 a Liberal Association
founded at Brussels, which made
it its task to connect the Flemish
movement with the move-
ment for the cause of Progress.
The activity of this Society,
which had members at Antwerp,
Bruges, and elsewhere, a new
seemed to begin in the de-
cay of the Nether-German
Belgium. The name of the
Association was: 'Maatschappij tot
opheffing de Vlaamsche Bevolk-
Union for the Elevation of
the Flemish People'); its device:
'Vooruit!' ('Flemings,
advance!') The Society was de-
signed not only to advocate equality
of rights of language, but also
to enlightening the masses in
the use of true representative gov-
ernment and of opposition to the
hierarchy, so that the elec-
tion of the Chamber, for the pro-
vincial and communal administra-
tion should be conducted in a pro-
gressive sense.

Literary books, pamphlets, and
pamphlets were to be published in
Flemish tongue by this As-
sociation. It also aimed at better
instruction in the primary schools;
and, under a gratuitous sys-
tem. Paragraph V. of the So-
cial Charter laid it down, as a
principle, that only men known for their
principles and enlightened
should be received into, and
be to remain in, the Union.
The leaders present at the
III.—NO. LXXIII. NEW SERIES.

foundation of the Society, or active
in it afterwards, were a number of
members of the House of Deputies;
some distinguished Professors of
the University of Brussels; authors,
and other notable men of the Liberal
party.

Much of that which the Associa-
tion promised to do, remained un-
fulfilled. But its activity has, never-
theless, given a fresh start to the
Flemish movement. Among the
demands put forth in the Society's
programme, the following appear
dictated by the simplest sense of
justice:

That the Walloon should be held
to understand Flemish in all cases
where the Fleming is obliged to
know French;

That the official records of Flem-
ish communes shall be drawn up in
Flemish, even as those of the Wal-
loon communes are drawn up in
French;

That the decrees of the provin-
cial administrations and of Govern-
ment shall be published in an official
text of both languages, so that all
Belgians shall be able to take due
notice of them;

That in the same way the de-
bates and Acts of Parliament shall
be published in both languages, the
text of each of which shall be
equally valid before the law;

That judicial matters shall, in the
Flemish part of Belgium, be exclu-
sively conducted in Flemish;

That all officials—excepting those
employed by the communes—shall
be obliged, in the Flemish as well
as in the Walloon part of the
country, to know both languages,
so that a Walloon or a Fleming
shall not be treated like a foreigner
in his own country;

Lastly, that in the whole king-
dom equal importance shall be at-
tached to the instruction in Flem-
ish and in French.

These demands prove that their
authors did as little desire a sepa-
ration or antagonism between the
two races as the subjection of

one of them to the other, but that, on the contrary, they wished to bring about the fullest brotherly intercourse.

XI

OWING to the unjust treatment of the Flemings, the strife became so bitter that Government found itself compelled to seek for information, by means of its diplomatic agents abroad, as to how matters stood in foreign countries where different languages exist. Reports were thus sent in from Switzerland; from the then Sardinian States (where Italian and French was spoken); from Austria; and from Schleswig-Holstein, at that time still under Danish rule. Belgium, too, had, as it were, its Schleswig-Holstein Question. So it was high time, indeed, that something should be done for the grievances of the Flemings.

Though a concession has been made, within the last few years, in regard to the conduct of judicial matters, the Flemish movement has still a hard struggle before it. Belgium is an intermediate country between Germany, France, and England. The natural support, not only of its Neder-Duitsch-speaking people, but of the country in general, is, on the one hand, England; on the other, the German nation, which has no annexationist aims, but which is bound up by kinship and blood with the majority of the Belgians—even as is the case between the Flemings and the English. Yet the intellectual contact between Belgium and Germany has hitherto been rendered difficult in various ways—not least so by the high duties laid on books and other prints which come from Germany, whilst but slight duties were imposed upon French books and prints. The real object of this measure can easily be gathered from a characteristic additional enactment. France, too, had until lately a German-speaking population in Alsace-

Lorraine, and still has a Flemish speaking population in her northern departments. Now, any books or prints published in France, either in the High-German or the Neder-Duitsch language, were burdensome on the part of Belgium, with equally high duties as those come from Germany. The privilege was only for the publications in French. This measure was clearly taken for the objects of Frenchifying the Flemish people.

It may be readily acknowledged that modern Flemish literature cannot bear a comparison with French literature, although the former is by far not so insignificant as many may believe, nor all of the latter sheer gain. All the Flemish literature of Belgium is moreover, home-growth, whilst a great deal of the so-called French literature of Belgium is mainly importation. The intellectual productivity of the Nether-German race in Belgium need at any rate not be despised of. It has had a great and noble past, in politics as well as in art. To-day, also, the old painters and sculptors of Belgium prove themselves to belong to the race which formerly gave rise to the most excellent artistic productions.

In Flanders and Brabant, at a time when those provinces stood in closer connection to Germany, civil freedom was flourishing. On the soil, momentous battles were fought against foes at home and from abroad. To-day, when Germany is glad to see the independence of Belgium as firmly upheld as that of the Swiss Republic, a more intimate intellectual contact with the kindred people may aid in repelling the dark powers of priestcraft, and so speed the triumph of Right over Light. In this sense it is desirable to refresh the Nether-German population of Belgium from the very source of its origin, whilst full guarding the position of a country which means to be neither German nor French.

KARL BLIND.

A FEW WORDS ON INTERMENT.

BY GEORGE SHERSTON BAKER, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

THE disposal of the dead has occupied the attention of mankind from the earliest age. Civilised peoples and barbarous tribes have felt alike the necessity of seeking early means to place the last vestiges of mortality in some place or other secluded from the approach and contact of the living. It is alone the means employed which have differed: the axiom of an early disposal has never been assailed. Some few months since a controversy,¹ short but vehement, engaged the attention of the Press. It seems to have arisen through the desire of some private person to bury his dead wife in a manner more in accordance with the voice of nature than with the fashion of the nineteenth century. He placed the body in a large wicker basket which had been partly filled with green leaves, and then covered it completely over with foliage and fresh-gathered flowers. A public cemetery company refused to permit the burial, being advised by their clerk that it was against the law for a corpse to be buried in such a manner. The bigotry or ignorance of the company's refusal cannot be too much regretted. The applicant, probably unwilling or unable to cope single-handed with a public company, allowed this desirable change, or rather return to primitive customs, to be prevented, and contented himself with mere censure of the company. Thus the matter ended, or rather has ended, for every day evinces new desire on the part of the thinking and more reasonable members of the community to effect a change from the ghastly and un-

wholesome system of interment in use, and to seek some other which may be at once decent and decorous towards the dead but safe and prejudicial to health, and also more in concordance with the laws of nature.

The present system of interment, no one who has examined the question can for a moment deem is horrible to the dead and wholesome to the living. It is here the place to sicken our reader with the disgusting detail of a spectacle which the interior of a coffin of lead presents after a body has been buried in it for a short time; nor to speak of the poisonous emanations which, oozing through cracks and fissures, are carried up by the surface waters into the spring below; nor to mention further other horrors which chemists and analysts are well aware of. Let it suffice to glance at the notorious fact in as few words as possible, but at the same time draw attention to another fact less well known—i.e. the extraordinary powers of deodorisation possessed by common earth. These are those words of Scripture, 'Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return;' and they are exemplified in a wonderful manner to any who may have noticed the condition of a skeleton which has been buried in the earth for a long lapse of time. The same law applies to minor matter. All animal refuse on burial in the soil, is speedily resolved into primary elements into combinations of them. This rule is invariable. It is only with the ingenuity of man seeks to

¹ Correspondence between Mr. J. C. Horsley and the General Cemetery Company. See the *Times*, January 26, 1875.

prove the work of nature, or to negative it in relation to this great law of hers, that disgust and horrors arise. Two opposite extremes have been countenanced by civilised nations in regard to the dead: viz.—1. Cremation, or the reduction of the dead body to ashes as soon as possible. 2. Elaborate and would-be air-tight coffins, with or without embalming, for the preservation of the corpse as long as possible.

Civilisation seems to seek difficulties. What can be better than the practice of the universal law of 'dust to dust'? This is to be found alone in simplicity of interment—that is to say, in burial in the ground in such manner that the body may touch and mingle with the earth as soon as nature wills it, and without undue precipitation. There is no doubt but that this is the most ancient method of disposal of the dead that we have on record. The Old Testament continually refers to such being the custom among the Jews, who, whenever practicable, enclosed their dead in tombs or sepulchres; but where such was neither convenient nor feasible, nor, as in cases of hostile influence, prudent, they adopted the analogous alternative of simple interment in the ground. They were especially tenacious that no dead should be refused this last office of respect, and therefore extended the rights of burial even unto malefactors and enemies (1 Kings xi. 15; Deut. xxi. 23). Coffins, according to our signification, seem to have been but seldom employed among them. The corpse having been swathed with bandages, was laid on a bier or bed, and thus carried to the sepulchre or to the grave, as the case chanced to be. No covering appears to have been over the bier, which, unlike the Roman custom, was generally carried by relatives, and not by paid attendants. Everything was simple and without display. The only trace of any luxury is to be found in the habit of using a quantity of

spices and ointment; some of which were applied to the dead previously to swathing him with bandages; other portions were in honour of him. These customs, which were common to other nations of antiquity, may prove their origin to the descendants of our friends and relatives to retard natural corruption for as long as possible, as well as for sanitary motives. Thus we read that Ahab was in a 'bed of spices' (2 Chron. 14). In the case of the burial of Christ himself, the Jewish custom was in no whit departed from. Nicodemus brought a mixture of myrrour and aloes, about a hundred pound weight, and they that were with him bound the body in linen with the spices, 'as the manner of the Jews is to bury' (John xi. 44) and laid it in a new sepulchre.

It is also a noticeable fact when Mary Magdalen, having an alabaster box filled with precious ointment, poured it upon the body of Christ, as related in the Gospel (John xxi. 7-12), He remarked in support that she in anointing the body had wrought a good work upon Him, for she had done so for His burial, or rather according to the Greek, *πρὸς τὸ ἐνταφίσειν*, i.e. for being swathed in the grave clothes.

The Old Testament, however, affords one example of burning the dead, that is the burning of the bodies of Saul and his sons. In this example cannot be said to be any evidence of the practice of cremation, what we now mean by the 'Cremation.' The case in question illustrates an exception to the ordinary practice of burial, but no more. For the bodies seem to have been roughly burnt as a precaution against violence on the part of the Philistines, but not for other reason. Among the Greeks and Romans, burial of the dead appears to have been the custom from the most early times of their history. We have testimony that in

time of Cecrops the Athenians buried their dead (Cic. *de leg.* ii. 25); and that the same habit prevailed among the Spartans (Plut. *Lyc.* 27); and also among the Romans (Plin. *H. N.* vii. 55).

Some criminals were denied the rights of burial both by the Athenians and by the Spartans, and the bodies of such were cast away on certain spots of ground set apart for that purpose (Plut. *Them.* 22; Thuc. i. 134). It is a curious fact that the Greeks did not refuse burial to a person guilty of suicide, but the hand with which he had performed the deed was cut off and buried apart from him. Pliny relates that the coffin in use among the Romans was generally of stone. In some cases it was made of a certain stone from Assos in Troas, which had the peculiar faculty of destroying all the body, the teeth excepted, in forty days. Hence the name *Sarcophagus*. (See Plin. *H. N.* ii. 98, xxxvi. 27). This stone was probably a species of limestone. The coffins among the Greeks, on the contrary, were usually earthenware or baked clay, although other materials were employed. The coffins were called by various names and were of different shapes and forms.

Cremation, however, became general at an early epoch among the Romans. We find the custom mentioned in the Twelve Tables (Cic. *de leg.* ii. 23). Sulla was the first of the Gens Cornelia who was burnt. It is doubtful at what time cremation became general in Greece; the probability is that the innovation of burning spread more slowly in that country, and that the methods of burial and of cremation were concurrently practised for a considerable period. Socrates, for instance, speaks of the alternative of interment or cremation for his body (Plat. *Phaed.* p. 115). Cremation is mentioned in the *Iliad* (*Il.* xxiii. 127, and xxiv. 787). Lucian mentions that the practice of the Per-

sians is to bury their dead, but that of the Greeks to burn the same (Luc. *de luct.* 21). The manner of cremation both among the Greeks and the Romans appears to have been very similar. A pyre or pile of wood, by the Greeks called *πυραί*, by the Romans *rogu*, was raised to a considerable height. On this the body was laid and the pyre was then set fire to. Oils and perfumes were cast in the flames, to assist the cremation and to impart sweet odours. If the deceased were a great personage, treasures, horses, and even slaves were burnt on the pyre with him as a mark of respect. When the pyre was quite burnt down the fire was extinguished by pouring wine over the flames and hot ashes. The relatives then collected the remains of the deceased with great care and washed them in wine together with oil and perfumes, and placed them afterwards in urns. These urns were made of various materials and of different shapes; sometimes they were made of gold (*Od.* xxi. 71); sometimes of baked clay, or marble or alabaster. The Romans called the urn *feralis urna*, it generally bore an *epitaphium* beginning with the letters D. M. S. meaning *Dis Manibus sacrum*, or 'sacred to the manes,' this was followed by the name of the deceased, length of his life, &c. &c. Sometimes the S. was omitted and the letter D. M. alone employed. In some instances a little earth was cast in with the remains. Among the lower orders the same care and pomp was not observed. Although also subjected to cremation, the poorest citizens were not burnt singly, but in heaps together (*Mart. lib.* viii. *Epig.* 75 which must have been, to say the least, a disgusting spectacle).

This system of cremation was universally practised throughout the Roman dominion during the Empire. But as Christianity prevailed it began to fall into desuetude, and the fourth century saw the system

prove the work of nature, or to negative it in relation to this great law of hers, that disgust and horrors arise. Two opposite extremes have been countenanced by civilised nations in regard to the dead: viz.—1. Cremation, or the reduction of the dead body to ashes as soon as possible. 2. Elaborate and would-be air-tight coffins, with or without embalming, for the preservation of the corpse as long as possible.

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It must not, however, be supposed that Christian burial has of necessity been accompanied by the coffin. The latter, to Christians, is no part or requisite of an interment, nor does the law of England require it to be used any more than do her Ecclesiastical ordinances. In the Burial Service of the Church of England, the words employed in and about the ceremonial are 'corpse' and 'body'; the word 'coffin' is not to be found. We find that the monks of St. Albans, in common with other persons of their time were buried without any sort of coffin. Abbot Garin, or Warin, who flourished about 1190, introduced coffins of stone for the use of his monks, which mode of burial seemed to him more proper for them than mere interment in the ground. Matthew Paris, a monk of the order, says,⁴ 'Quasdam nempe consuetudines ab antiquo conservatas

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volens multis placere, idem Abbas Garinus in nova Statuta commutavit. Quod factum multis videbatur temerarium, multis utile honestum et commendabile. Inter quæ constituit ut corpora monachorum defunctorum, quæ antea cunctis temporibus sub solius terræ cespite solebant sepeliri, omnibus temporibus sequentibus in lapideis sepulchris quod ei videbatur honestius reconderebantur' (*Vit. Abb. S. Alb.* 95). But although introduced for the monks of St. Albans in 1190, we find a curious entry as late as 1627 in the Principal Registry of a certain diocese in England, confirmed by the bishop, and approved by his chancellor, to the effect that certain fees were payable to the parson of the parish for interring a corpse 'coffined,' and other and lesser fees to him for performing the same office to an 'uncoffined' corpse (*Spelm. de Sepult.* 185). This demonstrates clearly that the practice of burying corpses without coffins was prevalent in England as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century, and since that period no alteration has taken place in English law, by implication or otherwise, which renders the use of the coffin necessary. It is true that in the reign of Charles II. two Acts of Parliament were passed for the benefit of our trade in wool, enacting the use of winding-sheets for the dead, made of wool, or woollen in part (30 Ch. II. cap. 3, and 32 Ch. II. cap. 1); but it is obvious that decency requires a corpse to be wrapped in some sort of covering, whether a coffin be employed or not. Moreover, these Acts of Parliament have been since repealed (see 54 Geo. III. cap. 108). It should be clearly implanted in the mind, that of the three methods of disposing of the dead—burial in a coffin, burial without a coffin, cremation—the two first are recognised, and have been and may

be practised, without infringement of the law. The last method—certainly a repulsive one to the feelings of most persons—has, notwithstanding, great advantages in the cause of health. But the Common Law of England is exceedingly keen in the prohibition of all things calculated to outrage propriety, which may appear to be *contra bonos mores*. The King's Bench is the *custos morum* of the subjects of the realm (1 Sid. 168); and it has been decided that a common law duty is incumbent on every householder, or other occupier, to bury decently him or her dying under his roof (*Reg. v. Stewart*, 12 A. & E. 773).

It is not for us to anticipate the decisions of the Bench should cremation be introduced into England. Within the last two or three years cases of its use have occurred in Europe, and on each occasion it has met with the general approval of men of science. Still it is not natural. In our opinion, lack of available space, as in large cities, or sudden and general epidemic, alone should sanction its use. The fumes arising from the pyre do not appear to have caused any unhealthy effects on the living, that is, as far as we can judge from the perusal of ancient authors. It is rather the hurtful influence on the mind of the unthinking population which might cause anxiety.

It may not be out of place here to recal to mind the beautiful sentiments which inspired the mind of Cyrus when dying. Xenophon tells us how, in his dying speech, he 'desired to be buried neither in gold nor in silver, nor in anything else, but to be immediately returned to the earth.' 'What,' says he 'can be more blessed than to mix at once with that which produces and nourishes everything excellent and beneficial to mankind?'

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sians is to bury their dead, but that of the Greeks to burn the same (Luc. *de luct.* 21). The manner of cremation both among the Greeks and the Romans appears to have been very similar. A pyre or pile of wood, by the Greeks called *πυράι*, by the Romans *rogus*, was raised to a considerable height. On this the body was laid, and the pyre was then set fire to. Oils and perfumes were cast in the flames, to assist the cremation and to impart sweet odours. If the deceased were a great personage, treasures, horses, and even slaves were burnt on the pyre with him, as a mark of respect. When the pyre was quite burnt down the fire was extinguished by pouring wine over the flames and hot ashes. The relatives then collected the remains of the deceased with great care, and washed them in wine together with oil and perfumes, and placed them afterwards in urns. These urns were made of various materials and of different shapes; sometimes they were made of gold (*Od.* xxiv. 71); sometimes of baked clay, or marble or alabaster. The Romans called the urn *feralis urna*, it generally bore an *epitaphium* beginning with the letters D. M. S. meaning *Dis Manibus sacrum*, or 'sacred to the manes,' this was followed by the name of the deceased, length of his life, &c. &c. Sometimes the S. was omitted and the letter D. M. alone employed. In some instances a little earth was cast in with the remains. Among the lower orders the same care and pomp was not observed. Although also subjected to cremation, the poorest citizens were not burnt singly, but in heaps together (*Mart. lib.* viii. *Epig.* 75), which must have been, to say the least, a disgusting spectacle.

This system of cremation was universally practised throughout the Roman dominion during the Empire. But as Christianity prevailed it began to fall into desuetude, and the fourth century saw the system

entirely abolished. The early Christians followed the custom of the Jews, which, as we have already observed, was to bury, not to burn the dead. The Rabbis gave the text 'dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return,' as a reason for burial, and refused to burn the deceased members of the community. Tacitus notices the Jewish custom, and remarks of them that it is their practice—'corpora condere quam cremare'—'to bury rather than to burn.' (Tacit. *Hist.* v. 5.) The Christians, imbued with the belief that the bodies of the dead dying in grace were merely reposing in a sleep of rest and peace, followed the example of the disposal of the body of Christ, and did not burn the bodies of their dead, but laid them down in some place with great decency and care to await the resurrection. This idea is fully borne out in the Catacombs, where the inscription 'depositus in pace,' &c., is frequent, the body being but 'laid down in peace' for a little time, presently to rise up again. And the same idea is preserved in the word 'cemetery,' or, 'cemeteryum,' which is derived from the Greek, and means a 'sleeping room.' The resurrection being with Christians the paramount idea, they viewed with horror any attempt such as cremation, which would mangle or deface the slumberer. (See also St. Chrys. Hom. lxxxii. tom v.) It must not, however, be supposed that the early Christians attached any superstitious motive or false religion to their dislike to cremation. They were well aware that there was nothing whatever un-

christian, or against their faith in the practice of it, but they regarded burial as more in accord with nature, with the Gospel, and with pious sentiment, respect to the dead. Minucius Felix, in his *Dialogus* makes the heathen say,² 'Inde videlicet et execrantur rogos et damna ignium sepulturas:' to which the Christian answers:³ 'Nec ut creditur ullum damnum sepulture timeamus sed et veterem et meliorem consuetudinem humandi frequentamus.' In accordance with the practice of early Christianity, Constantine was not burnt, but was buried. This custom has been perpetuated throughout Christendom unto the present day.

It must not, however, be supposed that Christian burial has of necessity been accompanied by the coffin. The latter, to Christians, is no part or requisite of interment, nor does the law of England require it to be used any more than do her Ecclesiastical ordinances. In the Burial Service of the Church of England, the words employed in and about the ceremonial are 'corpus' and 'body'; the word 'coffin' is nowhere to be found. We find that the monks of St. Albans, in common with other persons of their time were buried without any sort of coffin. Abbot Garin, or Wari who flourished about 1190, introduced coffins of stone for the use of his monks, which mode of burial seemed to him more proper for the dead than mere interment in the ground. Matthew Paris, a monk of the same order, says,⁴ 'Quasdam nempe consuetudines ab antiquo conservate

² Thence, indeed, they both hold pyres as accursed, and they condemn sepulture burning.'

³ 'We do not fear any evil from that method, as you seem to suppose, but we are accustomed to follow the more ancient and the better practice of burial in the ground.'

⁴ Wishing, forsooth, to please many, Abbot Garin changed to new ordinances certain customs which had been preserved from ancient times. Which deed to some seems rash, but to others desirable, proper, and commendable. Among which changes he orders that the bodies of the deceased monks, which formerly used to be buried under the mere sods of earth, should for the future be placed in coffins of stone, as this appears to him to be more proper.'

multis placere, idem Abbas in nova Statuta commutavit. Factum multis videbatur temerarium, multis utile honestum et com-
mune. Inter quæ constituit ut a monachorum defunctorum, inter cunctis temporibus sub terræ cespite solebant sepeliri, ut temporibus sequentibus in sepulchris quod ei videbatur recondiderentur' (*Vit. Abb.* . 95). But although introduced for the monks of St. Albans, we find a curious entry as early as 1627 in the Principal Register of a certain diocese in England, 'ordered by the bishop, and approved by his chancellor, to the effect that certain fees were payable to the parson of the parish for interment of a corpse 'coffined,' and other fees to him for performing the same office to an 'uncoffined' person' (*Spelm. de Sepult.* 185). This demonstrates clearly that the custom of burying corpses without coffins was prevalent in England as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, and since that period cremation has taken place in England by law, by implication or otherwise, which renders the use of the coffin unnecessary. It is true that in the reign of Charles II. two Acts of Parliament were passed for the regulation of our trade in wool, enacting the use of winding-sheets for the dead, made of wool, or of flannel, in part (30 Ch. II. cap. 3, 31 Ch. II. cap. 1); but it is not that decency requires a corpse to be wrapped in some sort of covering, whether a coffin be used or not. Moreover, these Acts of Parliament have been since repealed (see 54 Geo. III. cap. 108). It should be clearly implanted in the mind, that of the three methods of disposing of the dead—burial in a coffin, burial without a coffin, and cremation—the two first are recommended, and have been and may

be practised, without infringement of the law. The last method—certainly a repulsive one to the feelings of most persons—has, notwithstanding, great advantages in the cause of health. But the Common Law of England is exceedingly keen in the prohibition of all things calculated to outrage propriety, or which may appear to be *contra bonos mores*. The King's Bench is the *custos morum* of the subjects of this realm (1 Sid. 168); and it has been decided that a common law duty is incumbent on every householder, or other occupier, to bury decently him or her dying under his roof (*Reg. v. Stewart*, 12 A. & E. 773).

It is not for us to anticipate the decisions of the Bench should cremation be introduced into England. Within the last two or three years cases of its use have occurred in Europe, and on each occasion it has met with the general approval of men of science. Still it is not natural. In our opinion, lack of available space, as in large cities, or a sudden and general epidemic, alone should sanction its use. The fumes arising from the pyre do not appear to have caused any unhealthful effects on the living, that is, as far as we can judge from the perusal of ancient authors. It is rather the hurtful influence on the mind of the unthinking population which might cause anxiety.

It may not be out of place here to recal to mind the beautiful sentiments which inspired the mind of Cyrus when dying. Xenophon tells us how, in his dying speech, he 'desired to be buried neither in gold nor in silver, nor in anything else, but to be immediately returned to the earth.' 'What,' says he, 'can be more blessed than to mix at once with that which produces and nourishes everything excellent and beneficial to mankind?'

EMPLOYMENT IN INDIA.

YEAR by year the question of employment for the scions of what are pleasantly called the educated classes becomes more pressing; year by year the ranks of well-educated but rejected candidates for the various services, civil and military, are swelled by involuntary auxiliaries; and year by year painful instances of the cruelty (for it is nothing less) of sending young men, without capital and without the knowledge of a trade, to the Australasian colonies are multiplied and enforced. This question of a trade, indeed, cannot be much longer shirked even by those who are pleased to think themselves much higher in the social scale than the labouring classes. A bricklayer is of more importance in Australia, or, in fact, in most places, than a Master of Arts, and it is the knowledge of a handicraft that makes the Germans such good colonists, and develops them into such good and efficient missionaries.

Giving in, however, for the present, to the feeling which considers manual labour ignoble, we will proceed to set before our readers briefly and with such distinctness as the present transition state of the services permits, the different professions and branches of professions open to competition by all classes in India. With the competitive system generally we have here nothing to do, except to note that its great defect lies not so much in the admixture of classes who by it gain admission into gentlemanly professions, as in the danger of degeneracy, by a very natural and almost enforced reaction, of hard-working candidates into easy-going and *fainéant* officials.

Be it remembered, moreover, at the outset, that the choice of a profession ought to depend on the

peculiar turn and ability of the candidate, rather than on the intrinsic worth of the profession itself. And this choice must be voluntary, not enforced. Entrance into professions at the present time is not to be gained by a sudden rush or by a temporary burst of application but by long, determined, and, we may add, willing study. Further the choice, in most cases, must be final. While it is true that Lord Erskine, as has often been noted, had served in both the army and navy before he entered at the bar, it is also true that instances of such successful versatility are rare. Lastly, the choice must be made with consideration of the stamina and bodily ability of the youth as well as his mental culture. In India especially a man requires the assistance of a sound body to support and maintain the sound mind. The danger of proceeding too early to India is, indeed, in great measure avoided by the age of admission into and final training for the various services; but the danger of finding too late that the strength of body is not equal to the strength of mind has been sadly illustrated in the rejection on medical grounds of the candidate who stood first on the list for admission into the Civil Service of India at the last examination.

With these preliminary remarks we will proceed to the consideration of the various services in India in detail. At the very outset, as we have already hinted, we find difficulty in placing them in separate groups in consequence of the present admixture, in what will be in the future one distinct department, of military officers and covenanted and uncovenanted civilians. The division named below, therefore, is necessarily more

t and present than of the
e Covenanted Civil Service
he Military Service.

The various departments of
il Service hitherto known
ovenanted.

Semi-official positions held by
cial or private individuals.

ese the second alone is dis-
id fast becoming more so;
the difficulty of obtaining
ploy is for military officers
ecoming greater. The first
d are in a transition state, or
their nomenclature will soon
pplicable from the fact that
ior members of the depart-
itherto known as uncove-
re now covenanted servants,
ir places as they are pro-
re filled by new covenanted
The terms Covenanted and
anted are in this country
derstood and less regarded.
ia, however, they are of
significance. Primarily

an that the former are under
ourable covenant, in con-
on of their high rate of pay
owances, not to engage in
rate enterprise whatsoever;
s will form a radical part
ngagement on the part of
members of the new cove-
services; while the latter
er no such obligation, and
fact, expressly permitted
land or engage in trade,
l that 'no officer shall
ny portion of the time and
n which ought to be devoted
ublic duties, whether civil
ary, to the management of
operty, and that longer or
requent leaves of absence
to be permitted on that

'1 Practically they mean
e covenanted service form
stocracy of the East, and

rank relatively to their length of
service higher than military officers
with treble their pay and allowances,
while the uncovenanted officials
have to serve many years before
they have any rank at all, or obtain
any income worth mentioning.²

With regard to the Fourth Class,
it must be remembered that India
is emphatically an official country,
and that something of the official
element enters into the nature of
all employment in India. The rail-
ways, which have always been under
Government control, are rapidly
becoming State property, and the
engineers formerly in the service
of Companies State officials. Adv-
cates look to getting the appoint-
ment of solicitors to Government,
Government pleaders, registrars of
Courts, &c., as supplementary to
their private practice; while even
merchants are drawn into the official
vortex by becoming, and looking
forward to becoming, members of
the Legislative Councils at the dif-
ferent seats of Government. There
are, it is true, tea and coffee planters,
but these are few in number and of
little weight in the country; while
neither the area of land to be taken
up by private enterprise, nor the
encouragement given to settlers in
the development of their tracts by
Government, commend India even
to the passing consideration of the
bulk of would-be colonists.

We have placed the Covenanted
Civil Service of India first, as it
stands *facile princeps* in the value
of its prizes, the opportunities it
offers for ultimate distinction, and
the liberality of its leave and fur-
lough regulations. The battle for
admission into its ranks is fought
à outrance. The following table,
which we regret we have not data
at hand to bring down to the pre-
sent year, will show the severity of
the contest and the increasing per-

tary of State's despatch No. 22, August 10, 1861.

ians of four years' standing ranking with captains of eight years, with majors of
ith lieutenant-colonels, and so on.

centage of unsuccessful candidates, date of their final failure too o who, be it remembered, are at the for any other profession :

	Years							
	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1869	1870
Successful Candidates .	80	60	40	50	50	50	50	40
Competitors	171	189	219	285	242	279	325	332
Percentage of success .	46·8	31·7	18·2	17·5	20·7	17·9	15·4	120

It is necessary for the intending competitor to study these figures closely, not as discouragements to trying, if he feels that he has the ability in him, but on the contrary as encouragements to win, bearing in mind that failure at the first or even the second attempt does not necessitate or imply ultimate rejection.

Such is the one side of the medal, now for the obverse. On first landing in India, the Assistant-Collector—as the young civilian is styled—gets 427 rupees per mensem (about 500*l.* per annum), while so rapidly does his promotion go on that in twelve or fourteen years' service he may find himself Acting Judge or Collector of a District, with about 2,800*l.* a year. He has, further, after a few years' service, two distinct branches of his profession within his reach, and generally at his discretion :

1. The Judicial line, leading up to the High Court, with from 4,000*l.* to 5,000*l.* a year.

2. The Revenue line, passing through the office of Collector, or quasi Lord-Lieutenant of a County, to the Board of Revenue Commissionerships and Lieut.-Governorships of Provinces.

Of the duties of Indian civilians in these two branches of their profession it is irrelevant here to speak; suffice it to say that all whose brains have not been sodden with work will find in the discharge of

them congenial occupation; while field-sports in their various forms go hand-in-hand with their work and indeed form almost a part of it.

For the student outside of the regular routine of official duty, encouragement for the study of the various vernacular languages, especially the chief language of the district in which he is attached, are offered in the shape of donations of one or two thousand rupees for the pension in the lower or high standards respectively, with a double bonus for proficiency in Sanskrit and Persian. To the young man fresh from the mechanical study of the dead languages of Greece and Rome—the painful piling up of turgid hexameters and halting elegiacs, or the concoction of supposititious Demosthenic orations—the study of living language among a living people with whom he is necessarily intimately associated and in whom he is intimately interested, especially if such study follows a knowledge of the parent Sanskrit, forms not a labour but, apart altogether from the honorarium, a relaxation and a pleasure.

The leave rules, apart from those from the regular furloughs common to most of the services in India are singularly liberal. With the increased facilities for travel, the civilian, by accumulating for three years his privilege leave of one month in the year, can have a triennial trip to Europe, with the

stage of the health-restoring freezes *en route*. The members her services, we may say here, enjoying equally with the wanted civilian one month's leave after eleven months' arduous duty, are prevented from enjoying it to similar advantage, military officer by an express and the uncovenanted civilian by comparative shallowness of pay bag.

We have, however, now said enough to show that while for the university student whose prospects of distinction at home are reasonably certain a life of voluntary service is unnecessary and uncalled-for, and while there has been a comparative and bitterly complained-of stagnation of promotion in the Western Provinces, the candidate for the Indian Civil Service is at no shadow when he sees the lists for admission into ranks, and he has every prospect of securing, once and for all, provision for life in the shape of £1,000 per annum pension on his retirement after twenty-two years' service, which, if he be of a saving nature, he can easily double by the accumulation of his surplus allowance in the last ten years of his service in India.

Since the above was penned a supplementary Paper, which we insert as an Appendix, has just been published, which changes the whole complexion, present and future, of the Indian Covenanted Civil Service.

The paper is, in effect, the abolition of patronage in favour of competition in favour of natives of India, while strict and equal competition is still maintained for Europeans. This is, of course, only the thin end of the wedge of native rule in India. The wedge is driven home—when the native stands on equal footing with the European as to his proved eligibility—the *onus probandi* rests with the

native—to the highest offices in the Empire, it will be a question of grave importance whether admission to the Civil Service of India will be worth the severe struggle which it at present entails. Obviously as regards climatic influences, as regards salary, which is attached to an office, not to an individual, and other considerations necessarily attendant upon expatriation, the European is greatly at a disadvantage.

In exercise of the power conferred by the 33rd Victoria, cap. 3, sec. 6, the following rules have been prescribed by the Governor-General in Council, and such rules have been sanctioned by the Secretary of State for India in Council, with the concurrence of a majority of the members present:

1. Any native of India, as defined in the said statute, may, if of proved merit and ability, be appointed to any office, place, or employment in the Civil Service of Her Majesty in India, to which appointments may be made by the authorities in India.

2. Such appointment, if to an office, place, or employment to which appointments may be made by a local Government, shall be made only with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council.

3. Every such appointment, whether made by a local Government or by the Governor-General of India in Council, shall be forthwith reported to the Secretary of State for India in Council, and shall be made subject to disallowance by the said Secretary of State in Council (provided that such disallowance shall be signified to the Governor-General in Council within twelve months from the date of the receipt of such report).

4. Every such appointment shall in the first instance be provisional only.

(a.) Every person obtaining such a provisional appointment shall, within two years from the date on which he takes it up, pass the departmental examinations prescribed by the rules of the service, unless he be specially exempted by the Governor-General in Council from being so examined.

(b.) On the expiration of the said term of two years the Governor-General in Council may, upon the report of the local Government, or on such enquiry as he thinks fit to make as to the character and qualifications of the person appointed,

either confirm such appointment or cancel the same.

'(c.) Nothing herein contained shall be deemed to preclude the cancelment of any such appointment before the expiration of the said two years, if in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council it is established that the person provisionally appointed has been guilty of misconduct or has failed to discharge efficiently the duties of his office.

'5. Every person so appointed shall be subject to such conditions as to leave and pension as the Governor-General in Council, with the sanction of the Secretary of State for India in Council, may from time to time prescribe.'

II. The Military Service in India, as we have above noted, is becoming more and more of a distinctively military nature, the various civil posts which used to be given to staff officers now passing into the hands of members of the new covenanted services, and preferences therefore having to be looked for in connection with the performance of military duty only. But with a smaller strength of officers, and with the existence, for the present at least, of a military *imperium in imperio* at the headquarters of the various presidencies, the chance of staff employ is infinitely greater in India than in England.

Here, again, at the outset we find ourselves obliged to point out the fact that the tendency at present, foreshadowed by the appointment of one Inspector-General of Royal Artillery for India, instead of one for each presidency, and other amalgamations of a similar nature, is to gradually absorb into one headquarter staff as many as possible of the various independent commands and staff appointments. The increased facilities of transit and transport in India render this practicable, which was before impossible, or, to say the least of it,

hazardous. But, *per contra*, it must be remembered that there are now few officers of the old Native army, under the rank of major, and that the subalterns, adjutants and quartermasters of the Native cavalry and infantry regiments are necessarily drawn from the junior officers of European regiments serving in India, who pass the prescribed examination in the vernacular languages.

This is illustrated by the following table, giving the proportion of field officers and subalterns serving with the regular native armies of the three Presidencies:

Cavalry Regiments.	No.	Field Officers.	Subalterns
Bengal	19	46	32
Madras ^a	4	26	4
Bombay	7	14	16

Infantry Regiments.	No.	Field Officers.	Subalterns
Bengal	45	112	110
Madras ^a	40	160	21
Bombay	30	104	52

This table shows an average result of five officers to each native infantry regiment in Bengal, ten in Madras, and five in Bombay. These officers being mounted, as thus affording conspicuous mark for an enemy's sharpshooters, the regiment's absolute inefficiency, called upon to take the field with its present complement of officers is sufficiently obvious; and the number must necessarily be augmented.

This alone gives an outlet for host of young officers, to whom course of what is, after all, a mild study in the long idle hours of the day between the morning and evening parades, affords a positive relief.

The allowances for these appointments drawn in addition to the Staff Corps pay of rank, are as under: Cavalry—second square

^a Most of the squadron subalterns are actually brevet-majors.

^b In the Madras Army there are 25 native infantry regiments without a subaltern officer at all.

er, 210 rs. per mensem; to, 180 rs. per mensem; 250 rs. per mensem; subaltern, 150 rs. per mensem. Infantry—wing officers, 230 rs. per mensem; adjutant, 180 rs. per mensem; quartermaster, 150 rs. per mensem; wing sergeant-major, 100 rs. per mensem; company commanders of regiments, 700 rs. per mensem in the field, and 600 rs. in the garrison, in addition to their staff pay.

A short study of the subject, however, will show that the mental commands lie in distance, and that in spite of inducements of rank and salary now made to officers of commandants prefer to remain whole thirty-eight years to obtain their off-reckoner than to cede them for a though immediate pension. The larger share of staff employment—larger we mean in proportion to the number of officers—is in the scientific branch of the service. Perhaps we should say to the Engineers only, for the Artillery have, in addition to their own regimental appointments in Battery and Brigade commonly posts in the Ordnance Department to look to, though in the Artillery, they are, equally eligible for other corps, eligible for staff appointments. In the Ordnance, however, to the great advantage of the Royal Engineer officers in the Department of Public Works they also obtain such civil though professional appointments as Consulting Engineer, Railways, Masters of Works, &c. The Department of Public Works, which we shall consider under our third heading, is enforced mainly by the presence of covenanted civilians, who usually always absorb the greater part of Royal Engineers, a very practical reason that it is very hard for the army to have

within its ranks men acquainted with the roads, bridges, fords, and camping grounds of the country, in the event of the removal of troops. For officers of the Artillery, as we have said, remains the Ordnance Department, which is presided over by an Inspector-General of Ordnance and Magazines, at a fixed consolidated salary, while his subordinates, the deputy and the commissaries of the different grades, draw allowances of from 200 to 800 rs. per mensem, with the regimental pay and allowances of their rank. Included in the Ordnance Department also are the appointments of agent for gunpowder, and agent for gun carriages, who also get 800 rs. in addition to their regular pay.

General Staff Corps officers are eligible to appointments in the Commissariat, Adjutant-General's, Quartermaster-General's, and Military Accounts Departments. These are generally under the orders of an officer drawing a consolidated salary ranging from 2,000 to 2,500 rupees per mensem, and include, like the Ordnance Department, the junior appointments of deputies and assistants at a corresponding rate of staff pay. We cannot in a magazine article give an exhaustive list of all the staff appointments in the army, and there are numerous others in the secretariat or on the staff of the commanders-in-chief and general officers of divisions, &c., which will doubtless occur to our readers; but we have said enough to show that it is at the young officer's discretion to remain quietly with his regiment counting his steps over the post-prandial cherooot, though possibly a vacancy is not always ready exactly at the desired moment, and has, like most other things, to be waited for. We append, however, for the clearer understanding of the amount of staff corps pay, a table of the regimental pay and allowances of combatant officers in India:

ALLOWANCES PER MENSEM.

Rank	Horse Artillery and Cavalry			Royal Artillery			Royal Engineers			Infantry	
	R.	A.	P.	R.	A.	P.	R.	A.	P.	R.	A.
Colonel and Col.-Comdt. .	1358	7	0	1265	5	0	1265	5	0	1265	5
Lieut.-Colonel *	1037	0	0	1002	4	0	1002	4	0	1002	4
Major	809	6	4	759	3	0	759	3	0	759	3
Captain	473	0	4	433	10	0	433	10	0	415	6
2nd Captain	473	0	4	417	7	8	433	10	0	—	—
Lieutenant	305	4	0	265	12	0	265	12	0	256	10

In connection with the military service we must also consider the position of the non-combatant officers—i.e., the doctors and the chaplains.

With regard to the medical service, indeed, there has always been a feeling of discontent heightened by the warrant of April 1, 1873, and the present Secretary of State for War has received deputations from both England and Ireland to point out the grievances and disabilities under which medical officers labour. With all this, however, at the last examination for the Indian medical service no less than thirty candidates, all of whom were reported qualified, competed for the ten appointments then offered.

Service in the medical department also splits itself into two branches. As an army official the doctor draws for the medical charge of a Native regiment as under : Surgeon-major, 1,000 rs. per mensem; surgeon, 800 rs. per mensem; assistant-surgeon above five years, 600 rs. per mensem; assistant-surgeon under five years, 450 rs. per mensem; with extra horse allowance if attached to a cavalry regiment; and with additional allowances of 100 rs. for the charge of an extra regiment, and 75 rs. for the charge of a wing.

As a civil official, again, the doctor draws for the medical charge of

first-class civil stations : Surgeon-major, 1,050 rs. per mensem; surgeon, 850 rs. per mensem; assistant-surgeon above five years, 600 rs. per mensem; assistant-surgeon under five years, 500 rs. per mensem with extra allowances for the charge of lunatic asylums, jails, &c.

These, again, lead up to the higher appointments of Inspector General, and Deputy Inspector General, on the consolidated scale respectively of 2,500 rs. and 1,800 rs. per mensem.

Besides these regular appointments there are many other special appointments, such as Principals of Medical Colleges, Superintendents of Jails, Lunatic Asylums, &c., which we have no space to dwell upon. It may further be noted that, except in the case of officers holding special appointments, private practice is not forbidden, and in many civil stations this adds very substantial to the income of the doctor.

In a cursory sketch like this we may dismiss the Ecclesiastical Department with a few words. The pecuniary prospects of chaplains are not such as to tempt young men into their ranks merely for the sake of lucre. The pay,^a however, is enough to convey a decency to the appointment which is often absolutely wanting in England; and

^a Junior chaplains, 500 rs. per mensem; senior chaplains, i.e. after ten years' service, 800 rs.

is more the reward of patronage, and the eccentricities of individuals, into the Church, are more dealt with. The dignity arch, moreover, is upheld on the bishops rank ordinary members of the f the Governor-General, senior chaplains ranking ins and lieutenant-colonels y.

ap of Covenanted Services) comprised under our ling has been gradually and evolved from the con- intermixed number of ap- s formerly given to mili- rs or Uncovenanted civil- fault of skilled engineers ors. In some cases, as idily noted—such as the : barracks for troops, the on of roads, bridges, and these rash and haphazard nts involved not only ublic money, but danger limb; in others, the very the appointment was lost nd stultified by the ap- itself, as in the nomina- ilitary officer to a super- hip of a force which is, and d to be, distinctively a e; while in others, again, radical or conspicuous is done to the public ser- t the waste or wrong of public money. The ing from such appoint- ld not well be charged fficers themselves. The lding a bridge, for ex- hardly as yet innate in species, though possibly n their Darwinian rela- ionkeys; and if in Eng- re an engineer has to ainst an average yearly 25 or 30 inches, some ning is absolutely neces- 1 more must it be so in re an equal number of fall in 24 hours. Such

a rainfall, equivalent to $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 thousand tons of water per acre, is hardly to be mentally grasped by the English engineer, accustomed to see disastrous effects following a rainfall of 2 inches, or 200 tons of water, per acre only in 24 hours. And there was little wonder, therefore, if an officer fresh from his military duties, possessed of no engineering knowledge at all, and consequently absolutely in the hands of his native subordinates and contractors, failed in building barracks or bridges capable of resisting such terrible strains. In India, moreover, where water—more particularly rain-water—is at once the great antagonist and the great ally of the working engineer, his position was one of high responsibility. The fall of a bridge and the consequent block on the road or railway line, of which the bridge formed a necessary link, could not effectually be remedied until the close of the rainy season; and if this occurred in the first burst of the monsoon, much loss and danger would necessarily result. The proper control and distribution of the rain-water for irrigation purposes, on the other hand, insured a happy and prosperous people and a large and increasing land revenue.

To compare again, with the indulgence of our readers, the results of the rainfall of India and England, as well as its quantity, we will take the example of Tanjore, where authentic accounts of the financial results of irrigation have been kept for many years. In this fertile province—the rice-garden of Southern India—the rise in the value of land at the end of thirty-five years, after the construction of the great annicuts or dams, was 25 per cent., or from 1s. 6d. to 2s. per acre; while in the same interval seven lakhs of rupees, or 70,000l., had been added to the annual land revenue. The results of the efficient drainage of land in this country, where drainage takes the prominent place as a land

improvement, is stated to give a permanent increased⁶ value to the rental of an estate of from 5 to 7 per cent. only. This is on the hypothesis that the drainage has been effected by means of borrowed capital, which is repaid, principal and interest, in 25 years, after which time the improvement to the estate is a permanent one. The result is, therefore, roughly, that while the rainfall of India is, say, four or five times as heavy, the advantage derived from the artificial control of this rainfall by irrigation, as compared with the corresponding operation in England of drainage, is four or five times as great.

But our business here is not with the engineer in his field operations, but with the engineering department of the public service in India, as an outlet for the youth of England. We only mention these facts to show how this department, in all countries indicative of and dependent on their internal prosperity and progress, is specially so in India.

At the head, then, of this group of services may be fitly considered the Public Works Department of India; and as it is in its operations the most important, so are the means for recruiting it more perfect and permanently settled. The successful candidate for admission into the Public Works Department does not go to India direct, nor is he left absolutely to his own resources and discretion during the two years which elapse between his preliminary examination and his final posting to India, like the successful candidate for the Civil Service. He is admitted to a Government training college, where his tutors are Government servants who have had practical experience of the duties which they profess to teach. It will thus be absolutely certain that his training there will be in the right direction and of practical use to him in his future career. True,

he has to pay 150*l.* for his board and education at the college, while the selected candidate for the Civil Service receives that amount from the Secretary of State for India; but he has to educate and board himself. Still this is more than could be balanced by the comparative age of the young men and the comparative sums spent on their education up to the time of their probation. It is a small advantage, moreover, to individuals as well as to the State to have the personal acquaintance of men of 'our' year, and not of a futile official letter-writing. A mutual official misunderstanding may be avoided where 'condiscipuli' find themselves brought into official contact. This professional arrogance, if we may so term it, is one of the errors into which a young man who has won his position by his own merits, and whose pride of place has not been tempered by intimate association and comparison with his co-peers in a college, is apt to fall. He considers that the mysterious body known as Government is centred in the service of which he is a member, and more particularly in his own individual person. Hence there is a certain antagonism between the representatives of other departments, and even to members of his own—a clashing and separation of interests which should be identical and a reckless assumption of responsibility which, however valuable in times of great emergency, is wholly subversive of the harmonious and consequently effectual work of Government officials. Again, a student in a college is often—forced naturally for himself—compelled to do no work, while the Civil Service candidate, left to his own judgment, may rashly prolong his well-merited holiday, hoping, it may be vainly, to retrieve the consequences of self-indulgence by a sudden spur.

So much for the training, the great objects, and the inher-

⁶ Report of the Committee of Lords on the improvement of land, 1873.

tations and bent of mind must obviously exist in young men who reasonably benefit by that training. For the prospects, modified by the young engineer's forts and ability; for in this agent, at least, promotion in strict order of seniority would be detrimental to the public.

The regular gradations of department are assistant engineering executive engineers, and attending engineers, and the pay commencing at Rs. 300 per month, run up to Rs. 2,000, with allowances, corresponding to the grade of the official, for travel. There are besides these many appointments, such as principal civil engineering collectors of consulting engineers for government for railways, canal irrigation companies, and the highly-paid offices in theariat reserved for members of the Public Works Department.

Next Covenanted Civil department of the Indian service which we examine here, and which is placed on a well-considered basis is the Forest Department. It is really a branch of the Revenue Department, but as public opinion was, in consequence of the great scarcity of timber and even in accessible situations, directed to a more systematic conservancy of the forests of the country, a separate official establishment was felt to be necessary and as there was no nursery school for forest teaching in India or even in England, the draft of officials was again necessarily drawn from the military officers. At first these there were to be many who, from a love of sport or even a taste for botanical studies, were easily induced to enter Forest service. Sport and sport, however, form more the recreation than the duties of the official forest officer, and a regular training and knowledge of forestry,

as practised in a country where timber in large quantities is treated as a marketable commodity and source of revenue, were felt to be absolutely necessary. In our own country such a training applicable to the forests of India was not obtainable. We have indeed, from the earliest periods of our history, possessed large forests, or rather hunting-grounds, and from the reign of William III. Acts of Parliament have from time to time been passed for the restoration and preservation of these forests for the supply of timber for the Royal Navy. Still, with the large importations of foreign timber, more particularly of teak and foreign-grown oak, and the comparative abandonment of wood in favour of iron for ship-building purposes, our forests, as compared with the Indian forests, are simple parks or commons for the convenience and recreation of the people. The area of the largest—viz. the New Forest—does not exceed 63,000 acres, of which scarcely one-third is covered with timber.

In Germany, however, there are large tracts covered with dense pine forests, and the floating of the huge rafts of timber down the Rhine and other rivers to the coast gives employment to a large population. The Chief Inspector of Forests in India is a German, and under his advice a scheme for combining a sound rudimentary English education, with practical teaching of forestry in France and Germany, has been established. The attainments demanded from the young candidates at their preliminary examination are not of a high standard, but they are in a special direction, and for once a practical one. The art of twisting English poetry into what we are pleased to call Latin and Greek verses gives way to a good colloquial knowledge of French and German, and a knowledge of the natural sciences—afterwards of the greatest practical use

—forms an important, though not a necessary, feature.

The successful candidate is not, like the young civilian, left to his own discretion in the pursuit of his finishing studies; nor is he, like the young engineer, kept in a college. During the $2\frac{1}{2}$ years over which the finishing course of instruction extends, he is boarded for the first year with an executive forest officer in France or Germany, according to his knowledge of French or German, and completes his training either in a forest school or in the office of a director of forests. The cost of this training, whether in France or Germany, is estimated not to exceed 600*l.*, to which, in the case of those candidates whose conduct and progress are satisfactory, H.M. Secretary of State for India contributes 100*l.* per annum.

The salaries of officers in the Forest Department in India, running through the grades of assistant and deputy conservators to that of inspectors of forests, range from 300*l.* to 1,900*l.* per annum; consolidated rates of travelling allowances in proportion to the grade being always added.

The departments of Public Works and Forests are the only two branches of the public service in India which come under this division, and are open to candidates in this country by open competition. They are, moreover, Covenanted departments, as distinguished from the various services which we shall afterwards examine known as Uncovenanted—that is, in the lower and junior grades.

The general form of covenant entered into sets forth that the employé shall, in consideration of becoming entitled to the rights and privileges in respect of pay and promotion accorded to officers of the department he serves in—and

to leave and pension rules as fixed from time to time by the Government of India, under the sanction of the Secretary of State—engage himself ‘wholly, efficiently, and diligently,’ under the orders and instruction of the Local Government and the officer or officers placed over him. The expenses of his passage to India are paid by the Government, and his pay commences on the day of arrival in India, provided he embarks within the time notified to him by the Secretary of State.

It will be noticed that, under the new covenants entered into by young Indian officers, in the payments which are to be made to them in Great Britain (that is, leave and furlough allowances), the rate of exchange between England and India, annually fixed by the Secretary of State in Council in communication with the Lords of the Treasury, is to be observed. The present rate of exchange is about 1*s.* 9½*d.* for the rupee, as there have recently been many complaints from officers on leave who considered themselves entitled to receive their half or third pay allowances—calculating the rupee as being worth 2*s.*—and who have been mulcted in the difference between a rupee worth 2*s.* and rupee value 1*s.* 9½*d.* for difference of exchange.⁷

We have not here noticed the Indian Telegraph Department, as has been officially notified that ‘the establishment is at present in excess of the sanctioned complement and that no more nominations will therefore be made for some time come.’

At the head of the service which we here call Uncovenanted we may place the Police. Not all the officers employed in it are Uncovenanted, or even the great

⁷ This is a very material difference, and we may note that the actual loss on the Secretary of State's bills on India, from April 1, the beginning of the official year to the end of September in this year amounts to Rs. 84,90,210 or 840,000*l.*

f them. But we are content with the services here in relation to the openings which they afford to aspirants for employment in the junior grades. These are generally reserved for Uncovenanted civilians, the supply of military officers being, as we have already seen, short of even the mental requirements of the service.⁸ In the police force, the military element is too strong. As we have above seen, the police is distinctively a military service. The officer, while directly under the command of his immediate superior, is the servant of the magistrate for the detection of crime, the arrest of prisoners, the guardianship of gaols, civil and camp kutcherries. The position of a police-officer is one of great tact and forbearance, as firmness and decision. He must show forbearance in his relations with the civil magistrates and his subordinates—firmness in the upholding of the law in his own force. For the officer of a police-constable, demanding separate or special duty, is the ignorant and half-civilized ruler of a jungle district, unbounded. In such a position, the temptation to take to levy black-mail, and to tyrannise over the people, is, to a native, wellnigh irresistible. Again, frequent collisions between police-constables and the people take place on occasions, such as the celebration of Mohammedan or Hindoo festivals, assuming the appearance of the dimensions of Irish riots. In all these circumstances, the attitude of the officer, at once free from the pressure of the law and alive to the responsibilities of his position, is of the

greatest importance to his own credit and success.

Candidates for employment have to pass an examination in the India Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code, Law of Evidence, and Rules of Practice (Criminal); also, in such of the native languages as may be prescribed by the Government under which they propose to serve, and in departmental subjects.

The pay of an assistant superintendent of police commences at about Rs. 400 per mensem, running through the grades of first class assistant at Rs. 500; superintendents at Rs. 700 or 800; deputy inspector-general at 1,000, to that of inspector-general of a presidency or province on Rs. 2,500.

We will not do more here than enumerate the principal other Uncovenanted services, as appointments in them are rarely within the reach of the ordinary English student. They are in the gift of the Local Governments of India; and independent of the fact that, under the Secretary of State for India, such appointments are reserved, wherever practicable, for natives of India, it requires the highest interest to obtain them. Furthermore, for many of them, those more especially of a sedentary or routine nature, natives are perfectly fitted. There is no lack of intellect amongst the natives of India, while for the administration, or, at any rate, the knowledge of law, and, we may add, the prosecution of it, they have a singular aptitude. How far they are qualified for offices requiring energy, prompt decision, acceptance of responsibility, and high courage, remains yet to be seen. Be that as it may, however, the experiment is to be made, and the young Eng-

dras Native Infantry regiment turned out to a general parade at Poonah with an officer at all except its Commandant, and was manœuvred by the assistant officers lent from Bombay regiments.

lishman, rich only in expectations, will do well to hesitate before going out to India on the chance of something turning up. Many who have done so are to be found in the ranks of ticket collectors and guards on railways, or, more lamentable still, have been absorbed into the fraternity of 'loafers'—mendicants. Not even in Australia, whence many sad stories of classmen of universities and educated gentlemen acting as shepherds reach us, is the Englishman without employment so utterly out of place. With this word of warning, we come to the services the names of which sufficiently explain the nature of the employment in them.

1. The *Postal*; with its grades of inspecting post-masters on Rs. 700 and postmaster general of a presidency on Rs. 2,000 per mensem.

2. The *Educational*; with the various classes of inspectors of schools on allowances of Rs. 600 to 1,000 per mensem, professors in colleges with from Rs. 500 to 600, up to the directors of public instruction on Rs. 2,250, and principals of colleges on Rs. 1,000 to 1,250.

3. The *Revenue Survey*; commencing at assistant with Rs. 325 up to deputy superintendent on Rs. 750 and superintendent on Rs. 1,000.

4. The *Revenue Settlement*, where this exists separately from the Civil Service (Covenanted), in which the assistants get Rs. 325, assistant directors on Rs. 600, deputy directors on Rs. 1,287, and principal directors of a presidency on Rs. 2,800.

5. *Deputy Collectors and Magistrates* placed in special charge under the collectors of districts of treasuries. Salt and Sea Custom officers. These draw from Rs. 250 to 600 per mensem.

These will give an approximate idea of the various classes of em-

ployment comprehended under what is generally known as the Uncovenanted Civil Service, and the salaries attaching to them. They are, however, liable to alteration, as will be readily understood, whether the holder be a native and a European, on the same rates of pay, are, as to come in very different positions.

But we must now pass on to the fourth division, semi-official employment. From this we eliminate all such purely private occupations as tea and coffee planting, farming and gold-mining, which last is attracting some attention in Southern India. There remain the merchants and agents, who are selected to assist Government as unofficial members of the Council passing laws and regulations, Commissioners of the different municipalities, and as trustees for carrying out the provisions of the Acts passed for the public good, up-country stations. Of these we need also say nothing; for you men do not enter merchants' agents' employ for the purpose, mainly, of obtaining these offices.

The two principal positions which we have to consider here, as being of a semi-official nature, are those of the railway engineer and the lawyer.

The railway engineer is at once the servant of a private company and of Government. He draws his pay and takes his orders from the directors or their representatives; his work is examined and reported on by the consulting engineer of Government. Railways in India are generally made by private companies, and the Government guarantees to the shareholders a certain fixed amount of interest on their capital (generally 5 per cent). The Government have at present to pay nearly one and a-half millions a year of interest to the shareholders. This is accounted for by the fact that the percentage of working expenses on the gross receipts is generally higher than it is in England, reaching

Employment in India.

as 67'1, while on the London North-Western line in this, where the working expenses are higher than on most of the leading lines, the percentage is 55'09. There is another view, however, and from always, whether as private property, are, like other works, necessary for the protection as well as for the defence of the country. The pay of the engineers generally speaking, is high; they have no funds or pensions to rack on. The scale of the expenses of course depends upon the policy of the Board of Directors.

Principal railway lines open are:

The Great Indian Peninsular, running from Bombay to Calcutta in one direction, and from Bombay to Raichore in another.

The East Indian Railway, running from Calcutta to Delhi, and from Allahabad to Jubbulpore, joining the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, it completes high communication between Calcutta and Bombay.

The Madras Railway, running from Madras to Beypore on the east, and north-west to Bangalore, where it joins the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, and connects Madras with Bombay.

Other lines are the Bombay, Central India; the Punjab, and Delhi; the Northern of India; and many others are being constructed.

A person called to the degree of Bachelor-at-law in England or Scotland, or being a member of the Faculty of Advocates in Scotland, is entitled to be admitted to be an advocate of the High Court in India. There is no lack of employment, but, as in England, the work is all to the few who have made a name for themselves. Law in India generally relates to the rights of landed property, and

the revenues derived from it.

Interests involved are often immense, and the fees given to lawyers proportionately large. Many of these suits are brought against the Government in the persons of their executive officers, and thence arises the necessity for having Government pleaders to take up the cases for the officials, who themselves have no time to devote to them. The pay of Government pleaders averages about Rs. 500 per mensem, and there are also the highly-paid offices of solicitors and advocates general on Rs. 1,225 and Rs. 2,187 respectively; registrars of High Courts on the original and appellate sides drawing from Rs. 1,600 to Rs. 2,000, and sheriffs on Rs. 1,000, open to members of the legal profession. The chief justice of a presidency draws Rs. 5,000 per mensem; puisne judges Rs. 3,750; and judges of Courts of Small Causes from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000.

In these days it is impossible that all the members of a large family can hope to find employment or homes in England. India is not the land of banishment it used to be; the dangers of the climate are not to be feared by the official who is temperate in all things; and the means of communication with England have been rendered so easy by steam and telegraph, as to remove, or at least much mitigate, the feelings of expatriation. Moreover, men do not now go to India to live and die in harness as they used to do, nor would they be permitted to do so by the rules of the services.

We have tried, so far as we can, to give facts; and having done so, we can defy the critics. Indeed, anyone familiar with the official 'wig'—we do not mean the capillary decoration, but the curt, polished letter which darts from the bureau of an irate chief of a department—is case-hardened against minor attacks.

G. C.

GERMAN HOME LIFE.

BY A LADY.

IX.—MARRIAGE AND CHILDREN.

MARRIAGE is surely the golden key to the celestial portals of Liberty. Let us see how it has fared with our young friend since the frolic festival of the *Polterabend*. The marriage itself is, by comparison, but a tame affair. Wedding favours, marriage tours, best-man, bridesmaids, lockets, general regardlessness of expense, and *lune de miel*, sacred to seclusion and sentiment, are honoured in the breach rather than in the observance; and where people have not large means, or at least cannot afford these luxuries without inconvenience, we may fairly applaud the practical common sense that decrees young people in love can be just as happy at home a month sooner as a month later. For the 'great' these post-nuptial extravagances are permissible, for the 'general' they are entirely out of the question. The bride, and not (as with us) the bridegroom, furnishes the house, plate, linen, and all that is requisite for the young couple to set up housekeeping. The gifts that flow in are, generally speaking, of the most moderate, not to say shabby, character; so that the burden and heat of the day fall upon the parents of the young lady; and if there should be half a dozen daughters, the consideration of ways and means is apt to be a rather serious one.

The knot tied, domestic life begins. To choose one's own dresses (subject to marital approval); to have one's coffee as strong as one likes; not to be stinted in sugar; and to go three times a week to the theatre, with

appropriate variations *de toilet* to make oneself perhaps renowned a *Hausfrau*—who would not accept such a fate with the rapture of fortune proverbially excited? A yet—and yet there have been found uncomfortable souls to whom these delights have not sufficed. Of such misguided females, let keep silence; it is ever our duty to represent the best of its type.

'Entre l'arbre et l'écorce,' as the shrewd old French proverb says, 'ne mettez pas le doigt!'

We, in England, are accustomed to think that, be her lord a master never so lordly and masterful, a woman reigns, as a queen supreme in her own house; matters of domestic detail be otherwise never so despotic, will scarcely presume to speak nor does his voice, loud enough perhaps, elsewhere, often make itself heard on questions of household arrangement. Meddling men are altogether exceptional and irregular in English households.

The precise contrary obtains in Germany; the husband is the king, the wife merely the prime minister. He sits in his arm-chair smoking perennial pipes; he audits, with all the severity of Lycurgus, the poor little woman's abject accounts. He knows about the butter and dripping; swears at excesses in soap and Sauerkraut, is abusive as to the tyrannical as to candles and herrings, and terrible on eggs and bacon. A woman is no more mistress of her own house in Germany than you or I (despite the Laurels) are masters of our fate. She is simply an upper servant; nay, many a gently born and good bred lady it may be said that

dgery of her life is such as
 or servant would endure,
 would be scarcely tolerable
 maid that does the meanest

The maid can at least
 to dim obscurity when her
 work are at an end; but
 has to clothe herself in
 ment as her station is sup-
 o demand, and to leave
 ss of the flesh and vexation
 in the kitchen with the
 pans. The lady in black
 ally an 'upper servant')
 nsents to superintend the
 gorgeous establishment,
 moderate consideration of
 ounds a year (everything
 and no indelicate enquiries
 erquisites), would scorn to
 herself in the menial man-
 amon to many noble ladies
 any. Do I not, for in-
 remember my neighbour,
 little Baroness B——, like
 d in the nursery rhyme,
 3 'in the garden, hanging
 e clothes?' Have I not
 with a tender admiration (of
 o this day she is unaware)
 von C——'s fair face, as I
 l her from my window,
 her husband's shirt-fronts
 ough a blazing afternoon,
 now and again a diamond-
 ould roll from her brow and
 dibly hissing, on the iron?

not seen, with a sadness
 not show, the indefatigable
 ännin von Z—— baking,
 stewing, pounding, sifting,
 g, peeling, with an energy
 sitively paralysed me at my
 observation? She would
 with the peasants who
 butter and eggs to the
 door, cheapening their
 miraculously cheap offer-
 he would scold the slavey
 s we know, is no slavey at
 p her girls smartly on the
 rs, and rap her boys over
 uckles, and never ask for
 or rest. Who ate all the

good things she compounded? I
 suppose her husband, a big burly
 man, with a red face, and beery
 guttural voice. I could hear him
 snoring away all the early part of
 the summer's afternoon (the win-
 dows were open towards the
 garden), when at four o'clock he
 would cast his *Schlafrock* and *Pan-
 toffeln*, get himself into regimental
 clothes again, buckle in his big
 waist, and go swaggering down
 to his Club, ogling every girl and
 woman he met by the way. I saw
 the other day that he had been
 decorated with, I know not how
 many, stars and crosses, and had
 grown into a lieutenant-colonel,
 and I could not help wondering
 how it was with his poor little
 wife, who had been under fire so
 long; had marched and counter-
 marched, and come to the front
 like a gallant little volunteer,
 always obedient to the word of her
 superior officer, cheery and uncom-
 plaining. Has she, too, got her
 slow promotion, and stepped out of
 the ranks beyond the kitchen
 range, beyond the whole *batterie
 de cuisine*, with the order of
 merit on her faithful modest
 little breast? I doubt it. I
 daresay, if I could look in upon
 her now, she is still cuffing supple-
 mentary boys off to school, lest
 they should disturb the paternal
 post-prandial slumbers, and rating
 the slavey as energetically as ever.

In the households of military men,
 or in those of the *höhere Beamten*,
 the womenkind gain little, com-
 paratively little, by the promotion of
 their lords. No greater indepen-
 dence of action is granted them,
 no wider sphere or larger interests.
 Washing-days come round as be-
 fore; the potatoes have to be peeled,
 the carrots scraped, and the slavey
 driven; the stockings to be knitted,
 the shirt-collars to be ironed, and the
 eternal locking and unlocking to go
 on, with very slight modifications,
 just as it did five, ten, twenty years

ago. The master is decorated, he has new titles, becomes more expensive, generally ornamental, and sublime; he goes to the *Ministerium* or the *Kammer*; he sits upon the Bench, or he wrangles in Parliament, or he elaborates the *Kriegspiel*; he comes in contact with men of various shades and colours of opinion; at the club he reads the daily papers and learns how the world wags; he plays whist, goes to the theatre, and, if he have nothing to do, returns home again about nine o'clock. Having discussed, so far as was prudent, all political news at the club, he is hardly likely to begin on the state of the outer world, when he finds himself once more in the bosom of his family. Besides, women don't read the newspapers; what is said and done in their infinitesimally small circle is more to them than all the huge disasters of humanity; the Kaffeeclack of more significance than Kings and Kaisers toppling to their ruin; the rumour of a scandal of greater interest than all the vast problems and conflicts of the social and moral universe. And so a little local talk is all that is likely to turn up, and, as it is very local indeed, and has been revolving for the last thirty years (on his) and the last twenty years (on her) part (for at five they both knew a fair amount of town-gossip) the conversation is not precisely of a nature to make them forget the time, or be heedless of the coals and candles.

We are accustomed to think of Germans that they are a domestic people. The truth is, that of domesticities there is enough and to spare, but of domestic life, as we understand it, little or nothing. Beyond eating, drinking, and sleeping under one roof, the sexes have little in common. The woman is a slave of the ring; for the wife the baking and brewing, for the husband the cakes and ale; for her the toiling and spinning, for him the beer and

skittles; for her the sheep-walk (precedent and the stocking (virtue, for him the aradings and prancings; for her the nippings and screwings, for him the pipings and dancings; for her the dripping-j and the meal-tub, for him stars and garters, and general gallooming glitter, and sublimity.

In a comic paper there appeared the other day, amongst advertisements for things required, but scarcely likely to be met with—

'Wanted, a lady-help, with delicate fingers, who can open oysters, peel walnuts and prawns, and make malt toast.'

Now what some English writers treat as an impossible production German home-life offers wholly new to the spectator. The woman *there* to pick the shrimps, shell the lobsters, and peel the potatoes, for her lord and master. What would then, if he be lordly and masterful? His creature comforts are materially increased, and his pocket spared by the excellent existing arrangements. The *Hausfrau* saves him a servant; indeed, she saves him unknown quantities, by her thrift and labour. She has an interest in the firm, so as no paid hireling could have; she is to the manner born, as knows life under no other aspect nor does she take it amiss that her sponsor swaggers and gins with the surplus coin that has been retrenched by the chess parings and flint-skinning of the habitually exercise her frugal mind.

After visits and finery (says Hazlitt) 'married woman of the old school' had nothing to do but to attend to her household wifery. She had no other resource, other sense of power than to harangue and lord it over her domestics. Modern education supplies the place of the old-fashioned system of kitchen persecution and eloquence. A well-bred woman seldom goes into the kitchen to look at servants. Formerly what was called 'good manager' ('she is a priceless *Hausfrau*,' writes Goethe of one of his friends to another), an exemplary mistress of a family did nothing but hunt the

ing till night, from one year's other, without leaving them a rest, peace, or comfort. Now a left to do her work without this tormenting interference and at every step, and she does it. A woman, from this habit, last became an uncontrollable could scold her maids for fifty ther. Now the temptation to st new poem or novel, and thus talking of it in the next comes into, prevent her, and the all parties is incalculable.'

a woman should be her s helpmeet as well as his per; that the noblest union ne of supreme authority ct submission; that the uld 'sway level to her s heart;' that she is there, r to sew on his shirt- and darn his socks, but needs be, 'to warn, to and command;' that her d motions may be light , a spirit yet a woman that she may, if she be , come 'at the last to set o man, like perfect music le words,' is a view of too heretical for any German lady to entertain. jection of woman dates i Creation, and no new- ss shall obliterate the t of Paradise.

ember at an æsthetic tea nd outwardly insignificant son being called upon by (her husband a German n of ancient lineage) to ome translations which she e from one or other of the ts. The verses were put hands of a certain Dr. man whose highest am- was, *mirabile dictu!* to mself 'any way' into He was a person of standing and acknow- erit, in his own particular

circle; known as a blind Conserva- tive, and as the recipient of several gold medals 'für Kunst und Wissen- schaft,' bestowed upon him by various appreciative potentates and powers for his exertions on their behalf. He was, nevertheless, only there on sufferance; to be tole- rated in consideration of pro- spective usefulness, and treated from that point of view, with a faint conciliatory show of shallow cordiality. He was as well behaved as the rest of the company, if his manners were not quite so easy as theirs; yet one felt vaguely that he was in, but not of, the 'world' he aspired to frequent.

The verses were read, and soon afterwards the influential editor left the room. A little stir of relief buzzed through the party; but an old *Hausfreund* taking their host by the arm, led him apart. 'You have committed a mistake, *lieber Freund*,' he said. 'Your wife may have talents, but in your place, I would not allow her to have anything in common *mit derer Art Leute* (with that sort of people). They are only to be tolerated on account of their potential political usefulness.' Of course, persons with a pedigree are blandly permitted in Germany, as 'Royal and noble authors' else- where are, to dabble feebly in litera- ture, and not to lose caste by the dabbling. It is a mania like another. But there is a general assumption in the world that is peopled by generals' wives and councillors' spouses, that literary fame in a woman is, as Lord Macaulay says, 'A blemish, and a proof that the person who enjoys it is meanly born, and out of the pale of good society.'

A woman of declared 'literary' propensities must accept the fate

t's *Tabletalk*. [There are, however, some people who would scarcely superiority of new-fashioned over old-fashioned English servants.—En.]

thrust, *nolens volens*, upon her, and sit patiently in that outer court of the Gentiles to which she is indiscriminately relegated together with Arcadians, Bohemians, boon companions, and inferior persons generally. It is, of course, out of the question that she should be a good *Hausfrau*, or that what she has in the place of a mind can be given up to the minutiae of the store-room and exigencies of the larder. The fiat has gone forth, and she must console herself with the thought that there is justice in heaven. In the present instance it will be observed that the lady was in no wise consulted as to her views or feelings on the matter, and it is to be hoped that the blank expressive silence which fell upon the company on this unexpected revelation may, without the suggested marital coercion, have saved her from further follies of the kind.

I have seen English gentlemen introduced, without due preparation, into strictly German circles, made miserable for a whole evening, and finally driven to the verge of distraction, by the gentle persistent attentions of the ladies of the house. When he realises that he is being waited upon by these fair damsels, the Englishman jumps wildly and apologetically from his chair, stammers confused and bashful excuses, clutches the cups and platters out of the ministering angel's hand, and subsides, red and ruffled, into his seat. He hopes it will not happen again; he devoutly trusts it is over. But, no; scarcely is his complexion recovering its normal hue, when another lovely being is 'staying him' with apples; bringing him butter in a lordly dish, or offering sausages at his shrine. Again he bounces out of his seat like an india-rubber ball, again clutches convulsively, apologises, confounds himself in horrible polyglot inarticulate excuses, and subsides exhausted into his chair.

He looks round and sees that all the other men are being waited upon; he perceives that it is 'the custom of the country;' that it proceeds, not from the paucity of servants, but from a plenitude of female devotion. If servants were wanting, then surely the men would wait upon the ladies. He tells himself severely that when at Rome your behaviour should be of the strictest Roman type; he reminds himself that the first condition of good breeding is, that you should implicitly conform to the usages of the society in which you find yourself; he will submit; but when the third and most beautiful daughter of the house presents him with *Hüringsalat*, his feelings are altogether too much for him, and entirely overcome his good resolution. He goes through the same formal formula again, with the secret impression that he is making a miserable abject fool of himself, plunges wildly and despairingly at the conestibles, and subsides into a listless and melancholy condition. He is like a bull in a china-shop, they think, and they hold firmly to the family crockery and the best glass. 'They are dreadfully restless, the *Engländer*,' said a young countess to me; 'see how quiet and well-behaved our gentlemen are, and wait for their turn!' This was all the poor chivalrous young Briton could do for his pains. Pains! they were tortures, agonies.

Elderly marriages are very common in Germany, where a wholesome common-sense view of the relationship prevails, and designing elderly spinsters and dangerous elderly juvenile bachelors are comparatively scarce in society. In Hungary Roman Catholics and members of the Greek Church may marry almost any age, males over fourteen females over twelve; whereas Protestants may not marry until the respective ages of eighteen and fifteen. In Austria persons under twenty-four are minors, and must

consent of parents to enter marriage state. In Bavaria vary considerably with districts; in one the limit of marriage has been fixed at and twelve; in another at and fourteen; in a third at and fifteen. In Hesse the law of 1852 required a man should have reached of twenty-five before he can be on the rôle of a Benedick; in 1868 the rule was modified, and age became legal at twenty of age. Even when the age is attained, the consent of the parents and guardians is indispensable, and away matches are, therefore, impossible, and much after that, no doubt, thus avoided; but the less, strange complications here to be entered upon, the more arise.

Since marriage has already been made, an extraordinary apathy that matters sanitary through- out the fatherland. The same obtains with regard to all concerns health, well-being, business, if under happiness, is the first condition of *sana in corpore sano*. Not the physical education of men tend in the wrong, but all that influences and as marriage confirms and foregone blunders.

In the upper classes marriage is not, if not chiefly, yet persistently, by means. It is that peculiar prosaic, practical yet how fatally unpragmatic programme which seems the modern German nature—any, if in a family, shall not be led to go out of it. Hence, the case of gold and lands, and intermarriages go on, and after generation, the result is growing ever nearer and more and more confused, results, as may be readily seen, ever more and more so. In no other country meet with the same num-

ber of goitrous throats, scarred necks, spinal diseases, hip diseases, bad teeth, and generally defective bone-structure, as in Germany.

No hesitation is felt in speaking openly on matters that one might, without hypocrisy, be justified in hiding under any available bushel. 'Who is that frightfully disfigured person?' asked my neighbour, a brilliant young lieutenant of hussars, at a family dinner. '*Ich leide sehr an Skrofela*,' said the young lady in question on the other side of me, speaking in the same level, unemotional tone that she might have used in asking me to pass the salt. Alas! she had no need to tell the terrible tale; but in a week, neither more nor less, she was engaged to the critical lieutenant (he was over head and ears in debt), who, though he had not been too delicate to sneer at her defects, was not slow to discover that the *beaux yeux de sa cassette*, made up for a want of eyelashes, and that sixty thousand thalers covered a multitude of sins.

In another family, where cousins had intermarried with cousins apparently since the Flood, the sole heir to a vast property was a delicate, spineless boy, a child whose bones had a cruel tendency to work through the skin, and so to slough away to the agony of the little sufferer. It was not possible that he should live, and when, after twelve years of terrible existence, death came, and mercifully set him free at last, the childless father, looking round, picked out another cousin, took her to wife, and lived to have three more children, whereof two were grievously afflicted in mind and body, but the third, a hectic boy, survived to inherit the estate.

In another family, where the estates were considerable, and where the same immemorial marriage customs between near relatives had obtained (uncles marry their nieces in Germany), the representatives at last dwindled down to five. The

son and heir blew his brains out; the second daughter drowned herself; the third daughter became a confirmed hypochondriac; the second son, tormented with a terrible complaint (*Flechte*), akin to the leprosy of the ancients, after washing in all the waters that the wells of Germany afforded, unable to find, even in religion and good works, the consolation he sought, put an end to his miserable existence. Only the eldest daughter remained; the estates went in the male line, and devolved upon a distant cousin, a mere '*Namensvetter*,' she said; but the old feeling prevailed: it was a pity to take her fortune away from the name, and when the *Namensvetter* proposed he was accepted. I saw her some years later; she was a widow, with one idiot child. There seems to be a strange insensibility to all physical defects—to all the long train of terrible consequences that these grievous inherited maladies bring with them, where interested motives counsel a prudent shortness of sight. The geographical position of Germany has hitherto been a bar to any appreciable fusion of blood or mixture of races in her population; the few French and English who find themselves settled in German towns are, for the most part, too poor to tempt the natives into matrimony (remember that 'caution' of fifteen thousand thalers).

In commercial towns, where there is more *Verkehr*, the money is chiefly in the hands of Jews; and a German Jew is doubly bound to justify his origin. The money-bags will be kept in the family. Even in smaller towns and villages, it is not the custom, as with us, for the young people to seek their fortune at a distance. *Heimweh*, the *mal du pays* of the Swiss, overcomes the wanderer who passes even into the next state (as from Devonshire into Cornwall), and a dozen droll remedies are prescribed by the old wives for this troublesome form of disease,

under the influence of which the sufferer not unfrequently takes to her bed, and seeks solace in gnawing an old crust (*Weinekrust*), which she has brought from the last loaf baked at home, and which is supposed to be an infallible remedy.

The frightful goitres which are seen in the Tyrol, and which science attributes to drinking water that flows over Dolomitic rock and ignorance lays at the door of snow-water, whilst the heavy weights the peasants carry on their heads are supposed by others to develop this hideous form of throat disease, are perhaps due quite as much to the fact of the goitres marrying the goitrous, gazing upon the goitrous, and living in a goitrous atmosphere from time immemorial, as to any other remote causes assigned by science. It is no blemish or defect to eyes that are used to it; the man or girl who leaves the village will return to settle there, and marry the love left behind, and so the ghastly disease is perpetuated, and general complacency prevails.

The same may be said with regard to the awfully afflicted crétin who startle and horrify one in these mountain villages. What nature is so beautiful and green the shock is almost unendurable when the eye falls on a row, say, of three or four of these blurred, deformed and degraded specimens of humanity sitting ranged upon a wall, their gnome-like figures, ungainly limbs, and awfully imbecile countenances striking dismay into your very soul; deficient as they are in understanding, they yet know how to beg; and will slide down from the wall with a weird agility for which you had not given them credit, and congregate round the carriage with hideous gibberings and ghastly inarticulate utterances. The first time such a sight presented itself to me, I turned away with a sense of sickening disgust. 'Fie!' said

a pretty German friend; 'have they not as much right to God's dear sunshine as we?' The words were so gentle that for a moment I felt abashed; but the next common sense rejected the soft optimism. It was false sentiment after all; for the unhappy loathly creatures could have enjoyed 'God's dear sunshine' just as well where they would not have outraged that reverence for the image of the Maker which causes us all instinctively to turn away from an animal out of which the god-like, the divine, has so awfully and so mysteriously disappeared. It seemed to me that the police, who were employed in coercing us as to our *Pässe* and *Scheine*, would have been far better and more practically engaged if they had taken the helpless hideous gang of moppers and mowers under their charge, and conducted them to a place of safety remote from the king's highway. But such afflicted beings are a considerable source of income to their parents and guardians. A hasty impulse causes the traveller to plunge into his pocket for coin: a false benevolence, a sense of the awful infinite chasm between them and their surroundings, makes his strength and health and wandering so many reproaches to him; again, the desire to get rid of this awful blot on so fair a creation, an uneasiness at their very presence, produces willing specie from the depth of his garments: unless indeed he be of the placid frame of my pretty Bertha, who wished them to enjoy 'God's dear sunshine,' but did not further that inexpensive entertainment by any reckless profusion of coin.

Nor is it remarkable (though science disputes the influence of such painful phenomena on coming generations), that, with the sight of these poor afflicted beings ever before their eyes, and the knowledge that they are fertile sources of gain to their families, the inhabitants of

these regions are equal to occasion, and that the race does die out nor the supply fail.

Let us return to the sheepfold ordinary home life.

After a year's matrimony comes the customary baby.

A German baby is a pitiful object; it is pinioned and bound up, like a mummy, in yards of bandages, which are unfolded (at the outside twice) a day; it is never 'bathed,' but I suppose sometimes washed after a somewhat occult manner. Its head is not touched with soap and water until it is eight or ten months old, when the thick skull-cap of crusted dirt that it has by that time obtained is removed by application of various unguents.

Many German ladies have assured me that the fine hair of hair one sees in Germany is entirely owing to this unsavory skull-cap. When, having some juvenile relatives staying with me, I insisted on their being 'tubed,' all my female friends were shocked at my ignorance and wilfulness, and assured me that it was entirely owing to our barbaric bath system that the King of Hanover had lost his sight. 'My friends, we are not all blind,' I said; and they were silenced, if not convinced.

To this terrible system of bandaging and carrying the child in a peculiar fashion wrapped in a mantle that is partly slung round the neck of the bearer, something after the fashion prevailing amongst the Inquaws, may be attributed in a great degree the number of curved spines, crooked shoulders, and abnormal developments we meet with in Germany. Yet, strange to say, 'rickets,' a disease only known with us amongst the poor, who cannot afford the time themselves, or others to nurse their children properly, goes by the name of *Englische Krankheit*.

The baby being born and swa

up, now gets a huge peasant girl *in loco parentis*. A mummy is not a thing to fondle, nor is a little stiff bundle of humanity (which you might stand up on end in the corner of the room without detriment to its sumptuary arrangements) an object on which to lavish caresses.

Thus the young mother is scarcely a mother at all, the maternal functions being delegated to another. The baby does not lie on the floor or crawl to the hearth-rug, crowing and kicking and curling its pink toes, trampling with its chubby legs, and fighting with its mottled arms, 'as one that beateth the air.' It does not swarm up and about its mother's neck and bosom, finding its little life and all its tiny pleasures in her arms; it does not fall at length into a slumber of rosy repletion, and with its mouth open snoosily satisfied, rejoice its mother's eyes for the beautiful little animal that it is.

No, it is out walking, tied to a feather bed, and accompanied by a tall soldier, the father of its poor little foster brother or sister, which is to grow up as it can. It comes in presently and is taken to its mamma to kiss; but its real mother, the mother that fosters and feeds it, soon carries it away again, and resumes all the privileges of true maternity for the rest of the day. The lady might as well be its aunt. 'Only that, and nothing more.'

We have already glanced at the lives of the little men and women that we have seen trotting to and fro between home and school. The charming institution of a 'nursery,' as we understand it, is scarcely known in Germany; certainly only known in the houses of the very rich. The children eat and drink in the common *Wohnstube* and swarm generally over the premises in their hours of freedom. There will, perhaps, be a dull and dismal apartment, called the *Kinderstube*, whither the stalwart *Anne* will retire to dangle-cub the last hope of the

Katzekopfs; but all the comfort nursery arrangements so dear to heart of the British matron, the finching tubbings and scrubbings and systematic undeviating regularity of all that can contribute to the comfort and cleanliness of child life, are not to be thought of.

To the ordinary English mind the idea of the *Hausmutter* is as the charming German wood gravings so pleasantly convey. It is in this humble domestic attitude that the poets and painters of Fatherland have sent her out into the world; as Schiller has represented her sitting amidst her sturdy *Knaben und Mädchen*, spinning and winning, filling and winning, with presses o'erflowing and stores ever-growing; the homely mother, a humble Western replica of Solomon's great Oriental picture. It is very right and wise that she should be thus depicted. The artistic spirit has seized the quaint homeliness, the pleasant busy-ness, the simple poetry, and wholesome prose of her existence. But we know anything of the middle and upper class mothers of Germany? We have glanced in pity rather than in blame at the inability of most mothers to undertake the primary duty of maternity; but are not the duties which, instead of lasting over a few months, extend over long years, patiently and punctually performed by them? I have often gazed with wistful eyes at the plain plodding pathetic patience of such mothers. Maternal pelicans prevail largely all over the world, but the German mother does not only pluck the feathers from her breast, and stand an emblem of bleeding maternal piety before us. She does more. She—I know no other phrase that expresses what I mean—she 'effaces' herself.

She loses vanity, self-care, all feminine weaknesses, for the sake of her offspring. The most saved does not go to buy her delicate laces wherewith to soften

ies that time has drawn
er neck and brows; it is
fresh ball-dresses for her
No charming elderly co-
make her picturesque or

Bertha and Jertha want
; her gown is ill cut, her
e appalling, her trimmings
strous; she is altogether
lingy, and 'common'-look-
the young people must
ir day, and the general's
is so short, she dare not
for more money; and, as
what does it matter? Who
at her, or care what she

And in the same enduring
ie sits in ungraceful gar-
ng hours at balls, or tramps
offspring at picnics, bound
keep the betrothed vigi-
her eye, knowing no rest,
oting no thanks. Indeed,
simple unconscious selfish-
gives her a glory not other-
own, and makes the heart
wards her plain hard face.

persevering, scrupulous
commands our respect
niration. A loving wife
her part cheerfully so long
eat and the burden of the
equally borne. No true
will lament over the dinner
so long as the love be
But where the sacrifices
on one side, and the indul-
ll on the other; when the
sents a splendid front to
d, and the woman drudges
r days in sordid details, the
r is apt to be wroth at the
of her situation, and to
indignation vex him as a
at is raw. For the coun-
invented the *Ewigweibliche*,
rrow view of 'woman's
is, to say the least of it, a
try; and the quixotic spec-
ld prefer less magniloquent
nd more liberal deeds, in
e of them.

s been made a matter of
to German women that
outside of their own per-

sonal affairs, incapable of enthu-
siasm. That they are capable of
little ejaculatory shrieks and spas-
modic adjectives is conceded, and
how should more be expected or
required of them? Ground down
by sordid details, living as though
perennial war-prices were an un-
alterable condition of things; in-
spired by that dreary 'carefulness
about many things' that seems to
her the normal law of her being,
how should the oppressed *Hausfrau*
be very enthusiastic on large out-
side questions? And when you
add famine prices to those of war,
increased, and ever-increasing tax-
ation, higher house rent, nipping
economies, is it any wonder if the iron
of the *res angusta domi* enters into
her soul, causing it to cleave to the
dust, and her body to the ground?
Every item of household expendi-
ture is reckoned by the husband at
its minimum cost, and no margin
is left for the little feminine fleshly
weaknesses in the matter of humble
charities or modest finery. He
knows so well the cost of every-
thing, reckoning it at its cheapest,
that she cannot (despite her culi-
nary abilities) 'cook' her poor little
household accounts. Is this a state
of things likely to take a woman
out of herself, and make her en-
thusiastic for the glory of the
Fatherland? She has given un-
complainingly her husband, her
sons, her brothers; and she has her
reward in a united Germany, in
gaps in the family circle, and black
gowns on the family clothes-pegs.
She trembles at wars and rumours
of wars; what is material in her,
shrinks from further and crueller
economies; what is spiritual trem-
bles at the thought of fresh sacri-
fice, and weeps—weeps tears of
blood, it may be, remembering past
bereavements.

Yet, should you venture to let
your pity become vocal, she will fly
at your throat, true woman as she
is, hug her chains the tighter, and
call upon you loudly to witness the

rapture of those huggings. You will be in the usual enviable position of the unwary sympathiser who enters into matrimonial differences. The couple will re-appear shortly enlaced lovingly in intertwining arms, and politely ignore your existence. Such is gratitude; but I, who love those gentle German ladies, will not heed their cold look, if my words may haply, against their will, do them service. 'Entre l'arbre et l'écorce ne mettez pas le doigt!'

German physicians will tell you, with jeremiads prolonged and sonorous, that the women of their country—the women of the upper classes that is—are totally unfitted for the fatigues and duties of maternity. By inheritance, by education, by prejudice, by continued intermarriages, by defective diet, poor nourishment, horror of exercise, hatred of fresh air and cold water, the German lady has persistently enervated herself from generation to generation. 'Look at our prettiest girls,' cried an eminent physician to me; 'they are like those flowers that bloom their brief hour and fade, and fall, to make room for fresh blossoms, who, in turn, will bloom, fade, and fall also. They are all *bleichsüchtig*; they cannot fulfil the functions that nature intended every mother should fulfil—not one here or there, but all; they have no constitution, no stamina, no nerve, no physique, no *race*.' The type is indistinct and blurred, marred by certain constitutional defects that you point out to them in vain; there is a want of lime deposit in the bone system, hence the terrible teeth that mark a German woman's nationality nine times out of ten. How can they have '*pluck*' and nerve, and sound firm flesh, strong muscle and healthy bone, if they have no fresh air, no regular exercise, no proper nourishment, and, above all, no desire to change, alter, or amend the order of their unhealthy lives? For with

them the question of reform matters hygienic principally, but they turn a deaf ear to warning, think they are more comfortable they are, and don't disguise the impatience they feel at our professional pratings.

'But perhaps it doesn't matter so very much, apart from individual comfort; for look at your men, what a stalwart race they are.'

'That is true; the man's education helps him over the stumbling block of inherited maladies; nourishes himself well, lives in the open air, and assimilates his food. For the rest, a man's neck and shoulders are not bared; and if he loses his teeth, provident nature hides the gaps by an opportune moustache. No!' cried the help- less Reformer, 'if ever Reform is feasible, it will be feasible only through German women themselves, and no German woman will ever see it, and to no other woman would they for a moment consent to listen!'

I shall be asked, are German women never pretty, then?

German girls are often charmingly pretty, with dazzling complexions, abundant beautiful hair and clear, lovely eyes; but the splendid matron, the sound, healthy well-developed woman, who has lost no grain of beauty and gained a certain magnificent maturity, as we see daily, with daughters who might well be her younger sisters of such women the Fatherland has few specimens to show.

The 'pale unripened beauties of the North' do not ripen; they are 'The style is the man,' as Buffon; and what style is to literature, taste to dress, and refinement to manners, distinction is to beauty. There must be a certain line, certain proportion, a healthy development, a harmony, grace and strength before we can acknowledge that greater than the mere passing prettiness of youth, freshness, and good looks is there.

the Hungarian, and Austrian whom we in a general interview are apt to class as 'beautiful exceed- out here we come upon an- e, or rather such a fusion races as may help to con- to the charming result. dies have a special vivid, spirited, haunting lovel- h grace, distinction, and in their limbs and features ll their own; you cannot a fragile, but they are of so re, and so delicate a colour- they only just escape that sion. Of Polish and an *pur sang* there is little and; women of the latter of a more robust and sub- build, with dark hair and on, fine flashing eyes, and ed type; and who that re- the women of Linz and illrefuse them a first prize? ssess a special beauty of a, a beauty which is rare e loveliest Englishwoman; ed and exceptional every- e; a beauty that the artist eciates with a feeling of They have the most deli- articulated joints of any a the world. The juncture nd and wrist, of foot and the *nuque* with the back lders, is what our neigh- uld call 'adorable.' But, it should be so! the full figures—types at once of and elegance, the supple, waists, the dainty little nd hands, become all too lessly fat, from the persis- eness and luxury of the unoccupied lives of these ladies.

arriage, interesting as it from a personal point of ans more than this. It om the politico-economical t, population, and Malthus anding, within certain ational prosperity. We the lets and hindrances,

the just causes and impediments, that makes marriage in Germany a matter of difficulty; these are so manifold and multiform that it has become a jesting habit of speech to say, before the knot can be tied, a man must produce not only his baptism and confirmation *Scheine* but vaccination, chicken-pox, nettle-rash, and every other sort of certificate, to prove that he has passed through those unavoidable forms of infantile suffering to which even sturdy German flesh is heir. In fact, the restrictions laid upon the holy estate are as numerous as though it were a state of vice, rather than a state of virtue.

The latest statistics tell us, that marriage, which is reckoned at thirty-nine per cent. in England, and at thirty per cent. in Ireland, only reaches nineteen per cent. in Germany, and some uneasiness is felt in the Fatherland at the manifest signs of a decreasing population.

The subject is one to claim the gravest consideration of her busy legislators. The hatred of compulsory conscription, a hatred which the late wars have now and again fanned almost into frenzy, produces a serious efflux of population. Hans Michel turns restive, escapes to convenient neutral ground, evades conscription, and in America or Australia is free to marry, to become a house-father and prosperous citizen. The returns of the last census show that, in Prussia proper, the decrease of population is little short of alarming.

Between 1861-64 there was an increase of 8,409; but between 1864-67 there was a decrease of 12,922, and between 1867-71 of 56,440. Allowing for the loss of life in the last two wars, and for the Prussian soldiers quartered in France at the time of the census, the loss of population in ten years amounts to 52,000. And as these figures are derived from authentic German sources, it is only fair to

presume that they are, approximately, correct.

Having witnessed the obstructive regulations restricting persons from entering upon the married state, a certain blank wonder falls on the mind of the outsider, when he recognises, on the other hand, the fact that the knot, so difficult to tie, can be loosed with extraordinary ease. The bonds that required fifteen thousand thalers before they could be recognised as authentic, the chains that called for such assiduity in forging, are slipped with the calmest and most careless ease, should any motive sufficiently strong arise to suggest the desirability of such slippings. There need be nothing very scandalous or exceptional in the case. Alexander unsheaths his sword; 'Our tempers are incompatible,' he says; a swirl, a swing, and a slash, and the Gordian knot is severed. Adelheid discovers an elective affinity with the sympathetic soul of her husband's *Jugendfreund*, whose manners and moustache are more congenial to her fastidious sensibilities than those of her lawful spouse. 'Bring the fateful scissors,' she sighs faintly, to the three old immemorial ladies in waiting; snip, snap, the uncongenial bonds are severed in a second! The matter creates gossip or rather confirms it, but can scarcely be said to provoke scandal; it is less than a nine days' wonder, indeed, it is no wonder at all, and a lenient society prudently abstains from judgment. It is said that divorce is now-a-days looked at askance from high places: the official tone of the Prussian Court being ostentatiously correct on matters domestic (witness the now historic 'Dear Augusta' telegrams); but the elasticity of German views on such points is not likely to be materially affected by a stern masquerade in the interests of morality, and socially the parties concerned suffer no injury whatever.

We have glanced in a former

chapter at the extraordinary lice that illustrates German society in an earlier epoch. The histories and biographies of that and subsequent times are filled with edifying examples; we see a King of Prussia with four 'legal' spouses, a preposterous formula of approbation and consent being wrung from each retiring lady in the Royal and Serene persons present no more dignified aspect in matrimonial than the courtier statesmen, and whole clusters of irritable geniuses by whom they are surrounded. The husband faithful to one wife, and the wife faithful to one husband, are the exception, not the rule; no scruple was felt by an 'incompatible' pair in specifying freely of the desirability of a dissolution of partnership. Why then should have gone through successive marriage ceremonies is the chief mystery; but the honourable thing was to confide your *penchant* to the wife or husband of your house, receive his or her confidence in return, exchange benisons, and go on the flowery way of freedom rejoicing. The mark of such modesty is stamped plainly on the very front of German society. The matter is generally felt to be one that concerns only the chief actors in the drama. You do not meddle when a man buys a house, lets a farm, changes his banker, or dissolves partnership; a sociable acceptance of accomplished facts, an abstention from any unnecessarily severe criticism, a stretching out of the elastic mantle of charity, which covereth a multitude of sins, is supposed to be the appropriate tone. Any other word savour of superfluous and malignant hypocrisy. You are not to judge, lest your turn come to be judged also; be cautious how you throw the invidious stone; beside why disturb the merriment in hall and dash the general beard-wagging by your stilted niceties of objection? Toleration is our first duty to our neighbour, and to *affaire*

super-squeamishness is simply against good-fellowship. The e of Cato has fallen in vain on censorious shoulders, and 'pridgment' cannot be allowed to le with private matters.

persons who have lived long many, the examples of spouses have dissolved their union, after years of estrangement been remarried, cannot be ther unfamiliar. The writer nbers a case of two brothers ing two sisters (they were the German provinces of Rus-changing partners, and on removing one of the hus-and one of the wives, the al pair (now widowed) were e second time united in the onds of matrimony. It is quite hat the case was exceptional, was told with infinite cackling t and amusement by an ad- g circle of indulgent friends. the family of the writer a uncle seemed to have reached me of skilled practice in this r of the dissolution of matri-. He sat down every evening life to play a rubber of whist his three divorced wives; they for partners, shuffled, and l of tricks and honours' with e gay philosophy of folks for words had no meaning, and no moral. No one bore any- y to anybody else; the three had all tried their hand at t they had held bad cards; ick was against them, and ach successively threw up the and awoke to the conviction heir terrible old general (he a Waterloo man) was much practicable as a partner at ard-table than as a companion e. It was merely a matter of al accommodation; there was will and no resentment; the gement was conducted in the business-like and least onal manner imaginable, and sult proved to be eminently ctory to all parties.

The subject of marriage cannot be dismissed without a brief glance at that supreme sham called the 'morganatic' marriage—a miserable shuffling compromise, supposed to have been invented for the preservation of youthful royalties from matrimonial indiscretions. Nine times out of ten a morganatic marriage means the left-handed infatuation of a grand-duke for a ballet-dancer, but not always; and the English mind is apt to feel intensified disgust when an English duke's daughter marries a small Serenity, and is not allowed to go to court in her husband's name. Nor can we admire the position, when a remote prince of the blood, marrying a lady of most ancient lineage, brings the 'bar sinister' into the coat of arms of his children. No matter that the mother was noble; she ought to have been royal; fidelity, purity, and truth avail nothing, her children cannot inherit their father's styles and titles; other titles and styles must be invented for them. According to the gospel of heralds' offices, and the jargon of ceremonials, they are not officially recognisable. Neither is it a very pleasant spectacle when a poor young princelet, insignificant among insignificancies, marrying modestly, with his only available hand, the maiden of his choice, is snatched from the hearth that was bright, and the home that was vocal with shrill piping trebles, to give the legal dexter palm to the princess fate imposes on his obscure royalty. The sinister union is at an end; it is in vain that the illegal left hand is bedewed with loving faithful tears, and clasped with close clinging kisses; he waves it in the wild despair of final farewell, and the curtain falls on the poor little domestic drama, to rise on one where only right hands count, and hearts are not included in the bargain.

END OF 'GERMAN HOME LIFE.'

ON THE WEAKNESS OF ROMAN EMPIRE.

BY FRANCIS WILLIAM NEWMAN.

DURING a happy period of more than fourscore years,' says the historian Gibbon, 'the public administration [of the Roman Empire] was conducted by the virtues and abilities of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines.' This remarkable series of eminent administrators is generally suggested to a reader's mind, if 'the Good Emperors' be alluded to; but most persons will account Augustus Cæsar eminently good, as also Vespasian. To give prominence to the true causes of Roman weakness, and show that merely good administration could not save the empire from rapid decay, I purpose fully to analyze the two first reigns before passing beyond. They will show the secret springs and germs of all that follow.

Let us omit those deeds of the youthful Augustus—then Octavianus Cæsar—which were most bitterly censured by antiquity. If the facts are truly represented, yet we cannot blame his exasperation at the assassination of Caius Julius, his adopted father, over whose death even Cicero fiercely gloated. In every case his juvenile career is wonderful. Wholly inexperienced, delicate in health, and surrounded by unscrupulous men, who were accustomed to prompt military action in cutting civil knots, he deals with them alternately in war, in peace, and in treaties, with no superiority of military force, yet never makes a single false move. By Marcus Antonius's monstrous follies, he is prodigiously aided; he suffers at most two naval defeats from Sextus Pompeius, yet by his friend Agrippa's talents is even in that war victorious. Fourteen years after his great-uncle's death he is left

the acknowledged chief of the Roman world at the early age of thirty-three. He then had the arduous task of readjusting the whole machinery of state, so that in future it might work without convulsion under new and constitutional relations towards a single permanent head. The death of Caius Julius warned him that the Romans would not endure an oriental king. The very word *Rex* suggested to them despotism and tyranny. Studying to legitimate his position by the forms of the Republic and by the sanction of the Senate, he solved his problem with skill so successful as to dazzle alike his contemporaries and later ages. The relief to the empire from internal peace, after nearly thirty years' civil war doubtfully intermitted, was so great as to warrant him unmeasured panegyric, as exaggerate the positive merits of his rule: into which, the more closely one looks, the graver appear the weaknesses and the errors.

In the first place, it must be remarked that he was far too anxious for popularity with Roman citizens to keep any due control upon the licence of oppression, which Romans, especially Roman officials used in the provinces. Under the Republic the licence was notorious. The Senators were oppressive in accepting heavy fees for false judgments, privileges, or extortions partly under pretence of the public service, partly as hush-money for exemption from false charges. The Knights oppressed as farmers of taxes, often getting military force from the governor to aid in extortions. The soldiers oppressed by the simple terror of the sword. Augustus made no change which should fundamentally remove as

prevent any of these three dire mischiefs. Of the misconduct of individual soldiers the Emperor would rarely hear anything; but how great was their licence we may judge by the frightful case of the British queen, Boadicea, a little later. She rebelled against Rome because her daughters were violated by Roman soldiers, and she herself was scourged—probably for trying to save them. The almost continuous war—chiefly civil—for thirty years before Augustus became monarch, and the ruthless murders of noble Romans in cold blood, cannot have allowed that generation to rise at all above the level of Lucius Sulla's contemporaries. We may therefore be certain that nothing short of stern and resolute justice at Rome could save the unharmed and helpless provinces from the Roman governors and farmers of the revenue *then*, any more than under the Republic. But Augustus had nothing of stern and resolute justice in him. We may believe that Dion is right and Suetonius is wrong concerning his early career, and that from the beginning he abhorred proscription and murder; though, as Maria Theresa in the partition of Poland, he accepted the advantage of crimes which he could not prevent. But the higher his star rose, the more did he covet Roman popularity, alike with the people and with the Senate. He knew that his great uncle, Caius Julius, had risen entirely on his magnificent shows, so he resolved to captivate the people by shows still more magnificent; and to the Senate, whose co-operation he urgently needed to impart a constitutional exterior to his rule, he was most anxious to exhibit himself as a mild, tolerant, and benign prince. In nearly all history we know that the despotic satraps in a great empire can only be prevented from tyranny by the stern severity of a higher despot.

In Persia, ancient or modern, Turkey again, it is not a gentle well-intentioned sovereign, but sternly just, and even capable of cruel retaliations, who best consults the welfare of the subject people. Our own Alfred is praised for bridling his officers by summary severity, not by civil law. Dion (liv. 21) gives in detail a very remarkable story, which shows how slow and reluctant Augustus was to punish a provincial governor appointed by himself. He had made a certain Licinius—who was of Gallic birth, and first a slave, then a freedman in Cæsar's household—governor in Gallia. This man, satisfied with ordinary exacting, impudently decreed that the year had fourteen months, and levied fourteen tributes instead of twelve. The Gauls complained; Augustus avowed sympathy, and partial belief. He came himself to the province,—to examine into the facts we must suppose. But Licinius showed his treasures in gold and silver, and declared that he had amassed them for Augustus, in order to weaken the province and hinder its rebelling. The Emperor took the treasure, and the revolt escaped without further punishment.

After the dreadful revolt, which reached from Illyria to the Black Sea, and threatened Italy with invasion, Baton, the Dalmatian leader to whom, for special mercy to the intercepted Roman army, Tiberius had given honourable terms, was asked publicly by Tiberius why they had revolted, and persevere so obstinately in war. He boldly replied: 'Blame yourselves for it. To guard your herds you send dogs nor graziers, but wolves. Such were the governors brought to those provinces by the Senate, but selected by Augustus. Yet it is possible that he had little choice; the military men may have been

equally hard, and softer men might have fared as did Varus in Germany.

The cardinal mischief lay in rapid conquests and annexations. The praise of moderation awarded to Augustus by Tacitus and Suetonius has been wonderfully re-echoed by the moderns, even Gibbon and Sismondi¹ being carried away by the delusion. The area, peopled by brave and stubborn nations, which this prince added to the empire, was enormous; and his ambition aimed at yet more, which, diverted by insurrections, or compelled by defects, he reluctantly abandoned. He planned to conquer Britain (excited to the scheme, says Dion, by the example of his adopted father the Dictator Caesar), but was twice arrested by rebellion in the Alps and Pyrenees. He sent expeditions against Arabia Felix and Ethiopia, with miserable result. He temporarily pushed his conquests in Germany up to the Elbe, but by Arminius's insurrection three legions under Varus were destroyed, and the Roman frontier driven back to the Rhine. This great and critical event, which the Germans have been recently celebrating, is hard to parallel in history; but an acute friend of mine compares it to the destruction of the English army in Afghanistan. Titus Livius, like our General's Note and Preface, was sensible of its importance, but to inspire terror, he shows that Romans were so superior to Germans and even to the early imperial wars. Augustus, at the first came, and the young men of his life, with the young men of the empire, were all there. The young men of the empire were all there, says Livius, 'fugere de viro.'

To know what was the result of this, we must go to the geography, the conquests, the

Bulgaria, Roumelia, Servia, Bosnia, Illyria, with Dalmatia, Slavonia, Corinthia, Styria, Austria, all Switzerland, Bavaria up to the Danube and the north coast of Spain with the Pyrenees, besides completing the conquest of France, with Belgium and Holland. M. Crassus (grandson of the Crassus who is infamous for his lawless, self-willed and calamitous war against the Parthians), when Governor of Macedonia, conquered for Augustus Roumelia and Bulgaria, and first brought the empire into collision with the Sarmatians or roving people, namely, with the tribe called Bastarnæ who had crossed the Danube into Bulgaria. Through inexperience the Romans were quite unaware that small nations of industrious agriculturists on the frontier of the empire were their most valuable friends, and, if maintained in freedom, would serve as a shield and buffer against the roving nations who were incapable of being attacked or pursued; therefore, to push the frontier up to meet them was an insane policy. Yet to nourish the strength and spirit of the mountaineers and agriculturists could not occur to any Roman wisdom, while the provincials were kept unarmed, spiritless, and enslaved—the only form of rule which the Romans understood. Crassus tried to maintain his conquests by the characteristic Roman cruelty of cutting off men's right hands; a policy pursued by Scipio, Emilius, and others in Spain. No doubt it inspired terror effectually, yet it increased hatred. The wild and brave mountain population subdued by the generals of Augustus in some twenty years by violence and bloody struggles, could only be held down by violence. Hence great standing armies were needed

¹ As the Roman empire was so vast, and as Augustus was as he is, he was not capable of the slightest mistake as to the importance of not conquering Germany, as says Livius, the Romans would have done it if they would, he would have had conquest stop?

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To borrow names from modern geography, he conquered Egypt,

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¹ Not that Sismondi praises the moderation. Valuable writer as he is, he was calm judgment. He strangely despises the Emperors for not conquering Germany, and says that the Republic would have done it. Where would he have had conquest stop?

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on the Parthians many defeats, and their noblest and much-loved leader, Pacorus, the crown prince, and recovered the provinces recently lost to Antonius, really to Augustus. Thus was the Roman Empire fortunately secured on the east.

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why any should have been aggrieved; but when the legions reflected that the Prætorians, who served only sixteen years, and had two denarii a day, were now to receive 1,000 coins for their light services, while the legionaries, who often served twice sixteen years, and had only ten *asses* (i.e. $\frac{1}{16}$ of a denarius) as daily pay, were only to get 300 coins each as their legacy, the smouldering discontent burst into a flame; and first the nearer army of Pannonia, next the more distant Germanic armies along the Rhine, broke into mutiny. Such was the terrible beginning of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar.

This very able and excellent administrator was then fifty-six years old, and every year of his life he had seemed more admirable and more worthy of esteem—worthy perhaps even of love from the wise. Up to that very mature age no tooth of slander, that we know, had nibbled at him, except from the flatterers who wished to ingratiate themselves cheaply with the grandsons of Augustus, by pointing at the experience and high reputation of Tiberius as likely to be dangerous to their imperial hopes. To avoid eclipsing these boys, he had resolutely withdrawn from public life for some years, and retired to Rhodes, in spite of the vehement disapproval of Augustus. Only after the death of Caius and Lucius Cæsar did he come forth again. Then Augustus adopted, first his surviving grandson Postumus Agrippa, next his stepson Tiberius Nero, adding concerning the latter emphatically,² ‘Him I adopt for the public welfare.’ In fact, it soon appeared that Postumus, ‘a savage and wild fellow,’ was quite unfit for office; hence, at Augustus’s suggestion, he was imprisoned in an

island by a decree of the Senate. Tiberius, already invested by the Senate with tribunicial authority, received supreme power, lawful and constitutionally—not by arms, not seeking it, and with reputation not blameless merely, but pre-eminently high. Nevertheless, because the end of his reign was dreadfully overclouded—scarce through his own fault, so far as appears, and because his mind was at last overthrown by a belief in dreadful tissue of guilt among his own family (some of it perhaps fictitious), after-ages have seen his character distorted and stained through this turbid medium. Of all his assailants Tacitus bears the palm of bitter and perpetual sneering and discolouring, and by his splendid style and eminent talent has earned a credit which he does not at all deserve for impartiality.

The miseries of the imperial family were caused entirely by the errors of Augustus, if indeed error be not far too gentle a word. Unless he is slandered by his biographer, his dealings with the female sex were about as bad as they could be. His first wife, while he was very young, was the daughter of P. Servilius Isauricus, but he got rid of her to marry Clodia, step-daughter of Marcus Antonius, when it was convenient to form with him a close political junction. But before this marriage could be consummated, it became more important to conciliate Sextus Pompeius; therefore he suddenly dropped Clodia, and married a near kinswoman of Sextus, Scribonia, who had already had two consul husbands. His numerous infidelities to her aroused her resentment, which he retaliated by divorcing her (on the pretence of her bad temper), on the very day on which

² Tacitus meanly repeats the gossip of men humiliated by Tiberius’s strict rule, that Augustus adopted Tiberius, only to make the Romans the more regret Augustus’s death: and this passes as history!

re birth to Julia, his only
In fact, he was already in
such a man could be in
with Livia Drusilla, wife of
Claudius Nero. The hus-
ther complaisant or terror-
, agreed to divorce his wife
pregnant), and officiate as
ther' in bestowing her in-
e on the rising prince; and
ter died. Livia certainly
an excellent wife to
us, just the very thing he
too good indeed, if we are
ve his panegyrist Suetonius,
catered to his sensual taste
better not specified here.
ing as possible slander all
and unverified assertions,
in the abominable divorces
rriages for mere political
(all of which are public
abundant condemnation of
is's conduct as pernicious in-
eme to those nearest to him.
he first gave Julia in mar-
o his sister's son young
us, and on Marcellus' death
ext year, married her again
cus Agrippa, a man three
der than Augustus, having
Agrippa to divorce his wife
a, sister to the young Mar-
and first cousin to Julia.
n wonder that this unhappy
shortly became notorious
numerous amours? She
e sons and two daughters
marriage, but it must be
doubtful whether Agrippa
e real father to more than
est, Caius. Of the two
ers, one called Julia became
ious for her profligacy as her
Julia; the other, Agrippina,
ing to Tacitus, had one signal
chastity—of course, highly
ed from the contrast to her
und mother; but the his-
onfesses her contumacious-
ide, and tempestuous spirit.
ices in her were far more
all her kin and to Tiberius
e lax morals of her mother

and sister, who (as may seem) were
politically harmless. Agrippa was
no sooner dead than Augustus
compelled Tiberius (such is Sue-
tonius's phrase) to divorce his
beloved wife Vipsania, daughter
of Agrippa by his first marriage,
and granddaughter of T. Pompo-
nius Atticus, the friend of Cicero;
—divorce her—at that very time
pregnant,—in order to marry the
already infamous Julia. *Possibly*
Augustus was then the only man in
Rome who knew nothing of his
daughter's misconduct. Dion says
he already suspected it; Tiberius
knew it, but had to submit. Tac-
itus tells us that 'Julia despised
Tiberius *as her inferior in rank!*'
Is it credible that she should have
been ignorant that the ancestors of
Tiberius led the patricians of
Rome when patricianism was at its
highest, before the Cæsars were
heard of? Did she not know that,
on his mother's side also, his an-
cestors the Livii Salinatores were
high in power and esteem in the era
when the first Marcellus, ancestor
of her first husband, earned his
celebrity? At any rate, she could
not have been ignorant that her
second husband Agrippa (*ignobilis*
loco) was far below Tiberius in pre-
tensions to high birth. It may
rather seem then, that the spite of
the great historian has betrayed
him into foolish invention. How-
ever, no one has impeached Tibe-
rius's morals under this deplorable
infliction; perhaps love and pity
for Vipsania shielded him; indeed,
Tacitus charges him with hating
Asinius Gallus because she was
transferred to him as a new hus-
band, an indication that Tiberius
could not forget his Vipsania. But
now the historians (so-called), who
scrape up the vilest scandalous
gossip of Rome, would persuade us
that the man who passed blameless
through such trials and such an
atmosphere of wild licentiousness,
and was accounted severe in all his

habits, yet, when verging to his seventieth year, gave himself to sensual practices too foul and monstrous to be intelligible to us. When an aged prince, weary of cares and sick of flattery which he despises, goes into complete retirement, it is easy to invent anything of him, since there is no one to contradict secret slander in books unpublished. Be this as it may, Augustus thus ruined his daughter, who in turn could do nothing for her children but fill them with imperial pride. Two of the sons dying, and the third being manifestly incompetent, nothing remained but to take Tiberius as successor. As Velleius observes, choice or election was not needed. His services and high qualities were quite unparalleled. They must be very briefly mentioned here.

His first military expedition, at the age of twenty, was little but a triumphal march, though at the head of a great army, to place a king on the throne of Armenia. No war took place; the Armenians promptly obeyed. But Tiberius gained credit, by recovering from the Parthian king the standards and captives lost by Crassus. Horace celebrates his victories (and those of his brother Drusus) five years later in Switzerland and Bavaria. When revolt arose in Pannonia, and Marcus Agrippa died suddenly, apparently from his exertions in quelling it, Tiberius, now in his thirty-second year, was sent against the insurgents, who were emboldened by the news of Agrippa's death. Only very severe measures could succeed; but he did succeed, and in no long time. Four years later, after his brother's death, he was sent across the Rhine against the Sicambri, and was made consul next year as a special reward. Then came Tiberius's sudden withdrawal into private life.

Next, for the conquest of Germany beyond the Rhine, which

Velleius justly calls *asperissimum periculosissimum bellum*, he undertook in person all the most arduous tasks, subdued the tribes as far as the Elbe, and explored with his fleet the whole northern shore between the Elbe and the Rhine. When sent to achieve the conquest of Bohemia, where the skilful German king Marobodinus had trained a formidable army in Roman discipline, a sudden explosion revealed how much too rapid and violent had been Augustus's annexation. All the brave people who lay along the Danube below Vienna, or occupied the mountainous country from Illyria to the Black Sea, made a simultaneous insurrection, even the Thracians (Roumelia) assisting it. Suetonius calls this the severest of all foreign wars except the Punic. It was an immense pouring in of legions; it was fought out in a third year. Scarcely had Tiberius quenched the fire, when Germany rebelled, crushed Quintilius Varus with the whole Roman army of occupation, and postponed for ever the conquest of Bohemia. Tiberius had thus a new task in Germany. Suetonius is here very full as to his extraordinary precautions and personal simplicity of conduct, equal to that of old plebeian generals or of the Greek Agesilaus. In this dangerous service he avoided trusting anything to chance and all needless bloodshed. After two years he brought back his army and fleet without sensible loss. But in performing these great achievements he learned on the one hand the absolute necessity of not driving brave nations to despair by the violence of Roman soldiers and governors; on the other that to retain Germany in subjection would cost more in blood and treasure than it was worth: hence he adopted a strict policy of not extending the empire, and as soon as he became emperor proclaimed this as Augustus's sacred admonition to his successors. The differ-

as this, that Tiberius adopted policy from the very beginning of his reign, Augustus only at the end.

The anxious care of Tiberius to save the blood of his own soldiers testified by Velleius too definitely to believe. Horace had called him *inde victor*, in his Alpine campaign. When his brother Drusus returned from Germany on his horse on him, Tiberius walked on with the corpse all the way to Rome, says Suetonius. Velleius (2.4), an eye-witness and commander of his wars, narrates his tenderness to the Roman officers. Through the whole time of the German and Pannonian wars (says Velleius) one of us, indeed whether of higher or lower rank, was weakly, his safety and health were supplied by Cæsar's care, just as if, instead of being immensely distracted by the weight of multifarious duties, he had been at leisure for this one thing.

Whoever of us needed it, an ambulance ready to convey him. Cæsar's own litter was provided for public use, and I as well as others enjoyed the advantage of it. Moreover, surgeons and special diet of food, and the equipage of which imported for him alone, were made to succour the weakness of every one of us.' Somewhat earlier, when Tiberius retired to his estates (a conduct which Tacitus shamefully discolours), Suetonius draws a picture of him highly favourable. Though he already held tribunician authority, he lived as a private man in a moderate way without even an official attendants in his walks, and exchanged seats almost on equality with distinguished natives (*Græci*).

His kindness to the sick is also mentioned. While he was at Rhodes, Augustus, in his divorce of Julia from him, a thing which Tiberius had not dared to do himself. He instantly wrote entreatings 'in frequent let-

ters,' forgiveness for her; and begged that she might be allowed to keep everything that he had ever given her. Yet we are expected to believe that, years later, with no new relations or new offence, he caused her to be starved to death! All deeds of tenderness to the wounded and sick must have sprung in Tiberius from a deep sense of what it was right and prudent to do; for he was reserved, and never studied popularity. Probably, as most of the Claudii, he was proud; certainly he was disdainful of common applause. Such a man could not easily change his whole character after the age of fifty-six.

Living until about fifty without any prospect of succeeding to the principedom, he had seen all public matters with the eyes of a private man and citizen. He understood the hollowness of flattery too well, says Tacitus: true; and he understood equally well the causes of provincial revolts. Hence, to keep down the imperial expenses and the provincial extortions were the prime efforts of his administration. The former could only be done by avoiding foreign war and superfluous domestic pomp. Expenditure on shows, to gratify the Roman populace, he disapproved; to gladiatorial shows he was averse; in fact, he was too busy with imperial cares to attend any public pageant willingly. Tacitus regards this as morose and unamiable, yet stigmatizes his young son Drusus as 'rejoicing in the shedding of vulgar blood,' because he loved the gladiatorial combats. On every public calamity Tiberius was most generous to open the treasury for the relief of a city, or to remit provincial taxes. He was indignant at the attempts of the nobility to establish themselves as pensioned sinecurists, pleading that their ancestors bore historical names. Tacitus tells at full the case of Hortensius Hortalus, and is marvel-

lously blind to the fact that, by his own showing, the emperor was quite in the right, and his temper the opposite of dissimulation. What, then, was the dissimulation of which so much is made against this prince? Plainly twofold: first, like every wise Cabinet minister, he knew when to be silent about matters of State, and, if insurrections broke out, was in no hurry to publish all that he knew or did not know—a thing which the gossips of Rome took very ill; next, whenever accusation was brought against anyone, whether in the Senate or before a tribunal, he was resolute to show no sign that he wished the accused to be acquitted or to be condemned. His universal doctrine was: *Let the law take its course, without spite and without favour, against high or low.* If forced to speak while a trial was pending, he always so balanced his utterances as to make it impossible to say that he was urging the judges to severity or to mercy. This, forsooth, was guilty dissimulation! No doubt, in the very base moral state of Rome, an inconvenience resulted. When the accused was *notoriously* guilty, accusers made sure that the emperor, though ambiguous, desired his condemnation. Hence they tried to ingratiate themselves with him by superadding accusations of treason to those of extortion, a proceeding over which Tiberius had no control. When guilty persons were thus condemned, they were pitied (says Tacitus) as having been unjustly punished for treason, and *not* for extortion:—as if that were the emperor's guilt. This historian himself, if duly criticized, consistently admits that the constant effort of Tiberius was *not to interfere* with the course of justice, but simply to insist that guilty men should not be sheltered by rank and connection. The result was an extraordinary number of condemnations; but the Senate or the judges—never

Tiberius himself—pronounced sentence. Still, because in this reign so many of the nobles suffered in judicial trials, the prince himself earned deadly hatred from the aristocracy, who remembered in pleasant contrast the laxity of Augustus. Far better than any severity in punishing oppression was Tiberius' conscientious effort to appoint a governor of a province likely to oppress. 'A shepherd ought to shear his flock, not skin it,' was his maxim. When he had found a good governor he kept him in power year after year and was heartily glad to need no change. Tacitus derides him for his anxiety in choice and his distrust of his own judgment, and tells us that on some occasions, after nominating a man as governor, he had misgivings or new information, and would not let him leave Rome. The historian imputes it to spite against the aristocracy, that he left no man in power for (say) five years instead of letting five men enjoy the honour for a year each. That was more important that the provinces be well governed, than that a number of nobly-born Romans should in turn have the governing does not seem to cross this writer's mind.

It is pretended that certain senators really planned false accusations secretly with Tiberius: but no proof is ever alleged, and the accusations are often confessed to have been just. Moreover, Tiberius saw through most flatterers and sneaks at glance, and despised them: even Sejanus was too deep for him. As to flattery, it may be worth while to lay before the reader part of a speech which Tacitus attributes to this prince, on refusing the honour of a temple, which Farther Spain desired to erect to him and to his mother Livia Augusta.

Conscript fathers! that I am mortal and fulfil human duties, and possess quite enough in occupying the post of chief, both call you to attest, and wish poster-

to remember; who will bestow enough and more than enough on my memory in believing me to be worthy of my ancestors, provident for your interests, unshaken in danger, and not afraid to incur private odium for the public good. These are my temples in your hearts. These are my statues, most beautiful and durable; for those which are formed of marble are despised as sepulchres, if the judgment of posterity turns into hatred. Accordingly, I implore the gods to give me to the end of my life a tranquil mind intelligent of human and divine rights. I also entreat our allies and our citizens that, whenever death overtakes me, they will escort my deeds and the repute of my name with praise and kindly remembrances.

Tacitus is not ashamed to add the censures which were thereupon passed in private on Tiberius, as meanspirited, for refusing the honour of divinity.

Immediately on the death of Augustus, as Tacitus tells, Tiberius was unwilling to seem to steal into supreme power by his mother's influence over the declining age of the deceased prince. He was equally resolute not to seize power by military force. That despotism was a thorny couch, he perfectly well knew; and if he must occupy it, he claimed that the Senate should voluntarily and distinctly confer it on him. Evidently he could not retire into private life, without the certainty of inflicting upon the empire new civil war. In this crisis, Sallustius Crispus sent a centurion to put Postumus Agrippa to death. Tiberius was aghast at the centurion's tidings, and at first avowed that he must bring the matter before the Senate. We cannot know how Sallustius dissuaded him; for assuredly their private talk was only *guessed* at by contemporaries; but the argument was obvious. 'Do not blame me. I have saved the empire from a civil war, by sacrificing one worthless life.' A single day revealed the imminence of danger. A slave had devised the plan of carrying off the captive prince to the Germanic

armies, and proclaiming him emperor; but his ship, a merchant vessel, was slower than the galley which carried the centurion, and Postumus was slain before the champion could reach the island. This same slave, a little later, passed himself off as the deceased prince, and for a moment caused great joy and consternation. When Sallustius could point to the attempt of the slave, as proving the reality of peril, it was morally impossible for Tiberius to take a step. He was profoundly silent in the Senate; but a report went abroad, that he privately alleged Augustus's orders to put Postumus to death. Such are the grounds for calling Tiberius 'the murderer of Agrippa.' Meanwhile, to Tacitus's indignant phrase, all high Romans 'were rushing into slavery' (what would they have them do?) The consuls, the military chiefs, the Senate, the soldiers, (he adds) the people, took the oath of allegiance, but Tiberius assumed no despotic airs in the Senate, but behaved with senatorial modesty. This, which is praised in Trajan and the Antonines is called 'dissimulation' in Tiberius. So is his careful distinction between his privy purse and the public treasury, at which Tacitus contemptuously scoffs, in the words 'as if it mattered.' But Marcellus Aurelius was equally punctilious. The news of disaffection in the Germanic and Pannonic armies impelled Tiberius to rest his power visibly and beyond dispute on the Senate; and the events proved wisdom. Dangerous mutinies were quelled, which were with difficulty appeased; after which Germanic soldiers were eager atone for their offence by slaughter of Germans, for whom Germanicus (nephew and adopted son to Tiberius) was only too eager. He made two very cruel and dreadful campaigns against

Germans, quite useless, almost gratuitous, causing (no doubt) immense misery to women and children as well as to armed men, but suffered himself from swamp and from the incursions of the German Ocean as much as from barbarian attack. There probably he caught the consumptive disease of which he died. Tiberius, at the earliest moment that he safely could, recalled his nephew from an inhuman and disastrous war. At this also Tacitus snarls, saying that the emperor grudged to his nephew military glory, and feared his ingratiating himself with the legions. Truly he might well fear this concerning Agrippina, wife of Germanicus. But this historian himself avows that the war had no worthy object (*dignum præmium*).

Much as Tiberius shunned war, some guerilla or other was sure to be permanent. Already the provinces had numbers of destitute men, ejected or ruined by taxation, who formed themselves into bands, were reinforced by fugitive slaves, and lived as brigands, to the misery of the little cultivators. Now and then a more ambitious insurrection took place, as that of Florus and Sacrovir in Gallia. The cause (says Tacitus) was 'the enormous indebtedness' of the States. How this arose, we know from Cicero's writings. Suppose a war not very distant: large supplies are demanded, and large moneys. They give up corn, oxen, horses, carts, and what money they have. When more money is required, they have to borrow it of a Roman knight, who brings it for the purpose. The Senate allowed 12 per cent. as normal interest, but the knights struggled for 40 per cent.: and Brutus quarrelled with Cicero, because the latter said that 12 was enough for his agent, and that the provincials had a right to repay the principal of the debt as soon as they had the money in hand. Not many

Roman money-lenders are likely have been more scrupulous than Brutus, and not many Roman proconsuls so steadily just as Cicero. A dangerous insurrection flamed out from this cause, Sacrovir and Florus urging, 'There is no end to the claim of war-money; the interest demanded is enormous; our governors are proud and cruel; the Roman armies are disaffected; the land abounds in men, but the Italian fields are empty, and the town populations unwarlike.'

Augustus well knew how weak close at home, the empire was, as alike in the Illyrian and in the German insurrection, was in great alarm lest the enemy should march down into Italy, where little resistance could have been offered them. From the reign of Augustus onward the military policy of Rome was that which Jefferson Davis adopted in the American civil war: he threw the entire strength on the frontiers, so that the country was like a hollow shell—once broken through the outer covering, as you can march across unresisted. Augustus did attempt to remedy the depopulation of the Italian soil by planting settlements of colonies from the great cities, chiefly, I suppose, from Rome. The means for which Tiberius has been justly censured perhaps may be accounted for by his unwillingness to let Rome appear defenceless. We, who had how ill the Prætorians behaved in centuries later, blame Tiberius for bringing them into a single camp. But they were not the only army, nor at all the strongest. The troops on the Rhine and Danube were likely to be somewhat less haughty if they knew that Rome had a powerful army, kept in firm discipline; moreover, the Gauls would be less ready to calculate on an easy march into Rome. Also the Prætorian cohorts, quartered in private houses, must have been a great discomfort, or something more

worse; nor could they there be kept in such training as to be ready to meet a formidable enemy. Sejanus is said to have urged Tiberius to bring them together into one camp, by delusive reasonings, really to serve his own ambition; but Tiberius, it may well be believed, knew what he was about. He had then a son alive, at least one grandson, and three adoptive grandsons, sons of Germanicus. To attribute to Sejanus at that time a scheme of aspiring to the chief power is ridiculous. He was a mere knight, and at the utmost could only hope for a secondary post. But his ambition grew as he found the senators more and more to crouch before him; and after Drusus, son of Tiberius, was dead (as his father believed, from various debauchery), when two of the grandsons were disgraced, and a third (Caligula) was evidently unfit for power, then at last the ambition of Sejanus culminated. Public folly assumed that from the first he had planned the whole; so his divorced wife was believed when she declared that Sejanus had corrupted Livilla, wife of Drusus and sister of Germanicus, to poison her husband, who was also her cousin, in order to marry *him*, a Roman knight! Space does not allow discussion here whether the frightful tissue of crime attributed to Sejanus, and to Tiberius on the discovery of his guilt, is true or false. The broad fact is terribly clear that the last years of this able, industrious, and excellently intentioned prince were quite tragical to Rome, but not to the empire. Dion Cassius is probably correct in saying that Tiberius by will made his own grandson, Tiberius Gemellus, his sole heir; but Caligula, whose vices the aged prince knew too well, having secured the support of the Prætorian guards through their commander Macro, boldly claimed the place of prince, and enforced on the Senate to de-

cree that Tiberius *was not in right mind* when he made a will which raised a youth of eight to supreme power. This year Tiberius was presently killed by direct order of Caligula.

Then succeeded three dreary reigns—of Caligula, the mad and glutton; Nero, the profligate and cruel man. Claudius was in his hours wise, like our James I., he allowed his freedmen to oppress. Under these emperors were thirty-one years of great suffering. The death of Nero opened a fountain of woe. The armies of Spain, of Germany, and of Judæa contended which should be an emperor to Rome. First, the army of Spain and Portugal made Galba on the throne; next, the army of the Rhine defeated Claudius (Galba's assassin), and made Vespasian emperor; lastly, the army of Pannonia defeated the German army in the name and interest of Vespasian.

The civil war was in itself a terrible calamity to every place within reach of the legions on march; when they crowded into Rome the state of things was frightful. Fighting in the city itself, the legions burnt down the capital a second time. But calamity spread wider by the removal of the troops from the defence of the frontiers. The disaffected provincials and outside barbarians alike saw their opportunity. At this very crisis a year after the death of Nero—the empire might have fallen for ever as many Christians ardently expected. Tacitus indeed says of this year (A.D. 69) that to Galba it was the last, and *almost* the last to the Roman Commonwealth. At this time a Gaulish province had made insurrection which had been planned with Galba against Nero; but the precipitation of the Roman troops was always glad to fight with rich provincials rather than with poor

barians, crushed the war in the absence of their leader Virginius, who did not mean to fight. Hereby the whole of Gaul was shocked, weakened, and laid open to the Germans, against whom a great war was presently necessary. The Suabians also and Sarmatians attacked the empire, and Illyricum was in commotion. Rome was saved by two events which may appear accidental: first, the Emperor Vitellius, who happened to be in command of the Germanic legions, was a worthless and incompetent sot; next, in the Pannonic army, was a young senator of singular genius, the Garibaldi of the first century, only much wiser. His name was Antonius Primus; he is celebrated by Martial as a purely virtuous man, able in his sixtieth year to look back upon every day of his life with pleasure. He became the darling leader of the Pannonic cohorts, and thoroughly eclipsed the patrician, Vipstanus Messala, a literary friend of Tacitus—whose falsely-coloured notes of this war, we may infer, are the source of error. In Tacitus all Antonius's deeds are splendid and praiseworthy, all the *motives* assigned by the historian are despicable and gratuitous. Our historian would have us accept from him the following summary of this remarkable man:—'Guilty at law and condemned for forgery, an able fighter, a ready speaker, skilful to weave mistrust of others, and powerful in disorders and mutinies, ready to plunder and to lavish; in peace the worst of men, in war not despicable.' *Not despicable!* truly not. Being but a 'tribune' in a great army, he declared war for Vespasian against Vitellius, and insisted that they must march *at once* into Italy—not wait until the Moesian and Syrian legions could join them, and avowed that, unless held back by force, he would march with his single cohort against the worthless emperor and

all his Germanic hosts. They soon see Italy unlocked, the Vitellians driven in, and will be glad to follow his victorious steps. His army exclaimed, 'This was the man and leader for them;' Vipstanus Messala and the nominal commander-in-chief were swept from his train. He broke into Italy with inferior forces, fought drawn battles, always victorious, against celebrated Germanic legions, besieged and took cities, but with immense anxiety restrained the troops from violence; nevertheless, Cremona sustained a dreadful conflagration from uncertain causes. Finally, he entered Rome in triumph, and claimed Vespasian sole emperor of Spain and Gaul at once came to at the news. If this success had been attained only twelve months later, the insurrections and insurrections gathering from all sides might have overthrown the empire. When Mucianus, governor of Syria and partizan of Vespasian, reached Rome, angry at the speedy success which he had struggled for, he thought it quite necessary to disarm the formidable friend to whom Vespasian was receiving the gift of empire. Antonius proceeded to Vespasian at Alexandria to explain; but finding himself attacked by letters from Mucianus and the numbers of others whose pride at wonderful successes had wounded him, and that Vespasian was puzzled and cold, he at once retired into private life, and lived there with dignity and respect, giving no further trouble, and receiving no public honour, though he was the admiral favourite of a powerful and victorious army. And this man is called by Tacitus, without a single fact to prove, *pace pessimus*.

Vespasian had next the heavy task of restoring order and organizing safety. The Sarmatians called Roxolani had invaded Moesia (Servia or Bulgaria); another Sarmatian tribe, the Jazyges (the elder

branch of the Magyars), had been conciliated by the Pannonic leaders. A formidable war in Gaul, chiefly against Germanic tribes—Batavians, Treveri, and others—was quelled with difficulty. But when it appeared that civil war was ended, and a single emperor was on the throne; when, moreover, the Roman armies once more assumed the aggressive, the tide was manifestly turned, and the empire was saved. But the warning was, to princes really wise, invaluable; so near did danger come, and so clear were its causes. Vespasian found the treasury emptied, and the provinces largely exhausted. His first business was to recover a sound state of the finances; this apparently was a sufficient task for his ten years' reign. He achieved it by strict parsimony, with new and heavy taxes. He originated public salaries for public teachers—a suggestion of national universities, and perhaps of public education. It does not appear that he introduced any new element of prosperity; but he repaired the waste, the calamities, and the disorders of thirty-two years, yet apparently established in permanence a heavier system of taxation than Augustus instituted. Gibbon, after mentioning 'the arbitrary interpretations, antiquated claims, and insolent vexation of the farmers of the revenue,' adds: 'It is somewhat singular, that in every age the best and wisest of the Roman governors (Emperors) persevered in this pernicious method of collecting the principal branches at least of the excise and customs.'

Vespasian's reign cruelly ruined one province, Judæa, not through his personal iniquity, but from the fatal pressure of misgovernment on an enthusiastically religious people, whose sacred books taught them to expect supernatural help against Pagan oppressors. That Romans who write with virulent hatred of Christians of whom they know no-

thing should abhor the Jews; think no misrule too bad for them is natural; but that Christians, who revere the Book of Isaiah, should blame the Jews for accepting only obvious meaning of its splendid prophecies, is wonderful. This remarkable people had begun their dispersion and their martyrdom much earlier; but now their extreme sufferings engendered blind fanaticism, and they perished horribly. How much better for the empire would it have been to establish them under some natural rule, and to be satisfied with home and tribute, than with vast effort to kill and scatter them as slaves. Slaves, alas! abounded more and more. Smaller proprietors could not pay the taxes, or could not defend their crops from banditti, gladly sold their lands. Great estates, which had ruined Italy, proceeded to ruin the provinces. The vast trade, fed by wars, supported these estates with slaves as cultivators or graziers; nor were new colonies much above serfs. Integration and decay went on, even under the best emperors.

The most remarkable proof of this was in the eighty years of happy reign celebrated by Gibbon. Trajan, the amiable and learned Cæsar, seems to unite all the best qualities of the best princes, and to be at the very head of good governors—least, if he had been a little less hero.' Hadrian mended this, but was very peaceful. He was indefatigable in visiting the provinces; he maintained military discipline, he avoided war, except another dress one against the Jews. Crevier says that his liberal gifts to certain barbarians were mistaken by them for bribes to avert attack! Titus Antoninus was a model prince, alas! he had war against German Dacians, Jews, Moors, Greeks, Egyptians, and a great British nation. When Marcus Aurelius ascended the throne, it needed no great

cernment to see (what Tacitus saw in Trajan's reign)³ that the empire was fatally sinking; nor, if his sweet philosophy had been far wiser, could any skill of administration have saved such an empire. First came on him an outburst of war from Parthia, which lasted four years; and a dreadful plague, said to be imported from Parthia (for nations never will believe that their own vices breed plagues at home); on it followed a great war against the Marcomanni and Quadi, which can scarcely be said to have come to an end when the emperor died at Vienna fourteen years later. Besides, he had wars of which we have little acquaintance, in Egypt, in Spain and Portugal, and with the Gallic Sequani. Against the Germans he had a terrible want of soldiers, partly from the Parthian War, partly from the plague, but chiefly no doubt from the decay of free rustic population. He was glad to put slaves, gladiators, and robbers into the legions, and at length to purchase auxiliary troops of the Germans to fight against Germans! The Roman losses in war were so great that when peace was made, more than a hundred thousand prisoners were delivered up to them. It is impossible to doubt that the 'happy period' of these four excellent emperors was a period of steady decay. Taste, learning, genius declined side by side with free rustics, rural cultivation, and national wealth. City vices played a large part herein.

If the fact be admitted, free criticism of these great men is neither presumptuous nor superfluous. Trajan lost a most splendid opportunity. The provinces no longer resented Roman rule; they now revered the empire; they only resented oppression. For ninety years the Germans had been left in profound peace, and were without a suspicion that the

Romans desired to conquer beyond the Danube or Rhine. 'The *Hmunduri*' (whose region reached to the Elbe in central Germany, and to the Danube in the south), as Tacitus, 'are faithful to us; the fore to them alone of Germans commerce granted, not on bank only, but in intimacy, and our most splendid colony of *Rhætian* province' (*Augusta V delicorum*: Bavarian Augsburg). They cross everywhere without guard; and while to other nations we show only our arms and camps, to these we have opened our homes and our villas, and they not covet them.' It is evident then, that this tribe stretched to the interior would have first allied all Germany to the empire, a public and fixed policy of alliance on terms of independence had been adopted. Trajan spoiled all this by his vehement coveting to annex Dacia. To chastise its king, Decabalus, just enough to let him feel how heavy a Roman hand could be was necessary. If, when he implored peace, honourable alliance and independence had been granted the Marcomanni and Hermunduri in all probability would have been glad of the same high honour and privilege, and the brave Dacians would have kept the frontier of the Dniester safe. All these nations were intelligent and docile, not mere barbarians. But, as Crovier observes, 'the Romans never left the Germans at peace except when they had another war on hand; but returned to the charge as soon as their hands were free, and it cannot be doubted that Marcus Aurelius aimed to reduce Marcomannia to a Roman province.' This change for the worse was the fruit of Trajan's ambition; war made all internal radical reform impossible. But his aggressions in the East were an error still

³ German. 33. The words are very remarkable.

obvious. On a trifling pre- he resolved to annex Ar- to the empire, therefore ed for war with Parthia. Parthians apologized for a t, and tried to keep peace; rajan was resolved on war. st conquered Armenia, next otamia. Meanwhile, his lieu- Cornelius Palma had sub- Stony Arabia, by which emperor earned frequent and much fighting. He led to subdue Georgia Mingrelia after his first an war. In a second crossed the Tigris and con- Assyria, also the great Ctesiphon and Susa; then down the Tigris, entered rsian Gulf, and (if we can it) coasted round all Arabia no reached Bab-el-Mandeb, d Aden, and attacked the of Arabia Felix. Return- e up the Tigris, he crossed at Babylon, and there learnt is conquests had vanished in air. His garrisons had ut to pieces, and he had to everything anew. He cap- he city of Edessa. Seleucia n by two of his lieutenants, miserably failed against the n city Atrra, narrowly es- with life, and returned to to die a lingering death. n is wrongly said to have d Trajan's conquests; they st before Trajan ceased to . Parthians, Armenians, ns returned to their old , and the Roman empire nothing but disgrace. sum up. Every empire by conquest is rotten in the ion until the violences and es of conquest are redressed. was pre-eminently the case e Roman empire, which did

not associate the vanquished as comrades and equals, but trampled them under foot, and (to use Cicero's words) 'laid them beneath the axe edge,' *securibus subjecit*. The evils of such a state can scarcely ever be removed by an executive officer or prince, who is fully occupied by the enormous duties of a wide administration. Either a powerful and sagacious Senate, or a religious legislator, may bring things right; or compulsion from powerful foes, or successful rebellion, may extort new and sound principles. But if none of these things happen, the empire decays from within, as Turkey is decaying now, and as Rome decayed of old. Does anyone ask, How then did the Roman empire endure so long, if it was essentially weak? It is more than four centuries since the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople; and Turkey would seem strong now, if the surrounding European peoples were barbarians, organized in small tribes. Turks are the only cement of the Turkish empire; the vanquished peoples have long lost political cohesion or organization; they have no mutual confidence, nor precedents for union; many of them have been unmanned by long servitude. Romans, or the old families adopted as Romans, were the cement of that empire. The trained armies, however, played the part which the armed Turks play in an unarmed population. Discipline and habitual subservience are great powers. But if the vanquished are forced to unlearn bravery, and the fields are emptied of free rustics, even if increase of wealth follow, the strength of the community is sapped. This was the Roman process from the beginning, and in this it persevered to the end.

THE PLACE OF THE JUDICATURE ACTS IN ENGLISH LAW

ON the first day of November 1875, our Courts of Law presented the unusual spectacle of the commencement of a new system of procedure. This event was caused by the operation of two Acts of Parliament¹ known as the Judicature Acts 1873 and 1874, and by the orders framed to carry out in detail the changes which the Acts have produced in general terms. Yet, in considering the Judicature Acts, the orders and rules must be deemed equal in importance to their parent Acts; in previous instances of reforms in legal procedure matters which now are found regulated by the orders and rules have been deemed sufficiently important to find a place in the Act of Parliament itself. This has, of course, produced a want of elasticity in the procedure, and it may therefore be considered preferable to place all questions of detail in a code of rules which can be changed at the pleasure of the Bench.

It would be a vain indulgence in a series of platitudes to point out the vital importance to a country and a people of its legal system, or of the bearing which this system has upon the domestic history of a nation, or even of the evidence which it may afford of those deeper currents of thought and opinion which are continually at work beneath the surface of things. The two great codes of ancient and modern times, the code of Justinian and the code of the first Napoleon, must inevitably remain for all time a more enduring mark of the progress of the world than the subjugation of ancient Africa or the victories of Marengo and Austerlitz. It is right, therefore, that those to

whom law may be either a subject for professional study or a simple object of interest, should endeavour to form a comparative estimate of the place which the Judicature Act must obtain in the history of English law. The practising lawyer has books enough and to spare which embody the enactments and a series of useful and accurate remarks. But if this measure is one which vitally changes the old line of the English procedure, it demands more than passing comment upon modes of practice, and should be criticised from a higher standpoint. If, on the other hand, if consequences are less sweeping than have been foretold, it is clearly desirable to ascertain accurately what its actual character is. And in speaking of the enactments, it must be borne in mind that the whole body of directions contained in the two Acts and in the orders are alluded to.

Every enactment which affects the law must in its nature be either formal or material. It must either deal with the external forms by which the principles of law are administered, and under which the essential elements of justice are applied to the requirements of practical life, or it must deal with these principles as elements, and with the substance of law which constitutes in the strictest sense law as distinguished from procedure. In all enactments of modern times which have attempted to harmonise and simplify the jurisprudence of a nation, there has been more or less of an attempt to carry out in practice the radical distinction between substance and form. The draughts of the new

¹ 36 & 37 Vict. c. 66; 38 & 39 Vict. c. 77.

system, which came into midst the din of war, recognition might have naturally been had, from the logical character of the intellect, this important principle, and the Code Napoléon of Civil containing the substance of the law was kept quite distinct from the Code de Procédure. In still more recent times the Indian Empire has been governed with two codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure which in no way meddle with the body of the law. On the other side of the Atlantic those States of the American Union which have departed from the old common law practice, and have embodied their legal rules in the form of a code, have also been in the same distinction in view.⁴ But in the new enactments that have been made in the body of the law are those with those concerning the jurisdiction of the Courts. For in the original Act of 1873, the provisions dealing with the rights of tenants and tenants for life, the clear enactments touching the substance of certain branches of law, are embedded between provisions affecting the constitution of the Court of Appeal in the hearing of civil causes, and the permission of appointment of receivers by statutory orders.⁵ But apart from this particular drawback there is something at these enactments as a want of symmetry and similarity about them which, valuable as the consequences may be, is too characteristic of English law, and a measure which might have had an intelligible and harmonious mode of procedure into a mere haphazard gathering of the material rules of procedure now in the various Courts. For as the enactments now stand they are a hindrance to the possibility of framing a Code of Civil Procedure;

and they will remain until that event comes to pass a useful though most unskillful attempt to harmonise the form of the law of procedure; while in the width of their scope they stand above all other enactments in any way similar which have preceded them, they do not fill the void which they might have filled. While they will remain in the history of British jurisprudence as an enduring mark of the time and of the place where the rival systems of English procedure were united, they will hereafter be noticeable rather as the rough sketch of what the future eventually brought forth, of that finished and amended scheme of which all must hope they are but the rude outlines.

Their fragmentary character can be shown in two instances. The question of costs forms the subject of the fifty-fifth order, which lays down two general rules—firstly, that in proceedings in the High Court costs shall be in the discretion of the Court. Secondly, that in cases decided by a jury the costs shall follow the event, unless for good cause shown the Judge shall order otherwise. Now here, in a very material part of the Law of Procedure, would have been an opportunity for consolidating and simplifying the various enactments still in force concerning costs. But by referring to the work of one of the numerous commentators on the new Act, we find it said in a note that this rule must be read subject to the provisions of the County Court Act, 1867, as well as to Lord Denman's Act, 3 & 4 Vict. c. 24, s. 2, and the 21 Jac. I. c. 16, s. 6. In other words, to obtain a general view of the subject of costs, a subject free in itself from difficulty, we are compelled to refer to statutes,

⁴ Act viii. of 1859.

⁵ Act xxv. of 1861, and Act viii. of 1869.

⁶ Codes of New York, of Arkansas, &c.

⁷ Section 25.

some of which were passed more than two centuries ago. Again, many useful provisions concerning the mode of commencing actions are found in the early part of the orders; but while they contain those regulations which touch the majority of cases in which actions are commenced, they leave those cases in which an individual rests his claim upon an unpaid bill of exchange to be regulated by an Act of Parliament dealing alone with actions founded on rights resting on bills of exchange and promissory notes.⁶ In a proper system of procedure all the various provisions applicable to different cases would be found compendiously and succinctly arranged in one part of one plain code of procedure. Therefore, we repeat, while this is the most substantial and most vigorous step that has yet been taken towards codification, it is, nevertheless, most imperfect in its arrangement; and whilst its range is broad, it is still fragmentary in its character.

This measure has also received much popular praise, because it is supposed to have effected that most mysterious, much-talked of, but little understood act—the fusion of law and equity.

It is perfectly true that these enactments put an end to the conflicting jurisdictions of the different Courts, and that they permit a good defence at Lincoln's Inn to be an equally good defence in Westminster Hall. But as a matter of fact, the instances in which the several jurisdictions have clashed within recent years has been infinitesimal compared to the number of cases in which they have worked perfectly smoothly, each in its own proper groove. There can be no doubt of the value of an enact-

ment which sets at rest the rivalry of two systems, and gives each some of the remedies which has either wanted or been unwilling to adopt.

But while occasional dissonances are prevented, and every person interested in the subject of an action can be brought within the jurisdiction of the Court what at Common Law are the equitable defences will be more general, this Act marks distinctly than ever the separation of the jurisdiction of Chancery and Common Law. Thus, while it is a harmonising measure, it is only one which will hereafter be noticeable as dividing, by legislative directions, those jurisdictions which until now only been indirectly acknowledged in Acts of Parliament. Much of the modern jurisdiction of the Chancery Courts has for the most part been employed in consequence of a number of statutes relating to the law of property and the dealings of innumerable public companies which exist in modern commerce. This jurisdiction is not only expressly retained by the new Act, it is more clearly than ever assigned to the Chancery Courts as the proper jurisdiction for that and special business. Thus, for example, it is expressly provided that 'there shall be assigned to the Chancery Division all causes and matters for any of the following purposes—the administration of estates of deceased persons, the solution of partnership or the settlement of partnership or other accounts, and so on. So that the popular notion that, after the passing of the Judicature Acts, persons could go for a remedy to any Court in respect of any grievance is utterly unfounded. Thus we find this Act noteworthy

⁶ 18 & 19 Vict. c. 67.

⁷ In the case of *Humphreys v. Edwards* (*Weekly Notes*, 27 November 1875, p. 1) the Master of the Rolls considered that a case of salvage ought to be transferred to the Admiralty Court, which was the proper tribunal to adjudicate upon such questions.

only as the rough draught of a bill of Procedure, but as settling, with a no wavering hand, the several dictions of the several Courts; places them distinctly within the corners of an Act of Parliament, which he that runs may read, which does not in many parts require a lawyer's mind to understand. They will do good by clearing away those misty notions about confusion of law and equity which for some time been apparent in popular discussions and in the law press. They should also, in two bearings which have been pointed out, lead to a greater symmetry in English law, and to greater clearness of ideas among those to whom it is given to study what is hitherto entirely regarded as nothing more than 'an endless maze of precedent and a wilderness of single instances.'

It is if we acknowledge that the chief merit of the enactments lies in being the rough block of which future legislators may hew out a perfect or comparatively perfect system of procedure, and that they merely clear up some confusions, it must be evident that there is nothing wrong in their character. They pare away excesses, but do not cut down a barren tree. They are in no way destructive measures, as that which inaugurated the new French Codes, and by which, on the 3rd Brumaire of year Two, the National Assembly reduced the procedure of France to a state of simplicity and unworkable simplicity.

It is a logical and natural consequence to the various Acts which in the last twenty-five years have gradually been clearing away from our law procedure those subtle technicalities which the Anglo-Saxon lawyers have woven into a

to be often more a curse than a blessing.

The Common Law Procedure Acts of 1852, 1853, and 1860,⁸ and the⁹ Improvement of Jurisdiction of Equity Act, to take some of the more important and most recent changes, show that it only required a really expert hand to blend the several systems into one, and form one common system which should close the old epoch and begin a new one in our law. But while an end is thus put to these singular technicalities which have often disgraced our law, it should be borne in mind that it is to those able men who were engaged years ago in advocating law reform that we should be grateful as much as to those who have actually carried this work into execution; and it should also be remembered that to the requirements of modern commerce may be attributed a more speedy clearance of technicalities and delay than would otherwise have been seen. For without the cry for speedy law, which has been the real want of the community in recent times, and without the business transactions of London and Liverpool, we might be far enough off from an improved procedure. The greatest desire of the commercial community has been speed in the dispatch of legal business non-technicality in the administration of the law. These two needs the present enactments most certainly minister to. Continuous and frequent sittings of Courts, the simplicity of the new pleadings, the aid which is given to those who with good ground seek the defence of the law, the more extended grasp of the Common Law Divisions over the whole subject of dispute, all fulfil the requirements of merchants, and all are more or less brought to pass by the needs of commercial men.

⁸ 15 & 16 Vict. c. 76; 17 & 18 Vict. c. 125; 23 & 24 Vict. c. 126.

⁹ 15 & 16 Vict. c. 86.

If we look back at the past history of English law in modern times, we shall perceive that many of the improvements in the Common Law were owing to the broad intellect of Lord Mansfield during his thirty-two years' tenure of the Chief Justiceship. 'He was,' said Mr. Justice Buller, 'the founder of the commercial law of this country;' 'and,' says a well-known legal writer,¹⁰ 'he introduced reforms and removed impediments which enabled him to cope with the increase of business caused by the advancing commerce of the country.'

But it must not be forgotten that, much as English jurisprudence may be indebted to this eminent Judge, the actual and pressing cause of improvement was the increasing commerce of England. In Lord Mansfield arose a man well fitted to deal with this modern growth, but in regarding the causes of modern legal improvements it must not be forgotten that it is commerce which has chiefly contributed to modern law reform.

When we come to sum up the observations that have been made upon the chief characteristics of the new enactments we find that they are the nearest approach yet made to a Code of Procedure; that, though rude and unsatisfactory, they form a groundwork for a more systematic structure. They remove those portions of what are named law and equity which have at times been antagonistic to each other, but at the same time they mark most distinctly the several functions of equity and law. They assi-

milate no less than four systems of pleading and procedure which is alone a noteworthy merit, and they take away curious anomalies which have in English procedure separated distinct from that of other nations or even of her own country. Finally, they bear further witness to the immense indirect power of modern commerce, the chief cause of law reform during the nineteenth century.

Chiefly this form is a new procedure, but divested of much of the formerly made procedure and to be avoided by all except those who were actually compelled to it in detail here and there. The new procedure permits a more scientific study of what is the most important part of the law. It will not have been a vain thing. It is often said that French law is too sanguine or too hearted, but it may not be to conclude this paper with words of a distinguished professor of law with the hope that they will be quite inapplicable to that of land:—'Depuis ce moment le seignement de la procédure marcher de front avec ce toutes les autres branches de depuis ce moment aussi ces conditions routinières qui tendent à faire de cette étude un si effrayant de sécheresse et d'aridité qui, la dépourillant de tout caractère scientifique, de toute idée de progrès, la relèguent digneusement entre un four et un calendrier, ces traditions sont plus que des anachronismes.'

E. S. Ross

¹⁰ Foss, *Judges of England*, vol. viii., p. 342.

¹¹ *Leçons de Procédure civile* par Boitard. *Recueils annotés complétés*. Paris, Colmet Daage. 9th edition. Paris, 1865.



FRASER'S MAGAZINE.

FEBRUARY 1876.

ENGLISH CAPITAL AND FOREIGN LOANS.

By FRANCIS WILLIAM NEWMAN.

LOANS negotiated in England, to be raised from English citizens for the convenience of foreign potentates, are not a new phenomenon. There have been plenty of such transactions, not only with Great Powers, but with upstart Governments of doubtful stability; and in the case of the American Union, with States that have no flag and no right of communication with foreign rulers. Of course the motive for lending has been discontent with the low interest at which Governments, notoriously trustworthy, can command loans, and the widely extended belief that most Governments *must* be trustworthy.

Just of late there has been painful excitement concerning the Turkish and Egyptian loans, through the difficulties which are accumulating on the Sultan's Government, and the doubts whether Ottoman rule has any long future. If we look to the immediate circumstances under which these loans were contracted, the case of the Turks is hard. They were very unwilling to borrow, and the severer religionists among them even pronounced State loans to be inconsistent with Mussulman doctrine. If State-indebtedness be a vice, it is a vice into which English urgency has seduced them. In the Crimean war our ministry was foremost not

only to suggest that they ought to borrow, but to indicate how from whom. Without leave of Parliament, Lord Palmerston was so far in pledging advances of money from the English treasury that Parliament found itself to have practical freedom left; concern which, Mr. Gladstone at the time made a definite and resolute protest.

Next, when we concluded the loan victoriously, we did not insist that Russia should repay to Turkey the overwhelming expenses which her unprovoked invasion had caused; hence, in the extreme exhaustion of the provinces, nothing short of great self-denial, patriotism, and wisdom could restore the state to the finances, which before the war was feeble enough. It is wonderful that when the Turks once overcome religious scruples, the great convenience of borrowing should lead them to ask a second and a third loan; the only reasonable thing is, that Englishmen should have been induced to give lending. Nor is it possible to suppress the unpleasant suspicion of the craft of those who negotiated the loans deceived the innocent confiding persons who took shares in them. The present Sultan, at the beginning of his reign, believed to be far superior to his deceased brother in power of mind and was expected to be energetic.

in restoring the empire. Ottomans have always upheld high and sound notions of fidelity to compacts, whether political or commercial; and it cannot be doubted that the Sultan Abd el Aziez earnestly intended to be rigidly honest to all his creditors. It would appear that he took alarm at the depreciation of the Government Notes (another form of indebtedness which the Ottomans have recently learned from Christian powers), and issued an 'angust rescript' to his able minister, Fowad Pasha, on this subject, commanding him to report on the measures needed for re-establishing mercantile confidence and bringing up the notes to par. Fowad Pasha's report (April, 1862), though somewhat confusing by its courtly verbosity, shows him to understand the question in the abstract; yet it may be reasonably believed that he unwittingly helped to comfort the Sultan too much, and thus encouraged the dangerous and newly-besetting vice. It appears from his statement that the Sultan ordered the Chancellor of his Exchequer to buy up the depreciated cash notes, in hope of raising the value of all that remained; but the resources of the treasury, hard pressed on for other needs, failed in the attempt. Fowad Pasha plainly says that the issue of [inconvertible] notes 'is no sound financial economy, but an expedient to be adopted under pressing necessity.' After pointing at the years 1270, 1271 (A.D. 1854, 1855), as entailing severe war expenses which could not be defrayed from current income, he adds, that after these years 'the necessary attention to internal expenditure was not shown;' by which, apparently, he means delicately to imply that the late Sultan was extravagant; 'and this caused an amplification of the state of delusion, through which debt was incurred on a monstrous set of conditions; but these matters did not recur in your angust reign.'

Thus acquitting the present Sultan of personal error, he comforts him by the argument that *though it would have been far better not to borrow at all, yet there is nothing in the debts to terrify*; for his high lordship has entered on the way of borrowing at quite a recent moment in comparison to the other European powers; and when the whole debt is funded, the yearly interest will be but a small ratio to the entire expenditure. In particular, the dynasty of England in the year (A.D. 1850) paid in interest 6,292,000 purses out of a total expenditure of 12,636,800. The French Government spent about 12,619,200 purses and about a third part of this was interest on debt. In the United States of America the sum of the expenses was 2,701,600 purses in the year (1848), and the value of the interest was a quarter of it. On the Austrian dynasty the expenditure was approximately 6,494,444 purses, and the interest on loans one fifth. But in the Sultan's Government the total expenditure may be estimated (he says) as 2,786,811 purses, and the interest of its funded debts only 334,088 purses or less than one-eighth. Fowad further estimates that the Ottoman taxation, head by head, reaches only 45 piastres, whereas in England it is greater than 800 piastres, and in France it exceeds 250. He distinctly lays down that 'the high rate of taxation (in England) is only a mark of the wealth of the population;' nevertheless, he honestly insists that to an energetic and wise Government there is nothing in the existing difficulties to cause alarm.

Perhaps he was perfectly right; and if all the ministers, the Pasha and the Sultan himself, had been as wise and energetic as Fowad, things would have come right between 1862 and 1870; but events suggest that Fowad's report did but encourage more expenditure and more borrowing. David Hume,

than a century ago, declared to give a prodigal heir facility borrowing at every banker's is more ruinous than to facilitate to a minister of State. Un-
 edly for a Government, as for
 uthy man, there are occasions
 it is wise to mortgage a portion
 ealth in order to obtain the
 r of immediate spending; and
 becomes more manifestly safe
 the yearly income is constantly
 e increase, so that the interest
 loan will be less felt in every
 ears to come, and a facility for
 g off the principal may be
 nably counted on. But none
 se conditions existed in Turkey.
 asive as is the territory, fruitful
 oil, and magnificent the climate,
 tracts of fertile land are deso-

It ought to derive from the
 so abundant resources as
 e comparatively independent
 manufactures and of modern
 inery. The population ought
 ecrease steadily; it rather seems
 ecrease; but this is written
 r correction. Everything has
 spect of decay, simply because
 try is not protected, nor are
 men secure. Neither a sultan
 wise vizier can regenerate a
 e race; but, indeed, if reports
 ue, this Sultan has applied the
 e revenue to his own fancies as
 y as did his predecessor, nay,
 far surpassed him in wilful
 vagance. Thus it does not
 ar that the contracting of
 gn loans has tended to the ad-
 age of Turkey.

It what is to be said of the
 iple of accounting loans to a
 gn prince a transaction of the
 te market which every citizen
 freely enter? Is it really quite
 that such a transaction ought
 to be regarded as an affair of
 e, which can only be brought
 re a nation by the definite per-
 ion of its Government? It is
 hoped that in this article so
 ngled and difficult a question

can be at all decisively discussed,
 yet the discussion appears oppor-
 tune, and circumstances invite to
 utter what one may be able to ad-
 duce. The topics will necessarily
 range over a wide surface.

Two broad principles are generally
 accepted in theory and acted on in
 practice, though not always consis-
 tently. The one, that a Government
 may forbid exportation of the articles
 which are necessary for the con-
 sumption of its own people; the other,
 that it may restrict or forbid either
 exports or imports in pursuance of
 its own financial or foreign policy.
 Each principle may be foolishly
 applied with caprice, unsteadiness,
 or needless severity. No one blames
 the prohibition to export corn in
 time of famine. Our fathers, in the
 last century, when the prices of
 grain were high, used to forbid
 distillation, which wastes barley.
 This, though it was a sudden inter-
 ference with their trade, distillers
 in those days appear to have accept-
 ed as something foreseen when they
 entered it. The Athenians made it
 a great offence to export figs, for
 which no reason can be imagined
 than that they were a cheap food
 which the poor would not allow to
 be made dear by exportation. Our
 economists would opine that a large
 foreign demand would quickly have
 led to an immense *extension* of
 culture, such as to enrich Attica
 without enhancement of price to
 its people; but if this argument
 was not thought of, the plea that
 the land, a public possession, should
 minister abundance to its own people
 first, was far more reasonable than
 the plea for the English corn-laws,
 which raised prices to the millions
 avowedly in order to enhance the
 landlords' rents. That the interest
 of the public is paramount, and
 that no interest of special trade
 must be allowed to sacrifice it, was
 an axiom in antiquity, whether the
 rule was despotic or democratic;
 and it is wonderful to what an

extent the moderns have drifted away from this doctrine.

In the discussion concerning Mr. Gladstone's French Treaty a grave objection was started against the exportation of coal, an article on which the manufactures of England pre-eminently rest. Only because it was abundant and cheap were we, with our rugged climate, able to import cotton from the West or East Indies, and send it back manufactured to compete with native fabrics. Coal, it was urged, is not like crops, which you increase by sowing and culture. Foreign competition must enhance price and promote rapid consumption (the material being indispensable to us), must drive us to mine in lower strata, more and more expensive in working—more and more dangerous. Thus, with no more satisfactory result than that of enriching the existing lords of coal mines, we deliberately use up in two or three generations the stores which ought to be economised for the entire future of our nation. These topics were actually adduced and pressed, but perhaps in the Tory prints only. Cobden in France and Gladstone in England being then in notorious alliance, Tory opposition was regarded as a thing of course; and it would appear that no tranquil attention was paid, such as arguments of science deserve. It is not here implied that the foreign demand for our coal has been the *sole* cause of its painfully enhanced price, by which our poorest are the chief sufferers. The increase of screw steamers and oceanic navigation has something to do with it; so has the drinking and perversity of miners. Still we seem to have a right to account this an eminent example in which the permanent interests of the nation have been sacrificed for the temporary enrichment of a class. It suggests that neither legislators nor the nation, nor indeed the men of economic science,

have been duly alive to the public rights; and in so far, it may prepare us to find the same phenomenon in other matters also, as in that of foreign loans.

It may be worth while to advert also to the great jealousy which the English law has shown in the matter of 'commerce with the king's enemies.' A merchant who sells cotton goods and kitchen hardware to the Chinese or Persians suddenly finds that he is guilty of a treasonable act, if war with China or Persia has been proclaimed; and this, though none of his wares be such as would be called 'contraband of war,' as having a tendency to aid the warlike operations of the enemy. Only so long as the king or queen is in friendship with the foreign power is our commerce so counted legal. How much more would it appear that so great an operation as the transference of property equivalent to millions of pounds sterling, for a promise of payments in distant years, ought only to be made under the sanction of our native Government.

In England, where so very large a proportion of the people lives on weekly wages, all economists agree that their welfare, or even their decent existence, depends on the adequacy of the national capital. Our condition is widely removed from that of France and most other continental nations, where a great majority has a secure and direct tenure of the soil, and feeds itself by its own labour; being almost indifferent to the question whether other men be rich, or whether the collective capital of the richer be great or small. If French towns men impoverish themselves by foolish loans to foreigners, this does not starve French rustics nor drive them out of work; at worst, it makes their town market less profitable. But if English capitalists in town and country be enticed to throw away their accumulations on

untrustworthy foreign speculation the English peasant is liable to less wages or even no work at all from the farmer, and no emolument for his son in the towns. In the abundance of national capital is not like the abundance of money to the Athenian, whose most costly cheap fare might be bread and figs; but a break-down in the national capital may entail on the peasant a loss of his bread as great as of that which gives his bread and four.

The English condition is not a stable one; or, indeed, one that is to be permanently endured; being that it has lasted a long time and (whatever we may desire) it is not to be very speedily altered, it is after it the need of a corresponding vigilance in the Government.

If famine of grain be a danger against which a prudent Government would watch, famine of capital is a danger which, in the very peculiar state, *prima facie* claims equal vigilance. Of course, no Government can direct individuals how to bestow their resources, but there is a difference between misapplication of them at home and wasting them abroad. A misapplication of them at home is often nothing but a mere transference from a first holder to others, who are enriched by what the first loses; then the nation collectively is not poorer. It may happen that the loss to the individuals occasions temporary loss to the nation, but it is soon the richer for it. When branch lines or competitors of rail were constructed suddenly, many were impoverished and for some years the nation lost a sensible benefit from their loss; but when new lines gradually came into use, the benefit was undeveloped. Many an ill-judged expenditure half ruins the man who made it, yet very soon becomes a blessing to others and to the

public; and at the worst, the resources are spent on English workmen when they are wholly unremunerative to the capitalist. Hence, except when a commercial scheme is in itself mischievous, whether morally or physically, an attempt to direct or forbid the entire free use of our capital at home will justly be deemed an erring and mischievous activity. Indeed, besides all the other considerations, the sum risked in each separate scheme is almost always small compared with our entire capital. The only exception is in those cases in which the aid of Parliament is invoked, as in the constructing of extended lines of rail. Here, where the Legislature actually becomes a party, it must of necessity consider whether the expenditure of a vast sum in a limited time is desirable.

But when we send valuable goods or their equivalents abroad, several new considerations enter, both commercial and properly political. It is habitual with merchants to expect the aid of their Government in the recovery of their foreign debts, and in defending their persons and property on foreign shores. Well-conducted commerce is a vast benefit; ill-conducted commerce is the parent of buccaneering, war, and national hatreds. From the earliest times this has been notorious. Among the ancients, commerce not regulated and secured by treaty was regarded as little else than piracy; and we daily feel, as of late in the Pacific, this fatal tendency. We cannot endure such an interpretation of Free Trade as would allow Englishmen to arm vessels against the possible injustice of foreigners, and sally forth prepared alike for commerce or war with weak barbarians. In such commerce avarice and audacity soon become reckless. Violent deeds are done by men who have got beyond the reach of English law. The English name becomes odious, and valuable lives,

like those of Bishop Patterson and Commander Goodenough, are sacrificed. By Free Trade Cobden and his associates understood merely 'a trade without differential duties,' or a trade in which no artificial advantage was given to one class of sellers. The modern interpretation of the phrase is a groundless perversion. Inasmuch as the Government must defend its own honour and the rights of its own merchants, of necessity this implies a judgment whether the trade be worthy of maintenance; in that case there must be consuls to claim the dues and the just treatment of our people, and political treaties with competent Governments for the acceptance of such consuls.

How intimately and directly our foreign trade depends upon Government aid (totally differing herein from our home trade) was remarkably shown in 1824-5. The 'Holy Alliance' had slain Lord Castlereagh by its policy, soon made public in the Congress of Verona, 1823. Mr. Canning, his successor in the Foreign Office, in extreme disgust at the conduct of the four Great Powers, 'recognised' the independent political existence of the Spanish American colonies, hereby (according to his proud boast) 'calling a New world into existence to redress the balance of the Old.' Forthwith accounting that English commerce with Mexico and the South American Republics would be defended by English ships of war, our merchants hastened to pour out upon the New world without discrimination every species of English wares. Steam engines were sent, which, from want of roads, could never get farther than the coast; skates were sent to countries where ice was unknown. Out of the vast ruin caused by such headlong attempts at commerce sprang the wide-spread bankruptcies and awful panic of 1825. The Government was wholly blind to the danger;

the chancellor, Mr. Robinson, rejoicing in a full exchequer, mistook the crisis for 'prosperity.' But it had had clearer prescience, which could blame its taking extraordinary measures to avert so great a national calamity as this stampede of fraud merchandise? In general, the Government of necessity has the task of determining (in concurrence with the friendly foreign powers) in what foreign ports or places its consuls shall reside, which inevitably guides the direction of our commerce; but for the most part declines to interfere as to the nature or quantity of the goods sent out, all interference of this nature being exceptional. Nevertheless, since it makes a voluntary move, it stretches out a hand to protect our changes, it evidently reserves to itself a right of intervening whenever the commerce threatens in any way to thwart or embarrass the national policy.

If this be frankly admitted, a step forward is gained in considering the question of foreign loans. Before applying the concession, let us introduce a new possibility. Suppose the friendly foreign powers to desire an importation of Englishmen, either as settlers in the new country or as soldiers in the army: how would our Government treat this? Perhaps of necessity they must reason as follows:—'In any case we have a natural right to be consulted before we part with our subjects, or agree to their swelling the strength of foreign armies. True, when an individual of his own mere motion wishes to emigrate, whether to an English colony or to foreign soil, the effort to keep him is more than he is worth; if we keep him by force, he may become disaffected; personal impulses are incalculable, and it may be wise not to thwart them. But when a foreign Government steps in to compete against us for our citizens, the case is far graver. Numbers of

, well-meaning but variously ant, are likely to repent too if they accept; is it not our to shelter them from their own sdom? Surely we cannot ap- of our *men* leaving the ry in thousands, abandoning female relatives and all who t have been their wives. The ation of individuals, each ed by his own impulse, may to be endured, even when we t it; but the emigration of e masses—whether of males or of mixed population—under elicitation of a foreign power a entirely different aspect. If oreigner has large tracts to e, and plausible advantages to out, the drain upon our popu- may be interminable; and uch as the number of y citizens are our truest th, this is an operation for ling and crippling us. Besides, ign Government desiring such g ought surely not to pass the e Government by, and attempt ransaction with our citizens. ach proposals ought to go to *through us*, and receive our on first.’ So far as I can , this is the view of the case e would all but universally ve itself.

er now the supposition, and e foreign prince desire to obtain nglish citizens, not *men* as sts or soldiers, but a huge of money on the scale needed e great operations of Govern-

If a French or German ant ask a loan of an English , the matter cannot be of so national importance as to call y public notice by authority. if a foreign prince could scend to borrow money from rivate estate of an English t, the Englishman might well usted to look after his own st. The utmost sum that he lend would be trifling in com- n to the national capital, and

incapable of being appreciated in its effects on the great world of politics. Just so, if a foreign prince order a ship to be built by an English firm. But when a loan is negotiated, it is never on the narrow scale of a private fortune, nor is it imagined that the negotiator will be the actual lender. He virtually takes the position of the manager of a lottery, who must induce other people to accept shares, and expects shortly to shift the responsibility off his shoulders on to theirs. Now it belongs to the State in each country to decide in what form commercial partnerships or other combinations shall be legal. Those forms of union which conduce to fraud, and enable the cunning to plunder the simple, are forbidden; or at least to forbid them is justified. We have absolutely forbidden lotteries among ourselves, and have much difficulty to exclude touters for foreign lotteries, which, if legalised, would work exactly the same mischief. Nevertheless, more recently we have permitted raffles for objects of art which are indivisible; a clear proof how remote we are from fanaticism or overstraining of any principle. When no moral evil follows, we are glad to rescind the prohibition; not the less do we maintain it when the transaction tends to gambling, which happens when it is not the award of some article in return for money, but money in return for money. Evidently now, if it belongs to the Legislature of a country to decree whether a lottery agent may be allowed to gather up the moneys of the population, and under what conditions partnerships shall be legal, equally it belongs to the Legislature to say whether an English subject shall be allowed to gather up moneys for the convenience of a foreign prince—perhaps under very delusive pretences. In the last case there is a phenomenon which excites just suspicion, viz. that the

negotiator of the loan, while he has in appearance the chief responsibility, has in practice secured facility for divesting himself of all risk. When once he has floated the loan, no one can tell whether he retains any share in it himself, or how much. Unless it were possible to make him answerable with his whole fortune for its soundness, the protection of our citizens may seem a sufficient reason why such transactions should be forbidden. If the negotiator can propagate delusions in the community, he has everything to gain by his proceedings and nothing to lose. If the result prove calamitous, the calamity is very wide-spread, and strikes especially those families whose heads have been industrious, self-denying, anxious to provide for the future of those dearest to them, and only so far imprudent as to believe the seductive representations of apparently well-informed and respectable persons.

Besides all this, political considerations are involved when funds are advanced on so great a scale as the pecuniary dealings of Government require. The case of the Ottoman dynasty in its relations with its Christian subjects is not at all bad as an illustration from which one may reason back to first principles. What are the merits or demerits of its rule, need not here concern us. If it were far more oppressive than it is to Bosnians or Bulgarians, England could not stand up single-handed as their champion; and the rivalries of European powers, to say nothing of their covetings, make intervention 'in the cause of humanity' suspected, ill-omened, fruitful of quarrel, and seldom beneficial. But the worse we might think of the Ottoman dominion over Christians, the less willing ought we to be to see the hard-earned money of Englishmen poured into the Ottoman treasury, and there used to perpetuate an

oppressive vassalage. If there be no pecuniary delusion, if the man treasury were ever so meeting its creditors punctually, the English Government might feel, on general grounds, that it was wrong to furnish funds, which ought to enrich English poor and beautify islands, to be devoted to the maintenance of a baleful tyrant that were the aspect in which the matter regarded the dynasty. Indeed, to change the illustration, we might turn to Jefferson Davis' federation. If Lord Palmerston's ministry had continued faithful to the cause of freedom and order, they had been indignant (as an independent power might well have been) at men who were under oath to the United States should use their official power to organise rebellion as they did, it surely might have forbidden the great loan with immense advantage to the United States, and advanced from the country. When millions are advanced, we get beyond the sphere of ordinary commerce. Great political issues, one way or another, generally depend on these questions, which in most cases are either official or hurtful to the policy of the Government from whose resources are obtained. In the nature of the case the Government can seldom be indifferent to the case of Turkey, no doubt the ministries favoured the loans, to add stability to that despotic power. But, except when the sake of high policy another is thus favoured, one might expect every cabinet to deprecate such loans, inasmuch as the drawing away of capital is necessarily adverse to the interests of the mass of English workmen.

From all these reasons perhaps be deduced, that the alighting upon some industrious wealthy nation—some Japan or Siam—with whom it was a re-

of law that no foreign could have money-dealings with people except through the aid of the native Government. It could neither negotiate nor order ships of war or of war, without the matter discussed by the highest powers, and approved or disapproved should have no justness for accounting such law or for alleging that it is against the rightful freedom

A Government is somewhat more than a trader. Its finance is on a higher plane, and with different results for good or evil, and the expenditure of a rich

Money being the sinews of power, every loan in modern days is like gunpowder, inasmuch as the Peace Society might act with logical consistency in opposing them. Every Government, of course, contract loans with its own people. They are but a means of lessening the pressure of ordinary taxation on the shoulders of the community, who are in very many cases unable to borrow, under the difficulties, if the Government does not instead itself become a debtor. But it is scarcely a prudent or too severe judgment, that a power which, when it is not from without threatens it, and without foreign loans, does not deserve to stand at all. At least, let its loan be considered under the public approval of the able foreign Governments, and not by mere pecuniary interests tendered to commercial

grander Governments) finds it more suitable either to defray the expense at once by direct taxation or, when the work is one of lasting benefit and the expense great, to contract a loan, with interest to run for thirty years. Such loan would in general be taken up chiefly by the citizens; but no political reason appears why English or French citizens might not participate in it without any cognizance of their respective Governments.

As regards the loss of capital to England itself, it is not overlooked that no mere prohibition of foreign loans can ever prevent immense waste. The disease lies far deeper, and cannot be healed without fundamental reforms in our laws of land. That which economists regard as our life-blood is perpetually drained away—from England, and from England only—not because we are so rich, but because we are not permitted to invest our savings on our own soil with advantage and security. In Massachusetts the savings banks pay 6 per cent., though in soil and climate the State is inferior to England, the winter being remarkably harsh. In marriage settlements, I am told, it is common to count on 6 per cent. as the interest of trust-funds. Many economists would have us believe that the interest of money cannot be permanently different in different countries, and try to explain all higher interest than that of English consols as an indication of inferior security. But facts are entirely against this dogma. High profits cause high interest; and high profits largely depend on wise law, freedom, and public honesty. Unwise law or prevalent immorality will beat down profits and lessen the interest of money, and that, of course, most where very many save capital. It is this low scale of interest which tempts our capital abroad, and seduces so many to invest in foreign loans and in

a definite and intelligible financial object is contemplated the case is much altered. If, for example, that the State of New York wishes to improve her harbor, or the State of Illinois to redevelop her river city, then, instead of investing in a company with shares for no purpose, the State (like

numerous unsound schemes. Poor as is the remuneration which very many shareholders have from our railways, it is a vast advantage to the near future of England that such an investment has been found *at home*, and that so glorious a work has been achieved for our permanent benefit. When it is remembered how many millions are every year spent in intoxicating drinks and tobacco, it may appear almost ridiculous to think much of the national losses by the worst foreign loans; nor does the present writer at all imagine that any worthy result would follow from a new-born zeal in our rulers against this one form of loss. Other far greater evils have to be extirpated before we are in a position to get benefit from minor reforms, if reforms they are. Nevertheless, if the reasonings in this article are sound, they may help to hold up to us an outline of the commercial functions of Government. They may also chasten the extravagant interpretation of Free Trade, in which anonymous writers so recklessly indulge, especially in the desire of defending the pernicious drink traffic. Neither from Whigs nor from Tories is any *government* to be expected in the

future. Both of them have pretended leadership to mean for the lead of the people; but the people are now forced to let the old parties two influence dominated—personal object national ambition for extend and influence. Desire of the welfare of our own lower has been too feeble to carry great measures; but these cannot be without large support above, are now resolved not to their own debasement and impoverishment by a pernicious. When they have suppressed worst vice, which our states have fostered, they will become enough and wise enough masters of the situation; and ever may be at the head, will to make *moral* interests a sound condition of the *lowest* the first interest of State. At this stage is reached, our savings will not be spent on foreigners. We, as others shall find plentiful use for a capital at home, to the benefit of our land, to the benefit of our industry, and to strength. Then we shall have temptation to listen to foreign mongers.



THE ROYAL BENGAL TIGER.

By THE REV. M. G. WATKINS, M.A.

tion close to civilisation
 an enthusiastic sportsman
 varied and noble game
 large extent of country
 to the North-Western
 of our Indian Empire
 between the Ganges and
 in the district of Mirza-
 s may be roughly de-
 a table-land of old red
 rising on the north-west
 e slopes of the Vindhya
 on the south, often fall-
 ly some 1,500 or 2,000
 he crests of the Kaimore
 to the valley of the
 haezapore, Benares, and
 fringe the northern skirts
 territory, connected for
 convenience by railway
 tion, so that the shikarri
 shoot tigers in a jungle
 ls noon, and repose at
 ist all the comforts of
 tion life. If he would
 range of his operations,
 sk the central highlands
 he Nerbudda, with the
 Mahanuddy rivers re-
 on the west and east,
 a wonderfully diversi-
 ry extending over the
 nge, the Mahadéo and
 a mountains. The Great
 ninsula Railway has a
 agapore, which runs along
 of this district. In these
 ries tigers, bears, wild
 wine, deer, antelopes, pan-
 be procured in abundance.
 man might easily secure
 ughter among the count-
 of bison on the head-
 he Arkansas or Nebraska
 might slay larger and
 erful game amongst the
 ants, and hippopotami of
 esi, or in the swamps

round Lake Tanganyika; but he
 will nowhere meet a fiercer antago-
 nist than the Royal Bengal Tiger,
 and he will perhaps nowhere obtain
 more abundant and diversified bags
 than in the districts named.

In their rough rocky solitudes he
 may expect bears, which, as a rule,
 are not partial to jungle. Here
 too, if fortunate, he may light upon
 a leopard surprised outside its
 favourite cavern or stony fastness.
 The wild dogs hunt in packs through
 the forests. In October and Novem-
 ber multitudes of snipe and wild-
 fowl arrive from the frozen wilds of
 Central Asia upon the 'jheels' and
 swamps, to say nothing of the
 ordinary game birds of India which
 abound in the autumnal stubble
 fields, in the vicinity of villages and
 the hillsides. Among the cultivated
 lands after nightfall, and in the
 tracts of grazing-ground by day,
 that noble quarry the black ante-
 lope (*Antelope cervicapra*), the well-
 known 'black buck' of Indian
 sportsmen, is abundant. On wooded
 slopes the nilgae (*Portia pictus*) is
 commonly met, together with the
 chikara or Indian gazelle (*Gazella
 Bennettii*), the spotted deer, the
 sambur, the four-horned antelope,
 the hog-deer, the barking-deer, and
 others of the cervine race. Then
 wolves, wild pigs, porcupines, wood
 and green pigeons, ortolans, the
 broad-snouted 'magar' (or croco-
 dile of the Central Provinces), the
 mighty bison, and many others offer
 endless excitement to the hunter.
 What more could the most ardent
 sportsman desire? Monarch over
 every description of locality in
 these two districts, however, and
 only fearing the bison, roams the
 Bengal tiger, of which so many
 sporting anecdotes are told. We

purpose, after giving a general account of his habits and life-history, to follow the footsteps of some renowned shikarries in search of him through the Mirzapore and Satpura districts.

In the same way as the Crusades introduced the marvels of Oriental civilisation to Europe, the expedition of Alexander the Great first revealed to the ancients the existence of elephants and tigers.

Amongst the earliest classical allusions to the tiger must be reckoned the fiery burst of indignation which flashes from the injured Phœnician queen as our old friend Pius Æneas calmly avows his perfidy—

duris genuit te cautibus horrens
Caucasus, Hyrcanæque admorunt ubera
tigres!

(Æn. iv. 366.)

In the same way Shakspeare has not forgotten to introduce York upbraiding Queen Margaret (*Henry VI.* pt. iii. 1, 6):

O tiger's heart, wrapt in a woman's hide,
How couldst thou drain the life-blood of
the child?

And soon after—

You are more inhuman, more inexorable—
Oh, ten times more — than tigers of
Hyrcania!

Hyrcania is indeed all but the western boundary of the tiger's range, where it would most naturally fall within the Roman's ken. Silius also knows the tiger in this locality, the modern Elburz mountains; he describes a horse—

Caucasiam lustratus virgato corpore tigrim.
(v. 148).

The two Latin poets exactly seize the two qualities which give pre-eminence to the *Felis regalis*, his ferocity and his beauty. The first tame tiger seen in Rome was shown by Augustus at the

dedication of the *Thea Marcellus*. Afterwards C exhibited four. If Voss's that the *Daphnis* of Virgil Eclogue is intended for Julius be accepted, and the verse

*Daphnis et Armenias curru subjuug
Instituit*

is to be taken literally, the institution of tigers to the Imper must be antedated.

For a full account of gor's anatomy, geographical and habits, the Indian man may turn with confidence to Dr. Fayrer.¹ From his residence into the *Thanatophidia* of which he has given to the world sumptuous and gorgeously treated folio, to the little book which appears to have been piled for the Prince's inst whom he is now attending Eastern progress, is a great in point of bulk, if we measure Fayrer's book after the manner in which Lord Mac estimated the dimensions Nares' Memoirs. Appraisal Bengal tiger's life and death ever, by the practical value treatise, and the amount of mation it contains, it is sufficiently weighty.

The *Tigris regalis* is the species of the kind, and obtains appellation of 'Bengal' for its beauty and ferocity are most developed. It has a geographical range, though limited entirely to Asia. Ararat and the Caucasus west, it extends to the Isl Saghalien, and, with the exception of the central table-land of extends through the length breadth of India, and round China and Mongolia into It is found at considerable elevations on the Himalayas (Dr. Fayrer

¹ *The Royal Tiger of Bengal: his Life and Death.* By J. Fayrer, M.D. London: Churchill. 1875.

of one which was shot 10,000 feet above the level of the sea, and penetrates through the Malayan Archipelago, and in Java and Sumatra.

As might be expected, it varies in colour, thickness of hair, and according to its habitat, the fur being longer and thicker in colder regions. None of the *felidae* has been found in Australia or New Zealand. Recently Captain Macgregor, however, has astonished the scientific world by his discovery of a 'moolah'; which was in all size, he tells us, like a leopard, but much handsomer, being a white ground with chestnut stripes. One he shot was 7 feet 8 inches long, and 10 inches from nose to the tail; larger than any tiger he had seen in India. Persons on reading these may be tempted to fancy that the tallant Captain had served the Marines. In Ceylon, too, it is common.

Several points in the anatomy of the tiger which call for mention are the enormous developments of the neck, chin, and fore-arms, the formidable canine teeth. The ungulate feet are armed with aculeate claws and cushioned pads, which aid his stealthiness. In man, and many other animals, the partition which separates the cerebrum and cerebellum is membranous; in the tiger it is bony, which lends additional strength to the skull. The senses are all well developed, though that of smell is more developed than the others. The brain is strongly compacted; the eyes are especially adapted to nocturnal movements of strength, speed, and accuracy. The curious little horns are deeply sunk in muscle, and are not carefully sought for when the tiger is to be passed over; the natives esteem them highly as talismans and charms. Digestion of food is rapid, owing to its simple

stomach and short intestine. Lightness of foot and extreme facility in executing those bounds which are characteristic of the *felidae* generally are noticeable points in the tiger. In fact, he is nothing more nor less than a huge cat, with power and ferocity excessively developed; a very 'King of Cats.' Travellers sleeping in their tents may hear one calling to its mate in the neighbouring jungles, till night is made hideous by their amatory growls and roarings, just as their diminutive congeners on European house-tops serenade the moon, and provoke the exasperated sleeper to dislodge them with a hair-brush, a lump of coal, or whatever comes first to hand. The crowning point of a cat's ferocity, stealthiness, and delight in bloodshed is arrived at in the Royal tiger. Those who have seen him after he has been shot and his skin stripped off have noticed his singular resemblance to the frame and fore-arm of an athlete. The muscles of his arm and shoulder are but modifications of those seen in man and other mammals, adapted to the requirements of the animal's predatory life. A curious arrangement of elastic ligaments and muscles provides for the withdrawal of the claws during ordinary progression, so that they are not worn or blunted by contact with the ground. The tiger takes particular care of these terrible weapons. Trees are frequently seen in the jungles scored with long vertical fissures to the height of eight or ten feet from the ground, where tigers have cleansed and sharpened their claws. Some trees are greater favourites than others, and the peepul, or Indian fig, is often disfigured in this manner. All sportsmen know how difficult it is to preserve either claws or whiskers on a tiger's skin. The natives deem them powerful love-charms, and cut them out the instant they dare to approach the prostrate tiger. It

requires peculiar watchfulness to prevent this; and Dr. Fayrer tells us that natives who are perfectly honest in all other respects are utterly unable to resist these tempting treasures.

The exact period of the tiger's gestation is unknown, but is put down at fourteen or fifteen weeks. There is no particular season for breeding. Captain Forsyth believed that owing to her cubs remaining with her till nearly full-grown, a tigress has but one litter of cubs in three years. A preponderance of female over male cubs is usually observed, owing, the natives say, to the old male tiger killing all the young males he can find when they are young. The cubs are frequently deposited in long grass, especially the *nul*. They are generally from two to five in number, and follow their mother, who takes the most anxious care of them, until nearly full-grown; say, to about their second year. At this time the tigress is particularly savage; defends them with the greatest courage, and when robbed of them is terrible in her fury. Pliny tells us that, when wanted, they are stolen by a man on a very swift horse; he sets spurs to his steed, and makes good his escape, till he descries the tigress behind, when he drops one; she halts to fondle and to carry it to her den, during which time he makes renewed exertions to escape, dropping a second on her reappearance, which is also carried to its home. The process is repeated, until either he has no more cubs or gains his ship with what he has managed to secure, when (adds the naturalist) the tigress spends her wrath on the shore.² But tigers, he did not know, are very fond of water, and are frequently found in swamps and by the edge of streams. They swim

to and from one island to another in the Sunderbunds; and once the captain of a trader on coming up from his cabin has found a tiger in possession of the deck and men in the rigging. The best way now to procure cubs is to shoot the mother. As soon as they can dig flesh the mother-tigress kills them, teaching them to do so themselves by practising on deer and pigs; then she is wanton and bloodthirsty, killing often for the pleasure of knocking down and destroying life. With all her affection for them, however, she has been known to desert and even to devour them when hard pressed with hunger. When the young ones have left their parents they are far more destructive than grown-up tigers, often killing three or four cows at a time, while the adult rarely kills more than one, and that, for the most part, once every three or four days. It has often been doubted whether tigers will feed on carrion, but Col. Wilkinson wrote to the *Asiatic paper*³ to say that on a mule falling lately down a steep bank on the new road which was being constructed for the Prince of Wales to go up to the Annamallee Hills. In search of game, the body was poisoned with strychnine, and the tiger was very soon found dead after feeding on it, some half-way from the mule. This animal decided another controversy. Both have been the wranglings over the length of tigers when measured after being skinned. Dr. Fayrer points out that errors are apt to arise from the measurement being taken while the skin is removed, in which case owing to its stretching, it may be ten or twelve inches longer than before it was stripped off. The tiger above-mentioned measured, when found, 9 ft. 6 in., before being

² *Nat. Hist.* viii. 28.

³ Published in the *Field*, Nov. 13, 1875.

from nose to tip of tail, r being stretched out, the 11 ft. 5 in. Measuring in e from the nose to the tip il before the skin is taken r of ten feet is large; this taken as the extreme size full-grown male, though dian sportsmen have as- hat they have seen and ers of 12 ft. in length, and in some special cases, the ay be correct. The tigress n 8 to 10 or, in very rare y, 11 feet in length, the eing from 3 to 3½ feet at lder. An Indian sports- rms us that 10 feet may be the usual length of a tiger, not 12 ft. or 12 ft. 2 in., as er asserts.

Mammals of India, Jerdon e average size of a full- nale tiger at 9 to 9½ feet; 'occasionally tigers are o feet in length, and per- few inches over, but the f tigers 11 and 12 ft. in hich are so often heard require confirmation;' n, 'I have not myself seen atic account of a tiger that l more than 10 ft. and 2 or s.' Forsyth corroborates alling 10 ft. 1 in. the size usually large tiger.

rey of the tiger is multi- but cattle, deer, and wild n its staple. It steals at the neighbourhood of a or 'gowrie,' where cattle springs upon some unfor- illock, which it drags into d place, and, having satis- appetite, withdraws from rrie,' or 'kill,' to some s,' or lair, in the thick grass e hard by, where it sleeps ouch. The same sports- as that, except in the very weather, when water is tiger will not remain by ' for more than twelve frequently, however, it will

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return and consume other parts of the victim, once more retiring to sleep till decomposition sets in, and the crowds of jackals, vultures, and birds of prey which are thereby attracted to the locality warn him to seek fresh game. In North and Central India his practice is to drag the creature on which he has pounced to the nearest stream, lie down all night by it devouring it, sleep during the following day, and then quit the place when evening falls. He rarely travels less than fifteen miles, and often twice that distance, in a night. Indeed, our friend knew of one which was shot at, and had its fore-arm broken, one afternoon, and yet possessed such vitality that, even in that condition, he travelled thirteen miles and killed again the same evening. The attack consists of a stealthy advance till within short springing distance. Then, with a quick rush and a roar, he dashes his prey to the ground with his powerful arm, and seizes it at once by the throat with his formidable fangs, holding it down till nearly or quite dead, and then dragging it away. Milton has caught the growl or roar of the springing tiger in his expression 'howling like tigers at their prey.' (*Comus*.)

In the monsoon, when food is scarce, the Bheels in Khandeish affirm that the tiger condescends to feed on frogs, which reminds us of the story told of the lion deigning to turn mouser in extreme old age.

One of the most curious and, at the same time, well-attested peculiarities of the tiger is that he does not naturally possess, but easily acquires, a love of human flesh. At first, tigers appear to bow to that instinctive dread of man which is natural to all animals. The natives are aware of this habit, and carry on their usual avocations as grass-cutters, fruit-gatherers, herdsmen, &c., close to a thicket where a tiger is known to be lying. It is not

M

merely fatalism, as might be supposed, that renders them thus apathetic, but the knowledge that so long as tigers can procure other food they will not injure man. Even when one of their cattle is struck down, they run up and often frighten the tiger from the body of his victim by shouting and beating sticks on the ground. These 'sheers,' or herdsmen, too, armed with what Aristotle calls the courage derived from experience, will conduct the sportsman up to the 'kill' with fearless confidence. Like the cobra, they hold the tiger in superstitious reverence. In many parts, says Dr. Fayrer, the natives will avoid mentioning his name, save by a variety of periphrases or euphemisms, and will not kill him even when they have a fair opportunity to do so, for fear that his spirit will haunt them, or do them mischief after death. But, when the tiger has once tasted human flesh, the spell of man's supremacy is broken, and ever after that, it is said, he prefers it to any other. Confirmed man-eaters are frequently, we believe, old tigers; with failing activity and decaying teeth they find the easiest mode of procuring a meal is to knock down some defenceless villager or incautious postman. Haunting one road or district, after several murders of this kind have been perpetrated, the tiger actually scares away the natives, and depopulates the locality. In 1869, one tigress was reported to have killed 127 people, and stopped a public road for many weeks. In another case in the Central Provinces, a single tigress caused the desertion of 13 villages, and 250 square miles of country were thrown out of cultivation. Similarly, in 1868, the magistrate of Godavery reported 'that part of the country was overrun with tigers, every vil-

lage having suffered from ravages of man-eaters. No road was safe, and, a few days before arrival at Kondola, a tiger charged a large body of villagers within few hundred yards of the Civil Station.' No wonder that the advent of an English sportsman is hailed with joy in such districts. He comes another St. George to deliver them from their great scourge.

Few people have any idea of the large numbers of human beings annually killed by tigers in India. Jerdon⁴ says that in the Mundla districts, from Jubbalpore, in 1866 and previous years, on an average between two and three hundred villagers were killed each year. The Reports of the Central Provinces show that in 1866-67, three hundred and seventy-two persons were killed by tigers, in 1867-68, two hundred and eighty-nine, and in 1868-69 two hundred and eighty-five. In Lower Bengal it appears by Government Reports that during the six years ending with 1866, 4,218 persons were killed by tigers, while the grand total of 13,400 people altogether were killed by wild animals, chiefly leopards and wolves.

One gentleman, writing from Nayadim in July 1869, says: 'Cattle killed in this district are numberless; as regards human beings, one tiger in 1867-68 killed respectively 27, 34, and 47 people. I have known it attack a party and kill five at a time. Once it killed a father, mother, and three children; and the week before it was shot it killed seven people. It wandered over a track of twenty miles never remaining in the same spot two consecutive days, and at last was destroyed by a bullet from a spring gun when returning to feed at the body of one of its victims—a woman.'

Very fitly therefore does Government, in Bengal, offer rewards for the destruction of tigers. Thus, the race of hardy native shikarries is encouraged, and many tigers are either shot or poisoned with strychnine.

⁴ *Mammals of India*. London: 1874.

⁵ Fayrer, p. 41.

for the sake of the reward. The extinction is viewed with dismay by many an English officer, and such checks to civilisation are not tolerated. As a matter of fact, however, the tiger has increased in numbers, owing perhaps in measure to the disarming of the people consequent on the great war.

Dr. Fayrer calls attention to the remarkable fact that persons escape after having been wounded by tigers. They are killed on the spot (unless, of course, the massive fore-paw has broken the skull), and save in the case of a man-eater do not escape very far, if at all, from the spot where it has been done down. Many officers are known who have thus received bites and scratches from tigers. The usual way is to give a bite on the shoulder or head, two or three shakes, and then to drag the unfortunate man a few yards. If they drop him, it may be having bitten the shoulder or limb, and leave the body with the terrible wounds. It seems a mistake to suppose that the wounds inflicted by the claws or teeth are necessarily poisonous, and therefore difficult to heal, though the climate intensifies their danger. A collection of cases we have the following:⁶

Singh, rajput, aged 30, on the 22nd of September was brought in by a wounded tiger. On the left shoulder was a deep fleshed wound on the back of the shoulder a lacerated wound, two and a half inches long. There were three fangs on the left flank; one in front which had admitted two fingers penetrating into the abdomen; the other behind led down to the cavity, but did not injure the ribs. He had also one or two slight scratches on the ribs. Under cotton-wool and carbolic oil, the wounds rapidly healed, and the man is now able to walk

about, and there only remains a superficial wound, which is healing.

Some years ago, however, in the Madras Presidency, Captain H—— was not so fortunate. He went out on foot, and beating up a tiger, wounded it more than once.

It charged and seized him by the loins on one side, gave him a fierce shake or two, dropped him, and then seizing him on the other side repeated the shaking, and again dropping him, left him and disappeared. His beaters had escaped up trees or elsewhere meanwhile, but when the tiger departed they came to his aid, and carried him into the station. He suffered no pain, and described how the tiger had seized and worried him. He sank from the shock and exhaustion within a few hours.⁷

Anyone who has examined a tiger's skull, and noticed its formidable canine teeth, must wonder how a man ever escapes who has once been gripped in their savage vice. Very seldom does a season pass without the death of some gallant sportsman being reported from a tiger's charge.

Tigers have been kept in cages, and formed part of Oriental splendour from time immemorial. Sometimes they are tamed, and led about by a chain, or compelled to fight in the arena with buffaloes, elephants, and the like. Dr. Fayrer has witnessed several tiger-fights at Lucknow in the days of Wajid Ally. A fearful testimony to their use as executioners may be seen in the India Museum, where the toy-tiger of Tippoo Sahib tearing a British soldier to pieces is still visible. A friend saw a tiger confined in a cage at the entrance of the fort of Benares during the hot weather of 1875. It belonged to the Rajah, and in its rage at being confined had eaten away the whole of its paws. These were full of vermin, and the stench was awful. Tigers, when shot, frequently tear themselves

⁶ Fayrer, p. 70.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 73.

after this manner in their agony. A curious instance of a tiger being utterly dispirited, either by the unaccustomed locality or from illness, occurred in March 1874. The creature had been caught and placed in a cage, which was conveyed to Chunar on the Ganges, to be ferried across to the other side, on its way to Benares. Being too late, however, to cross that day, the keepers left it on the sand at the river's side till next day. It escaped during the night, and was found to have proceeded towards the cantonments. The commandant immediately ordered women and children to remain indoors, and mustering the pensioners, with their antiquated weapons, started in search of it. It was found behind a cemetery, was fired at and wounded. Seemingly daunted by its confinement, it never attempted to charge, but slinking into a neighbouring field, was followed and again fired at and killed.

Occasionally tigers are found in very unusual localities. One was shot, for instance, at the time of the assassination of Lord Mayo, in the streets of Benares. How it got there remains a mystery. It was thought by Government to be connected with sedition, as an old legend told that a great convulsion would take place when a tiger should be killed in the streets of Benares. In the spring of this year (1875) another was killed in the heart of the city of Gorakpore. This was a wild one; and on word of its appearance being sent to the magistrate, who happened to be a great sportsman, he, thinking it only a leopard, took his rifle, and joined by the head of the city police and others went out after it. He fired, and the tiger at once charged; stepping quickly on one side, the tiger struck down the head of the police, who stood behind, and killed

him on the spot. The poor had only just recovered from enough to kill an ordinary inflicted by Dacoits.

Leaving the habits and cure of tigers, we next approach subject of hunting them, which is of entrancing interest to our military and civil officials in India. There are three methods of shooting them in vogue, Europeans, according to the latest reports. In Central India the sportsman usually pursued on elephants, if well-trained, will stand a tiger with tolerable coolness. In South India, where, according to the latest reports, but few elephants are kept, they are generally shot on foot, a reprehensible mode of death for them, rightly condemned by all sportsmen, as the hunter trusts his life in his hand, and often trust his all on a shot. In the North-West Provinces tigers are usually shot from machar platforms erected for this purpose amongst the boughs of trees. They are also poisoned (as has already remarked), by the five shikarries, with strychnine order to obtain the Government reward, while Jerdon states that the Wynad one class of H. assembles in large numbers driving the tiger into a net, and him while so entangled. In all of these murderous processes adds the same writer, 'in districts its numbers appear only slightly diminished.'

It often falls to the lot of Europeans and natives, who are obliged by their occupation to frequent jungles, when least expecting to confront a tiger. On almost such occasions a bold front and shout generally cause the tiger to turn away, unless of course he has already tasted human flesh is in a vicious mood; for tiger their arch-destroyer, man, as

* *Mammals of India.*

of an equable disposition. The greatest folly in such a case is to flee, as the tiger then has an instinctive dread of man, and a few bounds and one blow of his paw probably fractures the hunter's skull. At other times, in circumstances under which the tiger is met preclude any other than an immediate shot. As is related to us (and referred to in almost any book on tiger hunting) would confirm such a piece of good luck when a sportsman, standing on the ground behind a screen of leaves (*pattooah*), look-out for deer which were driven towards him, when, to his surprise, two tiger cubs came bounding before him, and ran by into the jungle. A few days afterwards the tigress appeared, listening to the shouts of hunters, and looking out for her prey. A slight noise was made by the shikarries who were near him, and in a moment she stared him in the face. Here there was no help for it, and he was fired at her with a twelve-bore gun (the only weapon with him), at the same time running aside as quickly as he could. To his great delight he found he had killed the animal outright. This and the many similar ones which ought not to encourage men facing tigers on foot. In an emergency is one who is designedly to seek them is neither, and a hazardous, fool-brave.

The tiger roams far and wide in the cold and rainy season, during the hot months of March, April, and May, in Bengal, Oude, and North India, that, as a general rule, he is hunted. He is found in easier ease at that time, as he is not for the most part the owner of long grass (*nurkool* or

nul) which remains green near pools or swamps, and the country is then more open, the wide plains of coarse grass and much of the scrub and underwood being at that season burnt by the natives to promote the growth of next year's crops. From a batch of the best books recently published on Indian sport, the reader will be able to form a tolerable idea of the pleasures, dangers, and excitements of tiger-shooting. The first of these we select gives an admirable conspectus of the shooting and sport to be enjoyed in the region described at the beginning of this paper. Pig-sticking, elephant-hunting, and detailed accounts of fishing, are omitted, as being outside the sport usually obtained in the North-Western Provinces; but, with these exceptions, the fulness of information which the author supplies leaves nothing to be desired. Being simply a book of sport and adventures, political or philosophical views must not be expected; anything very profound on natural history or the social condition of the natives would have jarred with the free open-air holidays of sport to which we are introduced. A party of friends—Jones, Brown, Robinson, & Co.—are conducted by a president they have chosen on a shooting tour in the Soane Valley. Their head is vastly wise, and experienced in the ways of natives, the habits of wild beasts, and last, though certainly not least, in the estimation of a party of hungry hunters, a chef as full of culinary experiences as Brillat-Savarin. After the usual fashion of Indian camp life, the party live under canvas, with a large retinue of servants and beasts of burden, establishing friendly relations with the native shikarries of every village near their line of route, and managing, together with

Days in India; or, Sporting Reminiscences of the Valley of the Soane and the Singrowlee. By a Late Customs Officer. Chapman & Hall. 1874.

abundance of sport, to live daily on the fat of the land. This plan, it will be observed, admits of the different kinds of shooting to be found in Central India being brought day after day before the reader, while the constant change of scene prevents weariness; and the after-dinner narratives of the president on adventure and travel, the habits and instincts of the game shot during the day, the superstitions of the native tribes, and the like, add variety to the charm of interest. Without any of the intolerable slang and hackneyed quotations which disfigure so many sporting books, and with a plentiful amount of humour, a home-keeping reader, who has no intention of ever making a campaign in the jungle, can yet peruse the book with great profit, while those who possess a liking for sport and outdoor excitement will read it with positive delight. Its simple and unaffected style is of itself a strong point in its favour, for it is quite possible to relish leopard-shooting and the excitement of a course with the cheetah, and at the same time retain a love of the Muses. Those who, like the Late Customs Officer, endeavour to rescue narratives of sporting life and adventure from the hands of men incompetent, in a literary point of view, to do them justice, deserve a meed of praise from all who love country sports.

We gain several interesting facts with regard to tigers from this book. They are not always, for instance, undisputed lords of the country:

Some time ago a large dead bear and also a dead tiger were found in the jungle close to each other, exhibiting plain enough signs of the battle having been *à outrance*, both being so mauled by each other that the natives who found them did not consider their skins worth the trouble of stripping off. (P. 188.)

A dead tiger and an enormous dead wild boar are also said to have been

found a few feet distant from each other. An instance again is given of a tiger being seen in hot fight from a pack of wild dogs; and wonder is that these creatures do not speedily depopulate the country. They are small, and do not bark with tongue, but are very bold and determined:

When once a pack of them put up an animal, no matter whether deer or buffalo, that animal's doom is sealed; they will leave it. They will dog their prey days, if need be, and run it down when it is exhausted, and if it turns to fight, they will fight fearlessly and by their numbers win. Animals dread the wild dog; others may elude by speed, artifice, or battle, but their instinct tells them that there is no escaping the wild dog, as it hunts in packs by scent as well as by sight, and is as brave as it is persevering. (P. 164.)

The agility of the tiger is exemplified by an incident which took place at the Jherria, when a tiger escaped by springing up the precipitous side of the hill there, which is sixteen to twenty feet high.

The usual mode of killing tigers in the Mirzapore district is well described by the Customs Officer. On word being brought into the office that a tiger has been tracked in the neighbourhood, the native shikaris of the district is sent for, and ordered to choose a suitable place for a *hankwa* (tiger drive), and to procure a victim. This invariably consists of a young buffalo bull; a smaller animal would be taken by a leopard, while a tiger would decline a larger buffalo. It is securely fastened to a stake in the supposed track of the tiger, while two or three villagers who have accompanied the shikaris ply the axes in fixing *charpoys* (or *beesteds*) in trees around the point where it is supposed the tiger will make his exit. Poles are also cut and tied along the front of the *machans* (or shooting platforms which are further masked with screens of leaves. The little bull then hurries out of the jungle

the beasts begin to move at and sends word to the neighbouring villages that men and lads are wanted for a beating party next morning. Early next morning the sportsman, with one or two crafty companions, proceeds cautiously into the jungle to see whether the victim is still there. If on his return he finds a kill, the sportsmen have been anxiously waiting, and immediately start for the machauns, and proceed with as much speed and noise as possible. These sportsmen are fixed about ten feet from the ground, so as to be just out of the reach of a tiger were he to come on his hind legs and try to

Baffled in this attempt he springs up, but then he would be likely bound over, harming no one; whereas, were the machaun in the tree, he might land on their occupants, which would be as 'awkward' to them as meeting a train to Stephen. Some of the bravest villagers are themselves in trees to the right of the sportsmen. These

'rokh's, or stoppers, whose duty is to turn back a tiger attempting to force his way past instead of facing the path to the machauns. The sportsman will do this; a 'hish!' might knock on the tree with a branch; even a leaf dropped before him is quite enough to turn a tiger, and he is more than usually cautious. Meanwhile the shikarri, taken in the fifty, sixty (or more) men and lads who have volunteered as beaters to the back of the jungle where he supposes the tiger to be. Spreading out in a line, these men advance with shouts and beating of tom-toms, effectually scaring out all the game which that patch of jungle contains. First will rush out, it may be, a wild boar, then a hyena,

then a bear, but all must be permitted to pass on. A shot would effectually deter the tiger from approaching the machauns, and would cause him to rush past the stoppers, or double or charge the line of beaters, when a grievous accident, or even death, would probably ensue. If all goes well, a tiger, or it may be two, trot past the machauns and are saluted by a salvo from their occupants. The circumstances attending the slaying of each tiger differ but little save in exceptional cases; like the slaughter in an Homeric battle piece, only the actors can remember the exact mode in which they slew their foemen. Finally, the beaters come up, the sportsmen descend, the tiger is hung on bamboo and escorted to the encampment with the sound of tom-toms and general merriment.

The beaters are then mustered and paid off by the paymaster personally, boys getting two, three, or four pice (3d. to 1½d.) each, men five pice (1½d.), the rokh's two annas (3d.), and the shikarri two or three rupees (4s. to 6s.)¹⁰

Occasionally a sportsman has a carcass dragged under some convenient tree in a locality where a tiger is known to be hid, and then ascending to a good height in the branches waits through the night to shoot the tiger when it appears.

This mode, however, is precarious and demands much patience, though the Customs Officer tells some good tales of such sport. The natives in the Mirzapore district erect curious conical mounds of earth, about one and a half or two feet in diameter at the base and tapering to about six inches at the apex, over the spot where anyone has been killed by a tiger. These mounds are carefully whitewashed and garnished with flowers, coloured wash, and singularly shaped earthen vessels. It is considered

¹⁰ *Past Days in India*, p. 35.

sacrilege of a deep dye to touch these mounds, and on a certain day annually the people of the neighbouring villages go to one of the most tragic of these memorials and worship before it to appease the soul of the departed and prevent his haunting them in the form of another tiger; for their dread of the tiger by no means ends with his death.

Is anyone desirous of reading particular accounts of the diverse modes in which the victims of many a tiger beat yielded up their lives before the prowess of sportsmen armed with rifles, and seated aloft in machauns—how, in the Mirzapore district, tigers have been shot through the chest, the head, the flanks, the body, the paws—how they charged, sulked, walked, trotted, reared, or rolled convulsively on receiving the different shots—how they tore themselves in blind rage, or attacked the beaters or stoppers, or slunk into dense covert, or ‘madetracks’ over hill and plain to a safer district—all this, and much more, appropriately garnished with tigers’ barks, growls, and roars, he may read in a sporting narrative recently issued from the Orphan School Press, Mirzapore.¹¹ But one or two curious facts may be culled from it, notably the circumstance of a white tiger with brown stripes being shot in the district of Mirzapore, which looked exactly like the ghost of a tiger. We should suggest it might have been an extremely old specimen, if not one of nature’s tricks to produce an albino. The cat-like character of the tiger is conspicuous in the following extract :

It is sometimes an interesting sight to witness the demeanour of a tiger towards his terrified prey.

(i.e., when a victim is tied up to him, and the sportsman waits to shoot him in the tree above.)

When not raging with hunger he appears to derive the same pleasure from play with his victim as a cat in tormenting a mouse. He gambols around the buffalo if enjoying his alarm; and when the affrighted animal in mad despair attempts to butt at his remorseless foe, the tiger bounds lightly over his head, and commences his gambols at the other end. At last, as if he had succeeded in creating an appetite for dinner, he crushes the skull of his victim with one blow of powerful fore-paw, and soon commences his bloody meal.¹²

Even more satisfactory glimpses of a tiger, however, may be obtained, say our authors, from the machauns when the animal is driven below. Sometimes he will burst out of the neighbouring covert and charge with never a swerve his tail on end, his ears laid back, and every feature of his face distorted with diabolical rage; but oftener

you will see him steadily bearing down upon you 400 or 500 yards right in the open, stopping every 20 yards or so, and putting his head half over his shoulder, to listen to the noise behind him; and as a magnificent animal he looks then, his legs erect, his tail drooping, and the sun gleaming merrily from his beautiful skin.¹³

Next moment he is biting the ground in his death agony. The skull may be destined to grace the sportsman’s study, far away in England; the skin to be spread on his mother’s hearth, and the claws set in gold, as a brooch, to adorn a sweetheart’s neck. For the tiger’s beauty long outlasts death.

At Magni cum terga sonent et pectora sunt
Permansiæ decus sacre venerabile fœdus
Irataque deis faciem, nihil ultima mors
Ex habitu vultuque viri mutasse fatentur
(Lucan, *Phars.* viii. 66.)

The last of recent tiger boot-

¹¹ *Rambles in the Mirzapore District*, by the late Major W. M. Stewart; and *Machaun Shooting*, by Sir J. Wemyss, Bart. Mirzapore: 1872.

¹² P. 25.

¹³ P. 55.

re shall notice is a great to these two sportsmen's of shooting tigers.¹⁴ Captain Forsyth died in May 1871, at the early age of 33, before the first volume he had written had been widely through the press. The reader must regret that he was spared to relate more adventures, and charm English naturalists with further researches into the life of the Indian jungles. As Conservator of Forests in the Central Provinces, paying particular attention to the growth and cultivation of the valuable teak, he enjoyed rare facilities for observation; while a clear style, and enthusiasm for sport, love of habits of the wild creatures, and knowledge of the jungle and its flowers, enables him to give a thoroughly interesting account of the natives and animals of the Central Provinces. By means of an ethnological introduction and an exhaustive account of the physical geography of this region, he succeeds to an eminent degree in enabling a Western reader to realise the strange scenes which he wandered, and the life which peoples them. Found here and there, too, are hints on the government of the forests, points for better organisation of the subjects, and wide views on natural subjects, which prove that he had possessed that command, and, at the same time, the versatile character which is so rare to most men who leave their work on our Indian Empire. It is then that his book can be compared by a lover of natural history without finding an interest, or a thrilling narrative of which we shall confine our notice to the tiger-lore which it

By way of introduction, let the reader fancy himself camping out with Captain Forsyth, near Mátif, in the forests of the far East. The grateful silence of night is all at once broken by a serenade, which must sound anything but pleasant to the wakeful traveller in a frail tent.

A peculiar long wail, like the drawn-out mew of a huge cat, first rose from a river course a few hundred yards below my tent. Presently from a mile or so higher up the river came a deep tremulous roar, which had scarcely died away ere it was answered from behind the camp by another pitched in a yet deeper tone, startling us from its suddenness and proximity. All three were repeated at short intervals, as the three tigers approached each other along the bottoms of the deep dry water-courses, between and above which the camp had been pitched. As they drew together the noises ceased for about a quarter of an hour; and I was dozing off to sleep again, when suddenly arose the most fearful din near to where the tigress had first sounded the love note to her rival lovers, a din like the caterwauling of midnight cats magnified a hundredfold. Intervals of silence, broken by outbursts of this infernal shrieking and moaning, disturbed our rest for the next hour, dying away gradually as the tigers retired along the bed of the river. In the morning I found all the incidents of a three-volume novel in feline life imprinted on the sand; and marks of blood showed how genuine the combat part of the performance had been.¹⁵

Captain Forsyth does not believe that the wild dogs, in however large a pack they might run, could overcome a tiger in fair fight; but he thinks it quite possible that they might stick to him and wear him out by depriving him of the chance of obtaining his ordinary food. Many stories are related, he says, of tigers climbing trees (which of course is quite contrary to their usual habits), in order to escape them; and he once saw the bones of a tiger whitening on a rocky ledge, where more than one person

Highlands of Central India. By Captain J. Forsyth, Bengal Staff Corps. Chapman & Hall. 1872.
21.

assured him they had seen him lying surrounded by a large pack of wild dogs. A curious instance of a tiger shot during the cold season occurred at Jubbulpur, in 1861, when the Governor-General paid his first visit to Central India.

Our author says:

I mounted sentry over that beast for nearly a week, girding him in a little hill with a belt of fires, and feeding him with nightly kine, till half a hundred elephants, carrying the cream of a vice-regal camp, swept him out into the plain, where he fell riddled by a storm of bullets from several hundred virgin rifles. He had the honour of being painted by a Landseer, by the blaze of torch-light, under the shadow of the British standard; and my howdah bore witness for many a day, in a bullet hole through both sides of it, to the accuracy of aim of some gallant member of the staff! (P. 262.)

Something must now be said of man-eaters, and it is a comfort to find Captain Forsyth's pages herein precise and matter of fact, after inspecting the highly imaginative halo of myths which in so many books of adventure and sporting surround the subject. Tigers may be roughly divided into three groups, those which lead a perfectly wild, retired life in the jungles, feeding only on game, and often proving positively beneficial to man by keeping down the herds of deer and nilgai that prey upon his crops. Secondly come those which may be termed cattle-lifters; they are large and bulky in contradistinction to the little, agile jungle tiger, and locate themselves near pastures and water frequented by oxen. Disregarding the 'aheers,' these animals consume an ox in about five days, but if fired at when returning to their kill, they will generally strike down a fresh victim, while a tigress and her cubs demand, at least, an ox a night. Last are the morose brutes which, having once tasted man, turn cannibals, and sometimes spread terror through a whole district before they are destroyed

by some European sportsman, these tigers are too cunning and dangerous to be frequently shot, though they may occasionally be destroyed by strychnine. Wolves and panthers, like tigers, have a tendency to turn man-eaters in India, and the panther, when once he has established a character for cannibalism, is more fell and dangerous than a man-eating tiger. He is more agile, more ferocious, and more courageous when attacked; is more difficult to hit, as he is small and can climb trees which a tiger, save in the case of a sloping trunk, cannot do. In 1858 one of these creatures devastated the northern part of the Secouli district, killing nearly a hundred persons before he was shot. He never ate their bodies, but merely lapped the blood from the throat, and his plan of attack was to steal into a house at night and strangle the sleeper, or he would climb the platforms from which the village guard their fields at night, and drag down the watcher. The tiger lies in ambush, as a rule, and strikes down the unsuspecting wretch as he passes by. Though after a little time some such tragic relics, as in a similar case of Captain Forsyth's eye, are all that remain to tell the sad story.

At a place called Motinalâ, where a dry branching water-course crosses the path, several times, I was walking ahead of my followers, when I came on the remains of a poor wanderer who had evidently not long before been killed by a tiger. He was a religious mendicant, and his long iron tongs, begging-bowl, and cocoa-nut bowl were scattered about in the bottom of the dry bed, where he had been resting on his weary march, together with tresses of his long matted hair, and shred or two of cloth. The bones were broken to pieces, and many of them were missing altogether. A drover had been taken off near the same spot about a week before, so that it was not without some misgivings that I looked for red deer

the sea of tall grass where occurred, it would have been as to have hunted for this

Occasionally Captain Forsyth was more fortunate, as when engaged in tracking wild animals one morning by the edge of a stream, whither in hot weather the creatures in the locality obliged nightly to resort. Attention was called to the 'demeanour, the rage and 'ring' of the Hanumanys (*presbyter entellus*). This led to a tiger passing under the trees on which they gesticulated, pouring forth a volley of growls that could be heard a mile off, and as on one group of monkeys leaving off their clamours and ascending to the ground to eat berries, the outcry was up by another farther up the stream-course, the sportsman said that the obnoxious tiger was slowly travelling up its wind-

and thus following up the stream by means of these monkey cries for several miles, reaching a narrow neck of land round which the stream circled, and dashing into it, he managed to arrive just in time out of breath in front of the tiger, and to hide himself behind the thick stem of a tree until the tiger could come up. Our readers will pardon one more quotation, which could not be better introduced than the Bengal tiger at home by Captain Forsyth's graphic description, which is sufficiently vivid to produce a picture of the most terrific animal in the world. It is easy to fancy the tiger when with the first beams of dawn quivering through the trees as the tiger approached the rapid sportsman.

He came on in a long, slouching walk, with his head down and looking exactly

like the guilty midnight murderer he is. His misdeeds evidently sat heavily on his conscience, for as he went he looked fearfully behind him, and up at the monkeys in a beseeching sort of way, as if asking them not to betray where he was going. He was travelling under the opposite bank to where I was, in the deep shadow of the overhanging trees; but when nearly opposite me, he came out into the middle, in the faint yellow light of the just risen sun, and then he looked such a picture of fearful beauty—with his velvety step and undulating movements, the firm muscles working through his loose glossy skin, and the cruel yellow eyes blinking in the sun over a row of ivory teeth as he licked his lips and whiskers after his night's feed. He passed within about twenty yards of me, making for a small ravine that here joined the river from the hills. I let him get to the mouth of this before I fired; and on receiving the shot he bounded forward into its cover—a very different picture from the placid creature I had just been looking at, and with a roar that silenced the chattering of every monkey on the trees. I knew he was hit to death, but waited till the shikarries came up before proceeding to see; and we then went round a good way to where a high bank overlooked the ravine in which he had disappeared. Here we cautiously peeped over, but seeing nothing, came farther down towards the river, and within fifty yards of where I had fired at him I saw a solitary crow sitting in a tree, and cawing down at an indistinct yellow object extended below. It seemed like the tiger, and sitting down I fired another shot at it; but it never stirred to the thud of the ball, while the crow, after flying up a few feet, perched again and cawed away more lustily than before. We now went down and found the tiger lying stone dead, shot very near the heart."

We are not told whether this was a man-eater, but in the spring of 1862 the Captain spent nearly a week in the destruction of a famous man-eater, which had completely closed several roads and was supposed to have devoured over a hundred human beings. He occupied a large triangle of country between the rivers Moran and Ganjal, stopping the work of the sleeper-constructors on the railway in course of construction in the Narbadá valley, and striking terror into a breadth of

not less than thirty to forty miles. Having pitched his camp in this pleasant country under a splendid mango grove, the Captain was laid up for some days by a sprained tendon, during which time sensational news was brought in of whole families of tigers waiting in the river beds to be killed, and at length that the man-eater had struck down a man and a boy on the highroad about ten miles away. He now resorted to severe remedies, which after a few more days permitted him once more to resume his quest; but in the meantime numberless stories were told him of the fearful size and appearance of the man-eater, of its belly pendant to the ground, and the white moon it bore in the centre of its forehead—of the pork-butcher-like mode in which it would detain a party of travellers while it rolled in the sand, and at length having inspected them all round, select the fattest—of his power of transforming himself into an innocent-looking woodcutter, and calling or whistling through the woods till an unsuspecting victim approached; and how the spirits of all his victims rode with him on his head, warning him of every danger and guiding him to the suitable ambush by which a traveller would pass. It is worth while noticing the despairing terror of the people which such superstitious and imaginary details evince. No clearer proof could be laid before a Western reader of the paralysing effect which a man-eater's ravages appear to produce, when no man's life is safe for a moment, and the whirr of every quail or peacock which springs up near him seems the bound of the fell animal which will strike him down. All the best shikarries of the country, together with the landowners and many of the ryots, besieged the camp daily. Many villages were utterly deserted; men lived in barricaded houses, and only left them when compelled by necessity, and then in large bodies,

shouting and beating drums as they passed along the roads. This he gone on for a year, and the count was slowly being depopulated. Through this desert then the sportsman rode on his trained elephant preceded and followed by baggage elephants, and protected by a guard of police with muskets and shikarries with their matchlocks. Traces of the brute were seen here and there, but no recent ones, while heaps of stones at intervals showed where a traveller had been stricken down. At length he reached a spot where one of a party of pilgrims had been carried off the day before and discovered the sad relics as blood-stained grass which yet told of the tragedy, and pointed out where the man-eater had dragged the corpse into a water-course in which its remains were left. It was of no use waiting for the tiger to return to its horrid feast, as this he had learnt caution and never ventured back to its 'kill.' All the morning of that day in extreme heat the party beat the jungles of the Mên river, the trackers working in file and trembling under the trunk of the sahib's elephant and covered with his rifle at full cock. Returning to camp at night, one of the men spied the great square footprint of the creature they were searching for. Early next day the Captain carefully beat the neighbouring water-course, but without avail. As he was sitting down to breakfast however, some men brought word that about a mile and a half from camp the tiger had that very morning taken away one of the bullocks as they were starting from the midst of their drove for their night's encampment. Instantly securing some food and a bottle of claret, the Captain mounted the elephant, and pursued. So he startled the monster from its lair where he was devouring the unfortunate victim, but the grass was so thick he could not obtain

All that day, however, he followed after him, carefully tracking his footprints through a difficult country, and allowing him no rest. At night the Captain slept in a tent which he had ordered on to the other bank of the Ganjál. Next morning the hunt was renewed, until at last the tiger was fairly ringed in by a dense cover of tamarisk and bamboo, surrounded by the river. After a short rest this cover was broken out, and the indefatigable sportsman obtained two shots, which he fired at the tiger. Immediately the tiger turned, and with loud roars charged him, being again dropped by a shot fired at a distance of twenty yards. Once more, the tiger came slowly, he picked himself up, when the sportsman's elephant, badly handled, spun round, with a loud, worrying noise, the elephant sprang on to its back and began pawing its quarters. At length, the elephant stopping its frantic charge for a moment, the Captain fired a round in the howdah and, seizing the opportunity, put the muzzle of his rifle to the skull of the tiger and blew it into fifty pieces. The elephant executed a kind of rhythmic dance over the prostrate body of its foe, and the man-eater Mórán was at last destroyed. It would be easy to extract many interesting anecdotes of the fauna of India from Captain Forsyth's book; but a little consideration is due to the readers, and, probably, all sportsmen are fond of hunting craft, and their quarry need not be as valuable as the Royal tiger, will find their way to this book.

Having tracked our own tiger from his birthplace in the 'nul' to the vengeance which has appropriately overtaken his deeds of blood, a few words only require to be added. It will, probably, be long ere the tiger (said now to be on the increase) will be extirpated from his native jungles, but it is manifestly the duty of Government to encourage its extinction. In the case of an animal so destructive to human life, to say nothing of cattle, neither half-measures nor allowances on the score of its existence being conducive to cherish a manly and exciting sport are admissible. Of course, a wealthy rajah might here and there preserve the tiger in what the Orientals of old termed a paradise, and there will be certain localities where the race may, in a wild state, maintain a precarious vitality, but the country would be much more prosperous were the wild stock utterly rooted out. England has not suffered in manly vigour and daring courage since Edgar tried to extirpate its wolves, and it has prospered indefinitely. When a wild animal, owing to mischievous and predatory habits, comes into collision with civilisation it must be swept away. We may regret the hard necessity, but, if man is to replenish and subdue the earth, he must likewise have dominion over every living thing that moveth upon it. The present age wastes no regrets upon the gigantic reptiles of theoolite; that brilliant future which, we trust, awaits British India will assuredly never deplore the disappearance of the Royal tiger.



THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BASTILLE.

EVERYBODY who has been to Paris knows the Place of the Bastille, with that July Column which commemorates what sober history tells us was, after all, by no means such a grand achievement on the part of the sovereign people. Parisians, however, will always think differently; they hold, and will hold, that that affair of the 14th of July, 1789, which ended in the murder of De Launay and his handful of *invalides* for doing what soldiers always ought to do—defending what has been entrusted to them—is grander than Thermopylæ or Bannockburn, or even than any of Joan of Arc's victories. I will not say the Bastille had better have been left standing; but I wish, for the sake of true freedom, that the Paris mob had had the nobleness to spare De Launay instead of brutally murdering him after he had surrendered; and I wish, for the sake of history writers and history readers, that those who sacked that State prison had had some idea of the value of State archives, instead of flinging them out of the windows along with the broken furniture of the rooms. The consequence was that the true history of the Bastille has never been written till now. It has been all guess work; for every paper referring to the prison was stored up in the place itself, and after its capture these lay in heaps in the courtyards, sodden with rain, stained with the wine of the volunteers who were mounting guard, plundered by 'collectors,' tossed about as rubbish, until somebody brought the matter before the Assembly, and what documents were left were carried off to the Abbey of St. Germain-in-the-Fields. The Assembly decided that these 'records of regal tyranny' should be printed at once, in order to show the world

what a hideous system the Revolution had destroyed; but, like most other decisions of the Assembly, the order for printing was never carried into effect. From St. Germain Abbey the archives were transferred to the Arsenal; and there, five or thirty years ago, M. Ravaisson discovered them in a garret mixed almost hopeless confusion with all kinds of worthless papers.

The patient labour of years enabled him at last to put them in order; he has filled up most of the gaps by hard work in public and private collections in France and abroad, and about a year ago he published the closing volume of the *Archives of the Bastille*, showing how things really were managed in this fortress of absolutism.

That is just what the Bastille was—the King's private prison. Suppose that at most times in England such a prison would have been impossible. The Tower had a tendency to become such under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth; but the tendency was sharply repressed even in Elizabeth's reign. It was still more sternly checked under her successors; besides, the Stuart kings with all their despotic proclivities always acted according to law, though it was law which the nation justly disavowed. The Court of Star Chamber was a court, after all, where matters were conducted by regular legal process; and, when money was by the Crown's lawyers pronounced to be a legal imposition exacted according to just precedent, English feeling, indeed, overrode such legal quibbles. The Star Chamber was not a court to which Englishmen would submit; the law tore through its legal forms as a hot tear through the meshes of a spider-web. Lord Keeper Finch might say that the Bastille was

ship money, but the king had none of it for he knew what happened because he insisted on according to such lawless what he governed by some kind or other. It is impossible to conceive what happened to him if he had as Louis XIV. and he did, often without even a shadow of law, just clapping the Bastille on anyone whom they were keeping him, or her, or even of seven were clapped as Jansenist 'revivals,' or to go into spiritual hysteria during the King's reign without anyone in the king's court to explain why. We can't explain an English king so acting, but French kings did so act to explain that dread of an absolute monarchy which existed at the Septennate.

pressing for the navy, the only English institution he had the remotest resemblance to of committing to the Bastille, but my object is not to point out a little light was exercised.

foundation in 1369, by the Provost of Paris, who was strangely enough, to be sent to it, the Bastille was a military object; it was not meant to defend Paris as St. Antoine's suburb, even as now, and ten years later, the head-quarters of Marcel, chief of the merchants' who, managed better, might have made the Bastille of French absolutism at Paris, and have made the Bastille when it did come, take the form which it took in its military history is The English, beaten out of Paris by the Conqueror, five years after; of Joan of Arc, took the Bastille but were soon forced to leave. It had its part in the Fronde. Turenne (on

the King's side) was beating Condé and the Frondeurs, when Mlle. de Montpensier, daughter of Gaston of Orleans, rushed to the Bastille and turned its guns on the Royalists, giving the citizens time to swing open their gates and let in the routed Condéans, and then to force the gates back in the face of the baffled Turenne.

It was Richelieu who first, by his plan of wholesale imprisonments, regularly put the Bastille wholesale to what from that time became its normal use. In old France, as in old England, the rule was that everybody should be tried by his peers; but the Cardinal, finding things in a critical state, according to that universal French rule which cures anarchy by despotism, and so (when the despotism grows weak) makes the pendulum swing round again to anarchy, set up 'Courts of High Commission,' which sat as often as not in his own country house, and did just what they were bid. Louis XIV., who really believed that 'l'état, c'est moi,' and who in his private memoirs wrote: 'The will of God is that every born subject should obey unquestioningly' (*sans discernement*), carried out what Richelieu had begun. In fact, the old power of life and death which the King possessed in the original royal domain, just as nearly every marquis, count, and abbot possessed it in his private domain, somehow managed to get itself extended to the whole of France; and 'Laissez passer la justice du Roi' ('Clear the way for the King's officers of justice'), which once was nothing more than what most feudal lords might have said of their 'justice,' became a lawyer's phrase to denote that a *lettre de cachet* bore down all the decrees of the multifarious bailiwicks, seneschalships, *présidiens*, parliaments, *grueries*, courts of aids, admiralties, and what not, each of which had its own special jurisdiction in the chaos of feudal law. Such

a lot of little courts—like our courts leet and baron and pie-powder and hanaper—no wonder people were sick of them, and turned to the uniformity of despotism with something like relief.

Louis XIV. soon gave them uniform despotism to their hearts' content. All forms even of 'High Commission' were thrown aside; a slip of paper with the words 'Put So-and-so in the Bastille, and keep him there till further orders,' signed by the King and countersigned by one of the Ministers, was enough. If 'So-and-so' was a person of quality, a squad of *mousquetaires* handed him the order, and he, as in duty bound, surrendered himself; if he was a mere citizen, the 'archers of the watch' looked out for him at nightfall as he was going home, touched him with a white wand, and hurried him into a carriage that was waiting close by. The prisoners were divided into two classes, those who were simply shut up to be out of harm's way and those who were accused of some definite crime. The latter were tried, sooner or later, by special commission, and after being found guilty were tortured into confession. The 'boot,' which Lauderdale and James, Duke of York, used on the Scotch Covenanters, was one kind of torture; the other was to lay the prisoner on his back, force a funnel into his mouth, and pour in six or eight pints of water. The poor wretch was then placed on a mattress before a roaring fire, and when he recovered consciousness he was made to sign the answers which the pain had wrung from him. When such prisoners were put to death, it was either by hanging or burning alive. For the sake of human nature we are glad to learn that the president of the Commission often wrote, at the bottom of the prisoner's sentence, a *retentum*, i.e. an order to strangle him while the fagots were lighting. Of course when it was a case of

heresy there was no thought of such tenderness; thus a poor fanatic, Morin—who, with his wife and son and two priests and a schoolmaster, thought they were going to found the New Jerusalem and destroy Babylon, i.e. the Church, and the Beast, i.e. the Pope—was ruthlessly burnt alive in 1685. Poor fellow, his *Pensées* are worth so much as Pascal's; but the man who said, 'God Almighty is not a wafer,' and 'you're likely to find Christ in cross suffering than in bits of bread' who ventured to protest against that 'fasting Communion' which our ritualists are making a point of, deserved better than to be roasted alive for the justification of a well-dressed mob. Yes; as our Newgate songs were popular with fashionable folks of Lord Tomnoddy's time, so the Paris executions were 'drawn' so well that when the actors took care to bring out a new piece. There was one class of Bastille-birds; this class had quite a different treatment; they were like debtors in the old Fleet, with this great additional privilege, that the King paid for their food, and right royally considered that a man who is allowed to be better nourished than one who has his liberty, requires bottles of wine a day, including champagne, three good meals a day, soup, *entrées*, a hot joint and dessert—these were their daily rations. No wonder some, when free, petitioned to be taken in; while others, arranging with the governor to live on simple terms and to share the savings which often took away a nice little sum when their term was over, they had skittles, billiards, tennis, just like gentlemen of the time. To understand the difference between their treatment and that of men like Morin, we must consider who a good many of them were and who were persons of the very highest

Thus, though the laws of duelling were very strict, no ordinary man would fight; no ordinary man could touch them, for they were all theoretically with life and death in his own hands, or they were sent to the Bastille.

But of course they must be dealt with like low here-fore very object of their contempt into the Bastille is taken from the degradation of ordinary tribunals. For

the coach of Marquis runs into the coach of the Duke of Elbeuf in a narrow street; their lacqueys fall to and the masters soon get mixed in the fray. Villequier is sent until the 'marshals of law' who had the jurisdiction in such cases, decide that it was not only an accidental

The Knight of Grancey, thinking Mdlle. de Nonant to be him an excellent wife, father and her mother and daughter to marry him in his father's château. Her family and a *garde du corps* is sent to the ladies to be set at. The Knight's papa, Marquis de Grancey, refuses; but, to show that he is a loyal subject, he goes back with the officer to himself in the Bastille. He is so touched that he writes letters of grace confirming his marriage. Such cases are noble men's jokes. Here is a more serious. René de Choisy (sad to see a man should own so

a name as that of l'Hos- teau's serfs so shame- ful the *curé* of one of his parishes preaches about his con- temptible Marquis, with two pages, waylays the *curé*, in- stead as he is walking home- ward, kills the farmer, and the *curé*. The poor man falls in tears, but my Lord 'stops' him by breaking it with the

butt-end of a musket. He then makes his horse kick him as he lies on the ground, and lastly runs his sword through his ribs. The clergy take up the case, and the murderer is brought before the Paris Parlia- ment; but, before the trial can come on, his family, a very powerful one, get an order for putting him into the Bastille. After he has been in there a few days he is let out armed with 'letters of acquittal.' We think of Morin, burnt alive for try- ing to found the New Jerusalem, and we cease to wonder at the hor- rors of the French Revolution.

This was how the Grand Mo- narque understood justice about the year of grace 1660. But the pri- soners were not all heretics or nobles; in minor matters it was not the big fishes only who were caught. A grocer cries out against the mono- poly of whale oil; he is sent to the Bastille to improve his views of political economy. An archi- tect's son won't take orders, in spite of his father's wish; he is Bastilled to give him time for reflection. The deputies from half a dozen big towns petition, grovelling on their knees in the royal presence, that their old franchises may no longer be set at naught. The King treats them kindly enough, and orders his Council to look into the matter; but, since no one but the *intendants* had a right to bring things before his Majesty for discussion, (see a simi- lar restriction in Mitford's *Tales of Old Japan*), he sends them for a few weeks to the Bastille to show them that 'discipline' must be maintained. Even ambassadors are not safe, if they belong to little States. D'Alibert, sent to nego- tiate a marriage between the Duke of Savoy and a daughter of the Duke of Orleans, is clapped into prison for showing either too much or too little zeal; and so is the Elector of Brandenburg's envoy (Brandenburg then was not even Prussian) for mentioning to his

master one of Louis's many love affairs. All this was in the grand style suited to the great Louis. Under his great-grandchild the thing naturally degenerated. Louis XV. let anybody and everybody reign for him; and towards the end of his life, under the rule of the infamous Du Barry, there was a plan reminding us of that which honourable M.P.'s used to act on when we middle-aged men were very little boys: I mean 'franking letters,' signing their names every morning, that is, in the corners of ever so many blank folded papers, (envelopes as yet were not) which somebody, perhaps the butler, used as often as not to sell before post time. Just as we had our blank forms of letters for the post, pre-paid by this device of franking, so the French had their blank forms of *lettres de cachet*; and these were always to be had for twenty-five louis. Anybody with 20*l.* in his pocket could buy the King's sign-manual, fill in the name of his enemy, and get him put away from among men. Well might the *Court of Aids*, in 1770, indignantly protest that nobody was safe, for 'nobody was great enough to be safe from the hatred of a minister, nor little enough to be below that of a tax-farmer's clerk.'

Under Louis XIV., as I said, things were managed more decently, though despotically. The Bastille was perhaps the only place to which Fouquet, the great-grandfather of all the 'masters of high finance,' could have been sent. All the courts were afraid of him; Corneille and La Fontaine, blinded by his liberality to men of letters, thought him innocent; many believed him the victim of Colbert's hatred; some thought that Louis was jealous of his magnificent *fêtes* and more than royal style of living; some even hinted that he had tried to win the affections of La Vallière by the offer of 120,000 crowns; but these Bastille archives prove that there is not a

doubt of his guilt. Louis, a wonderful man of business, went over all proofs which the Chamber of Arsenal collected, and which at that Fouquet had reduced plunder the State to a system. He paid State creditors, for instance, w paper, which they never could cashed; and when their patience was exhausted he bought up the bonds for next to nothing, and put himself in full out of the Treasury. One could almost wish that he had the water torture before he sent for life to the fortress Pignerol.

Fouquet's system led right on to the bankruptcy which was one of the causes of the Revolution. And to stave off bankruptcy, *pour combler le déficit*, kings and ministers had recourse to strange expedients. Even Louis XIV. was sadly pinched for want of money; and, since alchemy was the order of the day, he sent a batch of alchemists and sent them to the Bastille to work under Government surveillance. They were allowed as much sulphur, antimony, arsenic, and anything else as they wanted and they were expected to give up in return. Hence one of the most notable discoveries of that time of course the police found no gold but they found (what they had long suspected) that these seekers for the philosopher's stone were poisoners and that their customers were to be found in the very highest ranks of society. Arsenic, which is often said to kill by accumulation in many small doses, was incapable of detection in those days, and *post-mortems* were unknown; and thus *poudre de succession* became a favourite way of getting rid of anyone who stood between a man or woman and the estate of a human being whom they coveted. We have all heard of the Brinvilliers. Voisin was a plebeian imitator of hers, doing for the common people what the other did for the noblesse, to which she herself longed. The humbler artist did his

ist as artistic style as did Dioness. A butcher in St. 'administers correction' d-about wife; she goes it to Voisin and quietly ets of powder, which make few weeks a frolicsome A carpenter, dying, leaves money; mother and son ce about it; the mother oisin and gets a powder, she has come for the next as been there too. Voisin em both in hand, deter- t whoever pays her highest the mother gains the day. isoning, Voisin was ready other kind of villany. She dwife named Lepère are have procured abortion in es, and the number of new- ren burnt by Voisin in her tes is reckoned at 2,500. e story is so horrible that, t legally attested in these one could not credit it; it an the worst of the foul witches. The confessions and her accomplices were g before they were tor- one would fain hope that he revolting details were isceased imagination. Spi- is contemptible enough; eth nkful that it is only ble when we read of the hich these wretches used the Devil and to win from eir dupes 'the flying dol- t was no sooner spent than ; way back into its owner's 'o drape a room in black on a black altar, lighted & candles, to slay a new- while a priest (for priests d to lend themselves to went through a vile tra- ble Mass, was one of the ible of the ceremonies; too bad even to hint at. le consolation that Voisin, made 100,000 crowns, leaving France under a , was caught, tried, and

at last burnt (Feb. 1680.) She supped gaily the night before, and sang parodies on the Church hymns; 'gave her soul to the Devil in good style' (*gentiment*), as Madame de Sévigné has it.

But all Voisin's clients were not butchers' and carpenters' wives and lewd young women of the baser sort who had 'got into trouble.' Marie Mancini, Countess of Soissons, was convicted of having gone to her in order to get rid of La Vallière, her successful rival in Louis XIV.'s affections. There was no doubt about it; the proofs are on record. The order was issued to arrest the Countess, but Louis told the Duke of Bouillon to give her a hint, and she escaped. Nor was she the only one who escaped; for there was such an epidemic of poisoning that the magistrate de la Reynie hesitated to go on with his enquiries; he found they were likely to compromise very exalted personages indeed. In a very short time he had 147 prisoners on his hands, and he questions 'whether it is for God's glory and the King's interest, i.e. the interest of the State, or even of justice, to publish abroad such terrible and enormous crimes.' Writing to Louvois, the Prime Minister, in 1681, he says, 'But for the confessions of the criminals I should scarcely be able to credit the existence of such a traffic in poisons. Poisoning is the common remedy for family troubles. Human life is put up to sale daily.' (One poisoner among the poor actually undertook the job for the trifling charge of 30 sous.) There was such a panic that people gave up using metal drinking-cups and took to glass; metal might be so prepared as to poison the drink poured into it. At a dinner every guest had his own silver plate, brought and carried home again by a confidential servant. The linen was washed at home and 'got up' under the housewife's own eyes, for

fear the master's shirts should be made shirts of Nessus. Letters were disinfected as if it had been time of plague; and ladies gave up accepting bouquets, because people had been known never to recover after smelling at a poisoned flower. Even Racine, the good and truly pious, the best character, perhaps, of all the writers who adorned that brilliant Court, was at one time suspected of being a poisoner. These archives show that enquiries were secretly set on foot about him, and that his innocence was indisputably proved. Indeed, among the motley crew who dabbled in poisons there was not a single literary man of the slightest pretensions to fame.

Voisin was burnt alive in February 1680. Madame de Carada, wife of a 'master of woods and forests,' had her hand cut off a year after. Between these two a good many met their just punishment; and then the trials suddenly ceased, and the *chambre ardente* left off its investigations. Louis made up his mind that de la Reynie was right, and that to go farther would bring a scandal on the whole nation. Other grand Court favourites besides the Countess of Soissons were compromised. Besides the villainous priests who were executed there were many other clergymen involved more or less deeply in the same impieties. The King, who, in spite of his free life, was, after his own fashion, a highly religious man, did not like to strengthen the hands of the enemies of Catholicism by publishing to the world the shame of its ministers. The guilty were allowed to escape into foreign parts, or to hide themselves in monasteries. Public opinion, too, went round in a moment; from being 'the fashion' poisoning became 'dreadful' in everybody's opinion; and there was really no need of further prosecutions, for society at once ostracised all the guilty, and even the suspected.

And so the Bastille ceased to be

used for the only purpose for which the high-handed lawlessness of procedure by which it was filled could be deemed, if not laudable, yet pardonable. If anything could excite such an arbitrary system it was the state of France just then. Underneath all the brilliance, and the polish, and the literary glory of the Court of the Grand Monarque there was a mass of foul corruption which the ordinary historian never suspects, and of which these 'archives' paint the revolting details. The ordinary tribunals were slow, and often powerless; it was necessary to strike sharply and at once. Louis had confined himself to this instead of seeking to make the Bastille a sort of reformatory for grown-up children of the high classes, few would complain. One pities the prisoners; the point is that they could not have been legally, instead of illegally, dealt with. We too have had our panics, accompanied with more or less strain of the law; but this flying as a matter of course to arbitrary punishment, to the 'King's justice' instead of to judges' justice, is a sign of the difference between France and England at the opening of the eighteenth century. The one was the new age of thought free and aspiring, the other met it in fetters of which it felt the ignominy, which it could not throw off. Hence during that eighteenth century France was steadily decaying, England as steadily gaining strength—that strength which enabled her to stand (yea, to thrive and grow) under the terrible strain of the war.

The first revolution was a frigid effort on the nation's part to get rid of this decay. How far it succeeded, whether it succeeded at all, no one can yet say. But it failed because institutions like the Bastille flourished, and were as a matter of course wantonly abused by creatures like those who surrounded Louis XV., that so violent and cold

fort for national health was d.

the Bastille helped to bring the Revolution. But that is why 'the sovereign people' could be made out such wonder-heroes for capturing it. They were to cut the chains of the bridge, and then walked in. The story of their dead falling in was high enough for their surgeons to mount the wall course a 'myth.' So is all that was written at the time about the wretched state in which the prisoners used to be kept. There were generally a few Morins 'lost' to literary confinement, whose lot doubt was very hard, and out of those sad circumstances the tales of liberators regarding the seven that they actually did release may have been evolved; but the great majority lived in very comfortable quarters, kept up their games in a garden to excite the envy of outsiders, and dined sumptuously every day at the King's expense. It was not the regulations of the Bastille which did the mischief; it was the lawlessness of the mode of punishing.

Louis XIV. been the wisest of despots the case would not be the same; your good despot is nearly as bad as a bad one, for he has no guarantee that he will be succeeded by a bad one.

Nay, his very goodness is mischievous, for it makes people submit unrepiningly to arbitrary conduct which they would not bear from a worse man. It is well for England that James II. was neither wise nor good. If he had been highly popular we might now have all been Papists. Because Louis XIV.'s popularity made Frenchmen (as a man's popularity always does make them) willingly blind to his arbitrariness, therefore the French Revolution came to rid the earth of the people who would traffic in blank *lettres de cachet*, and who made the closing scenes of Louis XV.'s reign so shameful that no efforts of his successor were able to set the fabric of monarchy up again.

Thank God, we have never had a Bastille; and this is one thing which has helped to keep classes from sundering as widely as they did in France. Here and there an English nobleman (far too many at certain times) has been wickedly foolish or basely tyrannical; but they never found ready to their hand (as the French *noblesse* did) an instrument which would lend itself alike to the pettiest revenge and to the most diabolical cruelty, and which that *noblesse*, unhappily for itself and for the nation, did not scruple to use for both purposes.

H. S. F.



THE ILLYRIANS, PAST AND PRESENT.

AN ETHNOLOGICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL ESSAY.

THROUGHOUT the whole course of Grecian history, from the earliest period to the fall of the Byzantine Empire, we meet with a people, distinct from the Greeks in race and language, inhabiting the northern and western parts of the country. In the plains and on the sea-coast they disappeared before, or were merged in, the Hellenic tribes; but in the mountain fastnesses of Thrace and Illyria, and in the vast basin of the Danube, they maintained their individuality and independence. Such is everywhere the history of an aboriginal people, when their territories are encroached on by a nation possessing or capable of higher civilisation, and intellectually, even if not physically, superior.

The early history of the Greeks is lost in the clouds of fable, each tribe tracing its descent from a common ancestor whose name they bore, and who in his turn is invariably sprung from one or other of the gods. In these mythical progenitors modern criticism recognises only an impersonation of the race, a consciousness of a common nationality; and in their divine parentage an expression of the pride of ancestry, so strong wherever the commercial spirit has not suppressed the genius of chivalry and romance.

Greece, however, produced at a later date two intelligent historians, Herodotus and Thucydides; and with the aid of their more or less authentic narratives, as well as of the statements and allusions scattered through the literature of the Greeks, certain conclusions have been drawn from a scientific study of the myths and traditions of the heroic and poetic age.

The earliest history, or what can be fairly so called, represents a struggle for ascendancy between two peoples distinguished as Pelasgi and Hellenes, of whom the former appear in the character of the original inhabitants, and the latter as intruders. Whether these were originally distinct families of the Aryan stock, or whether the Hellenes were but a more vigorous branch of the same root as the Pelasgians, cannot be decided with certainty from classic history; but although, as we shall presently see, the Hellenic writers constantly speak of the Pelasgi as barbarians—that is, as speaking a language so intelligible to them, such divergence might easily have been brought about in the course of few hundred or a thousand years between races originally the same but of whom one had advanced to the highest civilisation and culture, the other remaining in a rude and illiterate state. To a German, incapable of appreciating linguistic affinities, the Englishman or Swede is as unintelligible, or, as a Greek would have expressed it, as much barbarian as is a Frenchman; so the difference would be greater if one race had been left behind by the other in the progress of improvement.

Previous to B.C. 1500 we find the Pelasgi proper occupying Arcadia, Argolis, and Achaia; while other tribes, now considered to be mere subdivisions of the same family, possessed the remainder of the Peloponnesus and all Northern Greece excepting the southern part of Epirus and the fastnesses of Mount Olympus, which were held by clans of hardy mountaineers, known as Hellenes, Dorians, Æolians, &c.

for the next 400 years the tribes, emerging from their folds, drove the Pelasgians from the plains of the Peloponnese to the mountains in its interior to islands and isolated spots; and about the close of the fifth century B.C. a Pelasgian from Thessali, crossing the Thracian Bosphorus and expelled the Boeotians and driven from the country to which afterwards gave their name. The movement of the Hellenic tribes followed, each pushing the other south, and many of them migrated to the coasts of Asia where they founded colonies on the Lydian and Carian shores. The Pelasgi remained undisturbed alone; in the rest of the Peloponnese they were lost in the dominant Hellenic race, or sought refuge in the rocky isles of the Ionian Sea.

The histories of Herodotus and others mention occasionally the Pelasgians who, though in contact with the Hellenes, retained their distinct nationality and language. Herodotus (*Olio*, lvi) distinctly states that the Pelasgi dwelt in Chreston and Macedonia, spoke in a language which had no common with that of the Hellenes and identifies them with the Pelasgi who formerly spread over the greater part of Greece. The Athenians themselves, however, presume that the Pelasgi changed their language by amalgamating with the Thracians. Thucydides, describing the population of the peninsula of the adjacent shores of the Peloponnese, says (Δ 109) that they consisted of barbarous tribes, mixed and speaking two languages, some being Chalcidians, the greater part Pelasgi of the same race as those who formerly dwelt in Attica, and whom he calls by their own name of Tyrseni. The king of the Amphiloichi, who

inhabited the country east of the Ambracian Gulf, he distinguishes between those who had become Hellenised and those who still remained barbarians (B. 68). And Strabo says that the Epirotic tribes were mixed with Illyrians, and spoke two languages, meaning either that the Epirotic tongue was distinct from the Illyrian, or that, like the modern Albanian, they used their own vernacular as well as the Greek.

The origin of the name of Pelasgi is wrapped in obscurity. Homer (*Il.* B. 840) speaks of the clans of Pelasgi, who inhabited fertile Larissa, and distinguishes (B. 681) Pelasgian Argos from the Achæan city of that name, though the same epithet is applied to the latter by Euripides (*Phœn.* 263). Indeed, Argos is believed by some to have been the Pelasgian word for kingdom, and to have been at one time applied to the whole of the Peloponnese (*Il.* B. 108). That they called themselves Tyrseni is pretty certain, but the difficulty of tracing the name Pelasgi to any Greek root renders it highly probable that this designation, though given to them by their Hellenic neighbours, had been drawn from their own language, in the same way as the Teutonic nations, known to one another as Teutschen or Deutschen, i.e. the mutually intelligible people, were called by the Romans Germani, or warriors (cf. *Heer, guerre, &c.*, and *man*). Tyrseni was corrupted by the Greeks and Romans into Tyrrheni, and by the latter confused with the Tosci or Tuscans, an Italic tribe, whose proper title was Rasena; but true Pelasgic Tyrrhenians were found in Italy along the coasts of the Adriatic, immigrants probably rather than aborigines, like the Greeks who in the seventh and eighth centuries B.C. founded their colonies on the coasts of Sicily and Southern Italy.

The conquest of Greece by Philip of Macedon, B.C. 338, carried the Hellenic language and civilisation

into Thrace, the petty states of which had already been reduced by his arms. In Epirus and to the north of the Hæmus the barbarians still retained their independence for two hundred years, when they succumbed to the resistless power of Rome, supplying soldiers to her legions, and slaves to her markets, until, exhausted by this constant drain on their resources, enervated by the luxury and vice of the degenerate Byzantine Empire, and broken by previous inroads of the Goths, they were almost swept away by the torrent of Slavonic invasion, which from the fifth to the seventh centuries of the Christian era poured forth horde after horde from the regions north of the Carpathians, and, overflowing the great valley of the Danube, stopped only before the gates of Adrianople and Saloniki.

Two provinces, though lying in its course, were enabled to present a successful resistance to the foe, either from their natural advantages, or from the military superiority of their inhabitants. When the Emperor Aurelian, A.D. 272, had found it impossible to protect Dacia from the Goths, and therefore abandoned that province to the barbarians, he removed the Roman colonists to the plains between the Eastern Carpathians, the Danube, and the sea, which were in consequence known as Dacia Aureliana. With their aid, the native population, Romanised and trained to the use of arms, checked the progress of the Slavonic invaders, who, passing westwards and southwards again met an irresistible barrier in the mountains dividing Epirus from Moesia and Thrace.

When, therefore, we behold in the oppressed and insignificant nationalities of Albania and of Moldo-Wallachia the sole representatives of what was once one of the great European families; who, though now numbering barely six million souls, have through two thousand

years withstood extermination or absorptionalike by Greek civilisation Slavonic barbarism, and Turkish oppression, and who in the case of the Albanians have even retained their ancient language in comparative purity; whether we contemplate them as ethnologists, as philologists or as historians, we cannot but feel a deep interest in their present social and political condition.

The present inhabitants of the ancient Epirus are known to Western Europeans as Albanians by the Turks they are called Arnauts, both words being corruptions of their Greek appellation Arbanites, or Albanites, which may possibly be traced to the name of Albonenses, given to a tribe of Liburni by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* iii. 21). They call themselves Skëptar from their own word *skëpt*, a mountain. The limits of the Albanian language may be roughly described as marked by the river Drin to the north, the range of Pindus to the east, and the river Kalamos to the south, excepting in the town of Janina, where Greek is spoken with great purity. Albanian villages are however, scattered on the eastern slopes of Mount Pindus, on the opposite coast of Calabria, and on the island of Hydra on the eastern coast of the Morea.

They are a rude and illiterate but brave and warlike race. Inured from childhood to the use of arms they scorn servile occupations, as leave even the most laborious duties of agriculture to their wives. In deed, the abject social condition of women among them is the darkest blot in their national character. Rude hospitality, unswerving adherence to a strangely confused code of honour, and devotion to the leaders, the wild virtues of a semi-civilised state they exhibit in a high degree. Byron, in his *Childe Harold* (canto ii. st. 46-72), graphically describes the manners and appearance of the Southern Albanians,

d by him in his visit to the f Janina.

language of the Albanians is into two principal dialects, Shian and Toskhian, spoken respectively in the northern and southern provinces, corresponding to ancient Illyria and Epirus. Albanians who, after the year 1467 of the heroic George Skanderbeg, better known as Skanderbeg (Iskander, or Alexander Bey), in Italy and Sicily, still preserve their language; and, indeed, something of a literature, poet, Girolamo di Rada, still lately living.

Albanians employ the Greek alphabet modified by dots and lines under some of the letters. A number of foreign words introduced into their language exceeds per cent. of their whole vocabulary. Arndt, from an analysis of only one dictionary to which he has access, referred one-sixtieth to Latin, one-eighth to a Greek, one-eighth to a Latin, and one-seventh to a Teutonic source, leaving only words of native origin out of a total of 7,560. This residuum, however, though not borrowed from any of the existing languages, is, of course, was for the most part derived from roots distinctly Teutonic, thus establishing its claim to be recognised as another primitive member of that great family.

Mr. Leake, from a review of historical changes which the province has undergone, has come to the conclusion that the extraneous words will be found to present themselves in numbers pretty closely proportioned to the depth and duration of the impression which each of the foreign languages has made on the population, whether as a result of conquest, or by the gentler influence of commercial intercourse and ecclesiastical influence.

Greek words frequently bear

evidence of their having been adopted from the Romaic, and not from the classic Greek; the Latin, though absolutely more numerous, are less so than in the languages of Western Europe; as, indeed, we might have expected, from the fact that the Roman arms never completely subjugated these warlike mountaineers, and from the entire neglect of the study of the language and literature of Rome by their scarcely more cultivated descendants. Each wave of Teutonic invasion which swept over Italy broke on the opposite shores of the Adriatic; or, parted by the Venetian gulf, overran the two peninsulas simultaneously. Goths, Franks, and Normans successively founded kingdoms or dukedoms in Illyria, as in Italy. So early as the fifth century Alaric was undisputed master of all Epirus, Illyria, and Thrace. After this we find Sidismund, a Gothic duke of Albania, accompanying the mighty Theodoric in his campaign against the Eastern Empire; and when, in the next century, the Emperor Justinian re-annexed Dalmatia to the Roman Empire, we find the Goths in great force in that province.

The first swarm of those Normans who gave so much trouble to the later emperors was invited over from Italy by a Bishop of Deabolis.

In 1185 the Franks effected settlements on the coasts of Greece, and occupied Thessaly and Macedon with their troops; while during the whole period of the Crusades (1095-1274) the coasts of Albania were frequented by Germans and French, who made Durazzo their chief depôt on the eastern route.

That Slavonic words are not more numerous is indeed a matter of surprise, and a proof of the independent spirit of the native Albanians.

Such then are the sources whence the Albanians have drawn the strange medley of words which

form their vocabulary; but the strangest part of it is the utterly capricious manner in which these have been selected, setting at defiance the best established laws of the origin and growth of language.

For example, the numerals, which are usually among the last words a people would think of borrowing, are some of them plainly derived from the Latin. Along with such peculiar forms as *γιαστε* (6) and *νιζετ* (20); and with *χι* (2), *τρι* (3), common to all Aryan languages, we meet with *κατερ* (4), *κιντ* (100), *μιγε* (1,000); clearly the Latin quatuor, centum, and mille.

The pronouns are partly derived from the Greek, especially in the oblique cases.

Among nouns in common use, and generally considered primitive, we find man expressed by *νιερι*, which reminds one of the Greek *άνηρ*, but woman by *φρου*, a purely German word (*frau*), spelt in Greek letters! Brother is *βελα*, good Albanian, but brotherly is expressed by the almost comical barbarism *φρατερνιστ*! Good is *μύρρε*, while bad is *κεικ* = the Greek *κακος*; earth is *χε*, but heaven is *κειλ* = Gr. *κοιλον*, Lat. *cœlum*. Beast is *εέρρε*, which may be allied to the Greek *θηρα*, or the German *Thier*, but bird is *ζοφ*. Among adverbs we notice the same variety, *κετου* = here, *αργε* or *γκαχα* = there, but before is *παρα*, as in Greek. Sometimes we have the choice of a native or of a borrowed word, as *πουνουγ* or *σερπειγ*, which both mean, to serve, the latter akin to the Latin *servire*; *σοκε* = companion, is from the Latin *socius*, in which the *e* is pronounced like *k*; *κασουλε* = a cottage, is the Italian *casola*; *εασουρε* = desire, *σπεμεσε* = hope, and *τειτα* = tent, contain internal evidence of their having been derived from the French; and *σκρουαιγ* = to write, is either the Latin *scribere*, the Italian *scrivere*, or the German *schreiben*. Lastly, while the indefinite article is

the same as the numeral one, *νε*, fem. *νιε*, *νια*, from the *n* common to all the Aryan languages the definite article is expressed by the affixes *a*, *s*, or *i*, according to the gender and termination of the noun, or of *αγια* in the case of some feminines ending in *a*. I shall have occasion to revert to this position of the definite article when we come to treat of the relation of the Wallachian to the Illyrian.

Those words which cannot otherwise be accounted for, we may safely assume to be the remnants of the primitive language of Illyria, especially when we find evidences of the same roots in the Wallachian, but unfortunately the ancients considered the languages of the barbarians as beneath their notice. Dioscorides, however, tells us that *μαρτεια* was the Dacian for a mulberry: now in Albanian this is *μαφέρρε*, from *μαρυ* = a mulberry, *εφέρρε*, a thorn; while *μαρδν*, a mulberry tree, approaches very near to the *μαρτεια* of the Greek physician.

Those who may be curious for further information respecting the Albanian may refer to *Xylandi Die Sprache der Albaner*, 8vo Frankfurt 1835; G. Stier in the *Kieler Monatschrift*, 1854; Vincenzo Dorsa, *Ricerche e pensieri sugli Albanesi*; Leake's *Researches in Greece*, 1814; and the best and most recent authority, J. G. von Halm, *Albanesische Studien*, Vienna 4to., 1853.

The Wallachian language is spoken over a far wider area, including not only Moldavia and Wallachia in Turkey, but great part of Hungary and Transylvania, and of Bessarabia in Russia, but everywhere interspersed with tracts occupied by Magyars, Slavonians, or Germans. Even in Moldo-Wallachia, or Roumania, it is now called, the Roumans constitute but half of the population.

their number within the f Hungary was estimated by Metz, in 1851, at 2,400,000. They may muster throughout the Empires between four or five millions.

Slavonians offer an exact parallel to the case of the Romanised Celts and Iberians of Spain, who, they have received but very little fusion of Roman blood, have adopted the language of the conqueror with his arts and civilities; while in a remote corner, and in the valleys of the Pyrenees, their brothers in the Breton and the Basque, to this day their ancient languages almost unchanged; so the mountains of Pindus and the shores of the Adriatic the Slav has maintained his speech independent, while the Roumanians still occupying their seats, and probably preserving their Dacian blood in complete purity, exhibit in their language but faint traces of their extraction.

Professor Pott (in his *Etymologische Forschungen*) thus sums up the general relations of the Albanian and Wallachian languages:

Albanian (he says) besides some few coincidences, nearly the same in their dictionaries, but in different inverse proportions. In the original Illyrian element Albanian contains much, the Slav little - it has instead a small amount of Magyar or Hungarian words, found in both: in Wallachian through ecclesiastical influence, in French through commercial intercourse, and finally Wallachian contains many, and Albanian few Slav words.

Use of the Cyrillic alphabet, and its turn is founded on the fact that at an early period introduced by the Russians, and has been used to from time to time. The present numbers forty-four

letters. Repeated efforts have been made to adapt the Roman alphabet to Wallachian, until there are no less than fourteen distinct alphabets in use; but that of Alexi, which first appeared in 1826, seems likely to supersede all others. The Russians violently oppose this movement; and during their occupation of the Danubian provinces, in 1848, went so far as to burn the poems of Eliade Radulesco, who had greatly aided the progress of a national spirit and literature among the people.

Like other Romanic languages, the Wallachian has made use of the Latin pronoun *ille* to express the definite article, but it suffixes it to the noun. This position of the article is common to the Albanian and to the Bulgarian dialect of the Slavonic. On this Max Müller merely remarks that, while the old Roman was at liberty to say *homo ille* or *ille homo*, the Western European nations chose the latter, and the Wallachians the former position.

Pott suggests that this peculiarity of the Albanian and Wallachian is derived from their common Illyrian origin; and one might go even further, and attribute its presence in Bulgarian to the existence of an Illyrian substratum in that Slavonic race, unless indeed it were adopted by the Bulgarians from mere association with their Illyrian neighbours, just as the Danes use a separate preposition borrowed from the German, instead of the suffixed article of other Scandinavian dialects.

Like its Latin sisters, Wallachian has dropped the inflections of the noun, but by retaining one in the oblique case of the article it is enabled frequently to dispense with the use of prepositions.

Like them, too, it has lost the neuter gender, and in the conjugation of the verbs an auxiliary has replaced the inflections of the past and future tenses. The formation

of the future, however, deserves a separate notice: while in French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, it is obtained by suffixing to the infinitive of the verb the present tense (or its last syllable) of the verb *to have*; in Wallachian it is formed by prefixing that of the verb *I will*. That *je chanterai*, *nous chanterons*, are thus formed is proved by a comparison of the Provençal, the oldest of the Romance languages, in which, instead of *je vous dirai* and *nous vous dirons*, we find *dir vos ai* and *dir vos em*.

In Wallachian, on the other hand, we have the same structure of the future as in the Teutonic and modern Greek: *Jo voiñ cantà, tu vei cantà, el ve cantà, noi voiñ cantà, voi veti cantà, eli voru cantà*. Though Wallachian contains a residuum of Illyrian, and a considerable admixture of Slavonic, Greek, and Turkish words, it is in the main a Latin language, and its grammar essentially Latin. To anyone familiar with the other members of this family, and with a few rules as to the changes undergone by words in their passage from the Latin, its acquisition is easy. Thus the Latin *l* between two vowels becomes *r*, as *sol* (solis) = so'are, *mell* (mellis) = miere; *cl* becomes *ft* or *pt*, as *doctor* = dofter, *pectus* = peptu; *qu* becomes *p*, as *aqua* = apa, *quatuor* = patru; *cl* becomes *ch*, as *includere* = inchidu; and *sc* = *sc* as *executio* = scutura or scoate.

The construction of sentences is simple, inverted phrases being sparingly used, and the pronunciation is soft and musical. The national ballads are often very beautiful, marked by a refined and tender sentiment, and an ardent love for, and admiration of their native land. They are simply bards or *Lautori*, who are at once poets and minstrels. These *Lautori* are for the most part gipsies, and, strange to say, the gipsies were

until the present generation slave the absolute property of the government, or of private individual. But of late several literary men have appeared among the Rouman and works of poetry, history, and fiction have issued from the *Radu* esco press.

The Hon. H. E. Stanley, who was for many years British Consul at Bucharest, and felt a deep sympathy with the national and literary life of the Roumans, speaks of the peasantry as lively, simple, friendly to strangers, and free from the bigoted antipathy to members of the Western churches so characteristic of the Slavonian Christians. The nobles he describes as combining Oriental ease and hospitality with Western refinement, and, except in parts of Wallachia where they entrust the management of the estates to Greek bailiffs, as taking great interest in the welfare of the tenantry.

Mr. Stanley, however, stands almost alone in his favourable estimate of the Rouman character. Mr. Paget, an English gentleman, born in Transylvania, stigmatises them as proud, ignorant, lazy, and dirt beyond description. Chovanetz describes them as good-natured and hospitable, but ignorant, idle, deceitful, and passionate. Superstitions in the extreme, their imaginations are filled with vampires and lemurs, while fortune-tellers and witches ply a thriving trade. Still more recent authorities assure us that the shameless profligacy of all even the highest classes in Bucharest surpasses anything to be met with in the most immoral cities of Western or Southern Europe.

The Albanians, though a wild and predatory people, have for many generations given little or no trouble to the Turks. They have for the most part, embraced the Mahomedan faith, and have a sympathy with the Slavonian

as of Servia and Bulgaria. We not forgotten and will forgive the cruelty and shown by the Greeks in of independence, especially hery in cold blood of the garrison of Tripolitza, to e insurgents had promised rable capitulation.

the Roumans: while the ion of Russian and Austrian ons has destroyed all sym- nich they might otherwise t towards their Christian rs, they are slowly but laxing their allegiance to n.

have already succeeded in he two provinces of Mol- d Wallachia under one i defiance of the persistent rs of the Porte.

nternal administration and y is complete; they have

their own ministry and legislative chambers, their own army, and a small naval force for the protection of their commerce; only in the payment of a small annual tribute, and in the absence of separate diplomatic representation, and of independent belligerent rights, do they still remain under Ottoman suzerainty. Though their numerical weakness will always preclude their attaining a place among the European powers, and from their want of military prowess they cannot unaided challenge the Turks in the field, it is yet highly probable that, under the firm and prudent guidance of Prince Charles of Hohenzollern, they will ultimately cast off these last evidences of subjection, and acquire an entire political, as they have a national, independence.

W.



ERASMUS.

PART II.

WHILE on his way to Bâle for the second time, Erasmus enjoyed the company of his friend More for some months in Flanders, whither the latter had been sent on an embassy along with Cuthbert Tunstall and Richard Sampson, afterwards Bishops of London and Chichester respectively. This visit of More to Flanders is memorable from his having employed his leisure there in composing the *Utopia*. The second book was added afterwards, to show the King the reasons that made the author demur to giving him his services. The manuscript was confided to the hands of Erasmus, who saw it through the press.

Once more at Bâle, Erasmus is in the midst of a learned society at Froben's; for the printer was in those days the centre of a system of luminaries. Here he first met Beatus Rhenanus, his devoted admirer through life, and editor and biographer after death; here too, Gerard Lystrius, who composed the notes to the *Laus Stultitiæ*. Bilibald Pierckheimer, like Rhenanus, a scion of the school of Schelestadt, joined him in his labours on St. Jerome. Zwingle came to Bâle on purpose to see him, and swore eternal devotion; and Ecolampadius and he struck up a close friendship. With those who were united to him by merely literary sympathies these pleasant relations continued unaltered to the last. But, a few years pass away—and Erasmus is openly rejoicing in the death of Zwingle and Ecolampadius.¹

As yet, however, all was smooth and when what was regarded contemporaries as the most important work of Erasmus' life came out—his edition of the New Testament—none were louder in the acclamations than the future Swiss Reformers, though there was a monk of Erfurt who disliked the leanings displayed in the annotations. The *Novum Instrumentum* as it was first entitled, displayed the name of Leo X. on the title-page, Erasmus having taken the prudent liberty of securing the Papal countenance for this work instead of for the St. Jerome, the latter he dedicated, according to original intention,² to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The importance of Erasmus' labours did not lie in the direction of popularising a knowledge of the New Testament, which had already been translated in many of the modern languages but in consummating the work begun by Laurentius Valla, and giving a death-blow at the Divine rigidity of the received text. All the translations made had been drawn without inquiry from the text of Jerome which was recognised throughout the Middle Ages, and formed the basis of that authorised by the Council of Trent. A critical edition was a novelty in the religious world of the day, and, like its novelties, impious. Very respectable divines were found to maintain the inspiration of the accepted version on the ground that to admit a single error was to con-

¹ Zwingle lost his life on the field of battle in 1531, while engaged, after the fashion of the Swiss pastors, in exhorting the troops. Erasmus writes: 'Bene habet quod de Coryphæi perierunt. Zuinglius in acie, Ecolampadius paulo post febri et apostemate. Quod si illis fuisset Evadæos, actum erat de nobis.'—*Op.* iii. 1422, B.

² Beatus Rhenanus, Letter to Charles V.

everything. Edward Lee, royal chaplain and almoner to VIII., was one of the most big and relentless of the antagonists raised up against Erasmus of the *Novum Instrumentum*. whose opinions were better consideration was the learned and, James Lopez Stunica, said to have set Erasmus on many points, but who did not to bring against him the charge of Arianism, inevitably cent upon the removal of three Heavenly Witnesses. Erasmus's allusion to Erasmus as 'd in the butter and beer of the country,' with the remark of Peter that it was too bad on right grounds to have the son of an out-and-out heresy laid upon him 'by a brazen-laffoon,' signify no more than relative difference.³

if the edition of the New Testament found hot opponents, it found no lukewarm friends, these, too, of the kind that were valuable. Leo X. publicly rebuked the editor. Cardinal Cajetan, who was then engaged on Complutensian Polyglot, expressed high approval; as did also Cardinal Campeggio. Adrian of Utrecht, though no patron of Erasmus afterwards as Pope, now support to his countryman. His book came through the press, under the entire sanction of his Berne, bishop of the Netherlands. The Englishmen of note, such as Fisher, Tunstall, More, and others, were on the same side—a man—the last-named, bishop of Winchester, decried that he found the Latin affixed by Erasmus to be more than ten commentaries, so

much light did it throw upon the original.

Amid the felicitations of his great friends some laudatory Greek verses reached Erasmus as a tribute of admiration from a young student at the University of Tübingen,⁴ concerning whom Ecolampadius wrote to him in terms of praise the highest possible, saying he was worthy the love of Erasmus the First, since he was likely to turn out Erasmus the Second. One time, when Reuchlin had visited the school of George Simler, in Hesse, he had found the present student of Tübingen a promising boy of ten, and, as the young scholar was a kinsman of his own, had taken a particular interest in him, making him the invaluable present of a grammar and lexicon, and Græcising his name of Schwartz-herd into Melancthon.

A different note was struck when a letter reached Erasmus from George Spalatin, full of complimentary remarks on his New Testament, but asking him at the request of a friend, whose name is not mentioned (it was Martin Luther) to reconsider the questions of the 'righteousness of works' and 'original sin,' and the amount of authority to be attributed to Augustine.

But Luther has not yet blighted the happiness of Erasmus, though the baleful star is rising. As yet we see in Erasmus only the honoured scholar, whose poverty is chiefly the fault of his own fastidiousness and love of independence, or, rather, of a kind of Bohemianism that makes him prefer begging for the supply of his momentary wants to making the slightest engagement of a permanent nature. In this

s ferat ex talibus lemmatis, velut a scurrâ perfrictæ frontis, impingi suspicionem hærescos?—*Op.*, ix. 317, C. D.

Er. Op., iii. 1595, F. The verses, which were sent by Rhenanus, are there

respect, and no other, the monk was alive in the breast of Erasmus. The magnificent offers made by Francis I. through the great French scholar, Budæus, and enforced by a personal visit from the Bishop of Paris, Stephen Poncher, a declared admirer, failed to draw him out of the Netherlands, where he had been since finally quitting England. With Budæus Erasmus had of late been carrying on a correspondence before the eye of the world. Up to this time the reputation of the French scholar was chiefly grounded on a treatise of prodigious learning on the Roman *as* and its parts. His *Commentarii Linguae Græcæ* was not published till long afterwards, in 1529. In the field of law the name of Budæus associates itself with his Annotations on the Pandects. The correspondence between the French and Dutch scholars was a curious experiment how aggravating it was possible for two persons to be to one another under the guise of friendship. If any touch were wanting to intensify their secret jealousy, it was deftly given afterwards by Longolius,⁵ who had the ill-nature to publish a comparison between them. Pretending to praise impartially, Longolius covertly assigned the palm to Budæus. Erasmus wrote to Longolius to thank him for the preference he had shown for his rival. He had been as parsimonious (he said) in praise of Budæus as lavish in that of himself. At the same time Erasmus managed, under show of running himself down, to let the world fully understand that he thought Budæus a very dull fellow. Longolius was admittedly right in declaring Budæus to have the advantage over Erasmus in knowledge of Greek and of the civil law. But Erasmus is on our tables, and Budæus is in the Bodleian. No doubt Longolius

would be of Bacon's opinion is the straws that come do stream of time.

Admirable, however, as style of Erasmus, there is for everything, and a less age than his own may this St. Paul could have afforded dispense with its aid. The phrase of the Epistle to the Romans published at the close of 1511 dedicated to the Cardinal Gh proved to be only the herald series. At last, at the inst of his friends, Erasmus laid on the Gospels, though, to his be it said, under protest. *M* was dedicated to Charles V. to Ferdinand, brother of Cl Luke to Henry VIII.; *M* Francis I. But leaving Erasmus quietly employed on these other productions, indulging intimacy with Ludovicus V. young Spaniard, afterwards of Corpus, and with Conrad nius, Professor of Latin at Le and dividing his time between place and Bâle, we must turn eyes for a few moments to St where there is a fierce storm ing.

The Popes, it is well known at their disposal during the 1 Ages a treasury of the super merits of Christ and the over and above what was said to atone for the sins of the w

Money was about this time at Rome, and large quantities of future happiness were consequently on sale, the kings and other states of Europe to receive a mission for allowing the trans to take place in their territories. To the Dominican friars were trusted the sale of Indulgences. People of culture in Europe thought the same about this matter but there was one man who thought what he thought. It was o

⁵ The one man beyond the Alps whom the fastidious Italians allowed to be write Latin—that is, imitate Cicero.

tober, 1517, that Luther on the doors of the palace Wittenberg those ninety-positions against indulgences which dismembered Christ. In the summer of 1518 he joined Luther at Wittenberg. Luther obeyed the command of the Papal legate, Cajetan, before him, but, on his retraction, retired into Saxony. The Elector refused to send him to a disputation held at the year 1519, between Luther and the Papal legate. Luther found out that the tenets condemned by the Council of Constance were his own creed, and that he had been a Hussite without knowing it. This proved his irreversible step was yet not. On the 10th of December, 1520, Luther, already cut off from the Church, burned the Bull by the Holy Cross at Worms. He was out of joint, and was by some expected to be right, by others gravely of having set them wrong. He, couched in at all degrees, issued from the German Empire, it seemed with such profit it was at once set down to him, who sincerely disliked his own personality indulged in the thought of the destruction seemed likely to bring about the cause of *bonæ literæ* (Er. 72, A). To Erasmus him- self, so long as there was hope of his joining them, he was civil; and he was most driven into their persecutions of the party, who persisted in what he was at the bottom mischief. But Erasmus was to be entrapped into an

indiscretion, though the lion for his benefit roared gently as a sucking dove. To Melancthon, endeavouring to extract some panegyric on Luther, he replied, that about the excellence of Luther's private life all were agreed, but there were different opinions as to his doctrine, and that for his own part he had not read his works. A letter from Luther himself⁶ shortly after did not extract a more ardent reply. Erasmus mingled advice with affection, pointing out that it would be better to attack those who abused the Pope's authority than the Pope himself, and to endeavour to reform the universities instead of pouring contempt on them.

In the point last alluded to lies the secret of the confusion in the monkish mind between Reuchlin and Erasmus on the one hand, and Luther on the other. At an early period learning had been the exclusive privilege of the clergy, and their contribution to human thought remains in the scholastic philosophy: now they had to endure the mortification of seeing their monopoly come to an end. The mendicant friars had distinguished themselves above the rest in the learning of the Middle Ages. Thomas Aquinas was a Dominican, Duns Scotus, a Franciscan; and it was the same Orders that were now most active in the futile attempt to extinguish the new light that was dawning on the world. To the pretensions of Scholasticism Erasmus was a foe every whit as deadly as Luther; the only difference being that Luther was less of a friend to a better learning. The intense hatred of the monks for Luther may be judged of from the frightful expression recorded to have been uttered by a Dominican—'*Utinam mihi liceret dentibus meis demordere gulam Lutheri! Nilil vereretur ore*

⁶ *Er. Op.*, iii. 423. The letter is dated March 31, 1519.
L.—NO. LXXIV. NEW SERIES.

adhuc cruento accedere ad corpus Christi.'⁷ But they hated Erasmus no less, and bit with venom at the heel they felt was crushing them. About the theological tenets of Luther the monks knew and cared little. To them there was no perceptible difference between him and Erasmus. The real heresy was common to Reuchlin and Erasmus and Luther.⁸

It was true, however, that on questions of practical Church-reform Erasmus and Luther were tolerably agreed; nor was this denied by Erasmus, although certainly never thrust in people's faces. But Erasmus was through life the consistent advocate of peace at any price (except when wounded in his literary reputation), and he was sincerely shocked as well as alarmed at the violent means taken by Luther to secure an end which he himself considered commendable. On the other hand, with regard to those deep speculative questions which lie at the base of theology as well as other forms of thought, Erasmus, so far as he held any opinions at all, was quite opposed to Luther. Erasmus came as near genius as common sense could carry him; Luther was a genius, but of the moral more than the intellectual type. All great movements of the human spirit have the appearance of coming from without rather than from within. An overmastering impulse sweeps the leader onwards, and communicates itself to his followers, who lose themselves in they know not what; nor is it till the rush of enthusiasm has spent its force that their successors draw breath and recover individuality. Luther was eaten up by zeal for God's house, and applied universally the only theory which he felt would fit himself: 'Thy grace is sufficient for

me.' While Erasmus was dreaming of a peaceful internal reform as an extension of the bounds of the Church under the silent influence of culture, Luther was making the dream impossible ever to be realised. The old bottles were destined to burst from the new wine that was fermenting within them. For time, indeed, Luther entertained great hopes of Erasmus, but an tentative perusal of his works convinced him that the resemblance therein contained to his own views were really only superficial. I found Erasmus losing credit with him every day, and expressed a fear that he would not do much to further 'the doctrine of Christ or of God's grace.' The time was to come when Luther would be speaking 'that viper Erasmus.' We may note some of the successive steps that led up to this consummation of charity.

The reply of Erasmus to Luther before alluded to was published by the Reformers, and, though as enough, gave great offence to the orthodox, particular exception being taken to a passage in which Erasmus says: 'I write this, not because I think you need my advice, but the hope that you will always go on as you have begun.' A tremendous clamour was raised at the notion of Erasmus hoping that Luther would go on as he had begun, and though Erasmus might explain to Leo that this was only a polite way of speaking to a stranger, on the principle of treating a man as he is in order to make him so, it was useless to expect the Dominicans to understand delicacy. His indignation was roused by a statement that there were many at Leuven who sympathised with Luther — 'with what was good in him' explained Erasmus to the Pope.

⁷ *Er. Op.*, iii. 630, C.

⁸ 'Græce scire hæresis est, expolite loqui hæresis est; quicquid ipsi non faciunt hæresis est.'—*Er. Op.*, iii. 517, C.

lication of another of embroiled Erasmus still increased his irritation : Lutherans, who were of all his woes. The rdinal - Archbishop of bert de Brandenburg, had himself been inte- he sale of indulgences, g cupidity apart, of a 1 of mind, entertained lmiration for Erasmus, elt uncertain what line o take up with respect

To testify his esteem s he sent him a present n cup, the messenger eing Ulrich von Hutten, f the Archbishop's, who fully shared his patron's for Erasmus. In writing ie Archbishop, Erasmus portunity of putting in ehalf of the Reformers, is belief that they meant h some of the statements itings might require to h considerable allowance, which might be said of abard himself, not to yprian or Jerome. At time he expressed un- nttempt for the divines amouring against Luther ving read his works, and ot a word on their lips esy, heretics, heresiarchs, l Antichrist.' This letter 7. 1. 1519) Erasmus put nds of Hutten, confiding deliver it or not as he k fit. Hutten, with more honour, had it printed en waiting to show it to al.

spite these annoyances, as to do the Reformers urn still before he had . them. The Emperor 1 had died on January 12, the dispute about the was not terminated, nor

Charles V. crowned at Aix until October 22, 1520. The plague drove the young Emperor from Aix to Cologne, where he convened a Diet, determined among other things to inaugurate his accession to this new dignity by taking measures against the heretics. Alexander, the Papal legate, demanded in full conclave that Luther's books should be burned and himself delivered up. For a moment the blameless Frederic faltered in his resolution to protect him. He sent for Erasmus to have a confidential communication. Standing with his back to the fire, the Elector suddenly asked Erasmus what was his real opinion of Luther. Erasmus hesitated, but the Elector fixed his eyes upon him, as if he would search into the depths of his soul, and Erasmus blurted out, 'Luther has committed two sins: he has touched the Pope's crown and the monks' bellies.'⁹ Luther died quietly in his bed at his native place of Eisleben.

The Diet of Worms was opened by Charles V. on the 21st of January of the same year. By this time Luther had scattered the Pope's Bull in ashes to the winds; Philip Melancthon had first married a wife and then asked his friends' advice about it, but in that he only exercised his layman's right; and Hutten had broken loose, and was besetting the public roads with a troop of bandits. Erasmus found in illness a convenient excuse for non-attendance at the Diet, to which he received a summons. The proceedings at this Diet are matter of a wider history. On his dying-bed Charles V. regretted not having violated the safe-conduct he had granted to Luther (a meritorious precedent lay before him in Sigismund's treatment of John Huss); he thought that he might have crushed the Reformation while still in the shell; but a more potent

as peccavit in duobus: tetigit coronam Pontificis et ventres monachorum.'

reformer than Luther would have been left at large, and that was—the printing-press.

Before the year 1521 was out, Leo X. had died—Leo the Luxurious, Leo the Magnificent, Leo the anything but counterpart of Peter. The days of this pontiff were the ripe autumn of Italy's greatness, as those of his father, Lorenzo de' Medici, had been its golden summer, and the triumph of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio its early and prophetic spring. The appearance presented by Italy in the Middle Ages very much resembled that of Greece in classic days, and the triumphs of its genius were hardly inferior. Everywhere small independent States, monarchies or republics, in constant collision, struck from one another the spark of genius. The opening of the sixteenth century gave no promise of a reign of peace. Milan under the Sforzas, the oligarchical Republic of Venice, Florence under the Medici (half-way in the position they occupied between Pericles and the Pisistratids); Naples under the sway of the House of Aragon—all quarreling with one another; the Pope of the day quarreling with them and with the Barons of Romagna, and endeavouring to bequeath a permanent principality to some relation, generally a son, only to have his work undone by his successor, and the struggle to commence afresh—it was on no day of slumbrous calm that the human spirit sounded its first note of recovered liberty. The spiritual despotism established by Hildebrand and Innocent III. upon the foundations laid by Gregory I. was more impaired than aided by the attempt to superadd a temporal sovereignty. Some of the near predecessors of Leo X. had sunk almost as much below the level of human infirmity as they were ex-

pected to rise above it. Sixtus IV. was infamous enough without the share attributed to him in the conspiracy of the Pazzi to murder the Medici in the house of God. The piety of his successor, Innocent VII. displayed itself only in the collection of relics. But it was in Alexander VI. that the wickedness of Papal Rome came to a head, that of Regal Rome in Tarquinian Sextus, and of Imperial Rome in Sextus Nero.

Semper sub Sextis perdita Roma fuit.

After the deadly Spaniard, we found a relief even in the stormy days of Julius. From the peace Leo Erasmus hoped great things, thinking his wise intervention would allay the dissensions of Christendom. But Leo was a man till awakened at last to reasonable severity and an obstinate defence of abuses. The corruption of the Church had long been flagrant and unblushing; nor could we find a better illustration than in the case of Leo himself. From his tender years the young Giovanni had been destined by his father Lorenzo, to the purple. The child was declared ready for Church preferment at the age of 7, and the king of France created him Abbot of Fontenay, the grant being confirmed by Sixtus IV., who was willing to forget his quarrel with the Medici. A month or two later the Pope had some slight scruple about sanctioning his appointment to the archbishopric of Aix in Provence; but a more serious difficulty arose when it was discovered that the occupant was not dead, as was imagined. Finally, Giovanni received the strings of a Cardinal, as the father wrote to his envoy in Rome to know how the boy ought to behave himself.¹⁰ Well might Laurentius Valla administer the bitter herbs of his rhetoric; as

¹⁰ See Roscoe's *Life of Leo X.*, chap. i.

night the Virgil of the day, Sta Mantuanus, exclaim in the of a Juvenal—

Venalia nobis
sacerdotes, altaria, sacra, coronæ,
thura, preces, cælum est venale
usque.

g the pontificate of Leo, in-
an association, of which Sado-
s a member, was formed at
for the re-awakening of
ian piety. But it was not
to be. The iniquity of Babylon
all; Savonarola had sung its
n, and Luther purified what
not destroy. For a change
ome over Catholicism since the
of Luther—a change signified
establishment of the Jesuit
by a Bull of Paul III. in 1540
logous to that which passed
the Jewish nation after their
from exile; and the title of
'captivitas Ecclesiæ Babylonica
easily be retorted upon its
r in a sense other than he in-
d. But to the Reformers the
of the Lord was but one, and
was the cause of Gideon. We
ell imagine their exasperation
st Erasmus. Bold words had
their work; and the time for
as bold had come. But where
Erasmus now? He was cling-
to the skirts of the Scarlet Lady
d, like Meroz, bitterly was he
d.

e successor of Leo X. in the
of Peter was Adrian of
ht, who had been the school-
r of Erasmus at Deventer, and
quently a professor at Louvain.
nus, thinking his time was
, renewed his efforts for the
ion of a policy of conciliation.
vrote to Adrian at Rome, re-
ending internal reform, an
sty for past offences, and a
cil to be attended only by mo-
e men of both parties. But

the advice was not palatable to
Adrian.

It was in the year 1522, which
we have now reached, that the
Colloquies were published, a work
which has done more even than the
Praise of Folly to perpetuate the
name of Erasmus—at least, they
were now for the first time put
forth by Erasmus himself; for a
stolen and imperfect copy had been
long in circulation, printed, like the
Adages, by Froben. The book con-
tained a re-assertion with scarcely
perceptible abatements, but under
the convenient form of dialogue, of
all Erasmus' most objectionable
views, or, rather, criticisms. The
Colloquies professed to be an educa-
tional work. Seldom has there been
a book for boys containing such
strong meat as this one. The
popularity of the *Colloquies* in
their own day is shown from the
fact that, on a rumour of their in-
tended proscription, a printer in
Paris, named Colinet, could think it
worth his while to strike off 24,000
copies.¹¹ It is very likely that the
report was in the first instance
merely a *ruse* of the printer's, to
heighten his sale by giving the
apple of knowledge the flavour of
transgression; but the idea was
afterwards taken up in earnest.

The declining years of Erasmus,
like those of Reuchlin, were vexed
by many and grievous foes; but he
had not the consolation of a party in
his favour. From the Lutherans he
was becoming daily more estranged,
without gaining thereby the confi-
dence of their opponents. His
break with Hutten took place in
the same year in which the *Collo-*
quies were published. That strange
mixture of zeal and lawlessness, the
witty, the brave, the not ungener-
ous Hutten, who had once met
Hochstraten alone, drawn his sword

Er. Op., iii. 1168, D. We must remember that Erasmus wrote not for one country,
or all.

upon him, and then spared him contemptuously when he took to entreaty, now hunted down by his foes, and covered with a loathsome disease, was seeking where to die. He came to Bâle, where Erasmus was residing, and Erasmus refused to see him. He was equally afraid of Hutten and Hutten's enemies; but he put it on the stoves—Erasmus could never endure the German stoves, and Hutten's health (so said Erasmus) would not permit him to do without one. Needless mischief appears to have been made by Henry Eppendorf, who negotiated between the two. In July, 1523, Hutten gave vent to his feelings in an *Erpostulation with Erasmus of Rotterdam*, in which he put a cogent question, which posterity finds it very hard to answer for Erasmus: 'With what pretence of honesty do you hope to oppose a party whose defeat you must feel would be attended with destruction to Gospel truth and liberty?' Erasmus published an answer entitled *The Sponge of Erasmus against the Aspersions of Hutten*. It was a sponge steeped in vinegar. Hutten was dead before the *Sponge* was published, and Erasmus knew it. Surely Christian charity would have thought that Hutten's offences were already washed away!

The occupation of the Papal chair by the Dutchman, Adrian, was not of long duration. He died on the 14th of September, 1523, to be succeeded by another member of the Medici family, Giulio, bastard son of that brother of Lorenzo Giovanni, who was murdered in the conspiracy of the Pazzi. The pontificate of Clement VII. (such was his pontifical name) saw the 'Defender of the Faith' in England set up as his own Pope. Reformation in this country was not the outcome of popular sentiment, as in Germany. During the many changes of the State religion the 'Adiaphorists' appear to have had a

large numerical preponderance. The fire indeed awoke in Wittenberg and smouldered on in the Lollards, but it had well-nigh been stamped out under the heel of despotism when it suited despotism to breathe with Rome,

And gospel light first beamed in Boleyn's eyes.

But, to return to Erasmus, we find in the next year the finishing touch put to the long-growing dissension between himself and Luther. This was done by their interchange of shots in the *De Libero Arbitrio* and the *De Servo Arbitrio*. The controversy itself was managed without breach of politeness, either side, Luther thanking Erasmus for having alone gone to the root of his difference with Rome. And in defending the opinion 'those who ascribe something Free Will, but rely most upon Grace,' Erasmus, besides taking the common-sense view of the question, which was most congenial to his mind, was only enunciating the doctrines that had been instilled into him at Paris, for the Scots maintained that anterior to grace man could do works morally good while the Thomists held the reverse. Still Luther regarded Erasmus writing against him at all as mere a sop to Cerberus, and resented accordingly.

But the enemies of Erasmus from the opposite quarter were not to be cajoled by this show of hostility to Luther. In France (1526) his university set upon him at the instigation of a man named Bellarmine. The *Colloquies* were now really condemned, and even the Parisian phrases were discovered to be objectionable. In Spain also (1527) a formidable list of charges was brought against Erasmus before the Court of Inquisition; but the presiding bishop was not unfavourable, and the indictment eventually fell through.

if Erasmus had not enemies already, the publication after (1528) of the *Ciceronianus* must needs draw upon him of Scaliger, though it was as unresented by Bembo and et, the Italian scholars as to whom its wit was aimed. Caesar Scaliger had not thened his reputation; and his motive for attacking Erasmus to have been the desire for age of arms with the champion of literature. Erasmus, however, treated the ambitious scholar with contempt. Scaliger, goaded by fury, put out a second oration more virulent than the first. It ended in the *Scaligerana*, that Erasmus prevailed on his friends to publish all the copies of the second so they could lay hands on, and burn them. Bayle, however, thought that Erasmus was not in a condition to do this, as he was already at the time of its publication.¹² A long time Erasmus was content that the first oration was from the hand of Alexander—conception which seems implicitly to have irritated Scaliger. The bellicose Julius Cæsar did slight justice to Erasmus afterwards, on recovering from his illness, and his son, Joseph Scaliger, showed a desire to atone for his father's violence.

In the *Ciceronianus*, Erasmus rebukes the affectation of those who would allow no Latin to pass but except such as had been from the mint of Cicero, and even in treating Christian history, preferred periphrases to the sort of language that Cicero have used if it had been his to write on that subject. Erasmus himself drew honey from every

flower, formed a style of his own, and enriched the Latin language with many phrases quite unknown to it. To his mind Latin was not only a living language, but a growing one too. At a time when the best classical scholars would find themselves hard set to piece together a few sentences of Latin in conversation, it is not easy to carry ourselves back in imagination into a period when the case was quite the reverse, and it was the modern languages that scholars found a difficulty in talking. His native Dutch Erasmus could not help knowing something of, though he did his best to forget it. Of no other modern language did he know a word, and he devoutly wished to see them all exterminated. Often as he visited England, he entirely disdained to learn that barbarous tongue in which Chaucer had written more than a century before his time. The English language, however, had its revenge upon him in the matter of the living of Aldington.

In the next year, 1529, Erasmus' warm admirer, Louis Berquin, was burned at Paris for disseminating translations of his works. The abolition of the Mass at Bâle made Erasmus deem it prudent to retire to Freiburg.

On the 8th of April, 1530, the Diet met at Augsburg, and Erasmus' weak health again proved serviceable. Protestantism¹³ had now assumed a distinct dogmatic form, and the gentle Melancthon lived to approve the burning of Servetus.

In the following year the *Apotheosis of the Ancients* saw the light. But we must hurry on to the close. To the last Erasmus was actively engaged in literary labour. The

¹² The first oration of Scaliger, says Bayle, was sent to Paris in 1529, but not printed till 1535; the second, written in 1535 and printed in 1536, after the death of Erasmus.

¹³ The word 'Protestant,' it is well known, came into existence the year before, as a result of the Electoral Princes who demurred to the decisions of the Diet of Speyer.

edition of *Jerome* which has been mentioned was only the first of a long series of the Fathers issued under his care from the press of Froben, and original works flowed in abundance from his pen.

The year 1534 saw the accession of a Pope who had Church-reform really at heart. To Erasmus Paul III. was decidedly well-inclined, and there was even some talk of a Cardinal's hat being conferred on the veteran scholar. We find Peter Bembo, himself a cardinal, writing significantly to say that if only Erasmus' health held out, he might expect the very highest dignity. But probably the Pope himself could not have withstood the storm which such a piece of preferment would certainly have raised: the begging friars had made Popes tremble before then. An appointment more in keeping with the character of Erasmus, the rich provostship of his old school of Deventer, was actually offered him. But if Erasmus had intended ever to play the pedagogue he would have done it for Colet. In his answer that 'he had money enough for what remained of life's journey,'¹⁴ there was a reminiscence of the words of Colet when he discovered that his liberality had impaired his means: 'Satis viatici ad cœlum.' Indeed, the memory of Colet was never away from him. For Erasmus, though by no means a very spiritual man himself, could appreciate and admire the quality indicated by that term when he found it in others. His two ideals were Colet and Vittrarius, a Franciscan monk of St. Omer (which shows that his hatred of monkery was not indiscriminating). The whole life of this Vittrarius was an attempt to substitute the spirit of religion for the letter. An extra-

ordinary story is told of how a attempt was once made to strangle him by the nuns of a convent resembling a brothel, egged on by the suffragan Bishop of Cologne, a member of the Dominican Order. Vittrarius was at last expelled from the monastery for refusing in its name a leg of pork.

After spending seven years in a house at Freiburg, Erasmus sold the house he had ever called his own and set out for Brabant, partly for the sake of his health, partly at the invitation of Mary of Hungary, sister of Charles V., whom, after the death of his aunt Margaret, the Emperor had set over the Netherlands. On his way he stopped at Bâle, not meaning to stay long, but his increasing infirmities prevented his ever leaving the place. He had long been a martyr to the disease of the stone. This was now increased by the gout (*articular morbus*), besides which he suffered for a whole month from dysentery. Seeking to console his enforced leisure by reading over his correspondents' letters, he was reminded that his generation had already seen their day, and kept exclaiming as each came to each familiar name, 'He too, is dead!' till at last he added, 'Nor do I desire to live longer, if please Christ, the Lord.' Still his old humour did not forsake him, and when his three junior friends, Bouface Amerbach, Jerome Froben, and Nicolaus Episcopus came to visit him, he rallied them with a comparison to Job's comforters. As the hand of death was on him, and not gently laid. As he tossed to and fro, he now and then broke into cries: 'Domine, libera me,' 'Domine fac finem,' 'O Jesu, misericordia' and agony even wrung from his his native Dutch 'Liever God

¹⁴ 'Satis viatici sibi paulo post morituro esse.'—*Beatus R.*

¹⁵ There is an Archbishop mentioned in the *Colloquies* (Tauchn., vol. ii. pp. 274-5) who is much in advance of this subordinate dignity.

the 11th,¹⁶ a little before it, Erasmus passed away, reached the term of three-score and ten.

and so died the prototype of this our modern age.

morally, he was a well-; and feeble man. It is less y to state that intellectually of penetrating genius, lively l great power of expression, the direction of prose than

His learning was wide and but he was far too indul-an expectant public to allow time to be accurate; indeed, ess was he at times that he l from the sneering Italians kname of *Errasmus*. He nan fond of drawing atten- abuses: but he looked upon th no jaundiced eye, and n God's good time for a rder of things, without put- self out of the way to pro-

His political views were decided, but he thought on le that 'as human affairs are limited monarchy is pre- one in which the aristocratic iocratic elements are mixed ted, and so balance one ano- He was an advocate of sani- orm, and thought that much e done in that way to im- he condition of the poor in l.¹⁸ He strongly condemned arous custom of flogging in ¹⁹ He considered field sports ad immoral, and especially amuse the royal leisure of ²⁰ He was not averse to the ;, and assigned them the

sovereignty in society on account of their transcendant folly, in proof of which he challenged any sensible man to consider how much nonsense he contrived to utter whenever he talked with a lady:²¹ but he was in favour of the education of women, admired the Miss Mores and the Miss Pirckheimers,²² and anticipated the ladies' invading even the schools of theology and the pulpits.²³ He subjected the Bible to the canons of human reason, and had the temerity to institute comparisons between classical authors and the Fathers. With regard to prayer to Saints, he thought that it was highly efficacious when spiritual gifts were petitioned for, and might also have some indefinable influence in physical matters. Suffering one time from illness, he expressed a hope that he would recover with the help of St. Geneviève, especially as he had secured the services of of the French King's physician, Dr. Cop. Religious instincts he was not, indeed, devoid of; but his theological opinions, if they may be so called, were vague and fluctuating. As a mere matter of argument he thought that the Arians had greatly the best of it, finding that in the New Testament 'the Father is very frequently called God, the Son sometimes, the Holy Spirit never.' Still, he was willing to let the Church doctrine pass, as he confessed the 'arithmetical of Deity' to be beyond his powers. Neither did he 'vainly talk' with the Pelagians, though failing to see the orthodox doctrine

into Idus Julius ante mediam noctem.'—*B. Rh.*

tutio Principis Christiani.

gimus civitatem a diutinâ pestilentia liberatam consilio philosophi mutatis
Aut me fallit animus, aut simili ratione liberari possit Anglia.'—*Er. Op.*, iii.

B.

amatio de pueris, &c.—*Er. Op.*, i. 505.

chn. vol. ii. pp. 339-40.

chn. vol. ii. pp. 312-13.

ricæ et Bilibaldicæ.

chn. vol. i. p. 273, ad. fin.

in the 5th of Romans.²⁴ The simple views of Ecolampadius on the Real Presence he hailed as charmingly congenial to his mind;²⁵ the only objection he could see against them being the unlikelihood that 'Christ, who was truth and love, would have left His bride, the Church, so long in such monstrous error as to worship a piece of bread in mistake for Himself;' ²⁶ at the same time he repudiated these views with a proper indignation.²⁷ He thought that there was great danger of mistaking the Mosaic account of Creation for 'a fable forged in the workshop of Homer,' if you were not at pains to go far below the surface. He did not believe the Epistle to the Hebrews to be Paul's, or Second Peter to be Peter's, or the Apocalypse to be by the author of the Fourth Gospel—so far as human understanding went. He was tempted to think that Socrates and Cicero were better saints than many in the calendar, and that even Horace might be in heaven.²⁸ But enough! It is only with the current of his thought we have to do, not with the eddies in which it played. Suffice it to say that Erasmus was a sceptic pure and simple, and by dint of sheer scepticism orthodox. It was hard for him to fight for the truth, when he did not know where was the truth to fight for. If a man believes that the jewel of truth has been confided to his care, it needs but a vulgar honesty to induce him to defend it. It is when he is ready to contend against the unfair suppression of an opinion not his own, one which he does not know to be true, or knows not to be true, that he shows himself unmistakably the

champion, not of this or that ~~and~~ but of truth; and then begins to something of a hero, because it is quite certain that no one will ~~this~~ him so. But this merit, if such be, there seems no reason to ~~at~~ tribute to Erasmus. Such countenance as he lent to Luther is reference to practical reforms in the Church about which Erasmus was at one with him, not to his opinion on those speculative questions which Erasmus' own wide ~~man~~ range could bring in sight no ~~ed~~ tion. Rather let Erasmus enjoy credit of having shown himself dutiful son to the Church in the face of greater internal obstacles than most people. Amid the ~~vas~~ lations of his own mind he was ~~gl~~ himself to have the stay of authority, and he left it to others to fight his own battles. When the gales of doubt arose, he cast out the ~~sh~~ anchor of faith in the Church, as the storm swept by, doing him ~~un~~ damage, indeed, but leaving him ~~at~~ at his moorings.

We have seen that a fluid scepticism first made its appearance in Erasmus. On the other hand, Luther was the father and founder of all independent systems of thought. The 'right to believe' which is exercised to-day was not gained directly as a ~~petiti~~ of the commons, but indirect through the turbulence of the ~~heres~~ Luther exerted his private judgment without dreaming of demanding the same privilege for all; but he was showing the way to the thief as the robber. The Evangelicals ~~as~~ well rest on their laurels, for it was they who won the battle of liberty for mankind. Be that victory better or worse, with them lies the glory or the blame.²⁹ Yet the sto

²⁴ *Er. Op.*, iii. 1029, A 1193, A *et passim*.

²⁵ 'Nisi me moveret Ecclesie consensus, possem in Ecolampadii sententiam pedibus discedere.'—*Er. Op.*, iii. 1193, D, E.

²⁶ *Er. Op.*, iii. 1180, C. ²⁷ *Op.*, iii. 966, D.

²⁸ *Convivium Religionum*.—Tauchn. vol. i. pp. 123, 126, &c.

²⁹ 'Sed hujus fabulæ semper decreveram esse spectator, sic ut nec, si bene cesset mihi laudis aliquid postuleri, nec, si secus, reprehendi possem; fata viam inveniunt.' Erasmus (*Op.*, iii. 601, F).

of the Reformation were unwilling to condemn Erasmus, who held their way. The tiny nib of his sharp wit had to be left to bear upon the strong that fettered the human spirit in its roars and struggles to be formidable and the lion as in Luther—free to rush at a noose again. But when the deed had done, he crept on his way as if the last wrench were given. It was only to keep faith in order that he had held the rope at all. For a time Erasmus kept clear of actual treatment of theology, which his mind was not adapted, which he felt was for him dangerous ground.³⁰ It was Colet by example and exhortation, induced him to take it up. When he did so, it was with fixed determination to set the purity of the Church in all above his own reason. This was the one link that bound him to the Middle Ages, and

held him back from the nineteenth century. By this and this only, we recognise him as belonging to those days of yore when life was as a journey to the holy shrine of Canterbury, on which the pilgrims went together in a goodly company, and beguiled their way with many a merry tale and some small sprinkling of piety; or as a voyage on which the layman could lie lazily on deck or in the cabin, leaving the bark of his soul to the infallible steering of the Church, whose skilled mariners were always at hand ready to ship him to the port of Paradise. 'Happy times!' we exclaim with a sigh, 'happy men who lived in them!' But childhood passes, and its joy gives place to that sorrow which cometh of wisdom. They are gone, those days of faith! And the tie has long been severed which Erasmus dared not break.

S.

THE END.

³⁰ We have his own statement to that effect in the *Compendium Vitæ*.—'A studio græ abhorrebat, quod sentiret animum non propensum, ut omnia illorum fundamenta subverteret, deinde futurum ut heretici nomen inureretur.'



NATAL FRUITS AND VEGETABLES.

IT may interest some people, even if they are not contemplating a visit to Natal, to hear a little about the principal fruits and vegetables that grow there, both indigenous and imported.

Those who have not been abroad are apt to get very exalted and entirely erroneous ideas of foreign fruits, and fancy they must be far superior to any in our country, which, indeed, is not always the case.

Whether for want of proper care and cultivation, or because they ripen too quickly—likely enough with tropical fruits—certainly with a few exceptions those that I have tasted have been flavourless and insipid, and not to be compared to our well-cultivated, well-cared-for ones at home.

Of the fruits in Natal the Orange ranks first and foremost. Most people know that the orange-tree is one of great beauty, though the stunted hot-house specimen in this country can scarcely bear comparison with its more fortunate relative that lives always in open air, in a climate that suits it, and which spreads at will its lovely dark leaves, and sweet-scented flowers, and profusion of golden fruit. It often grows to a considerable height. I think there is nothing prettier than a well-grown Orange grove, with the trees full of flowers and fruit together. They are trees that require little care; an occasional pruning keeps them in very good order. There are several different kinds of orange in Natal. The most common are of a large size, and have a much deeper and tougher lining to their coats than those that are imported into this country; but they are deliciously sweet and juicy in spite of their unpromising exterior. It is surprising what a

difference there is in the flav-
an orange just picked and in
that have been kept; they lose
half their taste when they
been lying about for some
Besides the common kind of o
they have the Natje, or b
rine, a small flat thing, w
much juice, but of excellent fl

It seems a thousand pities
the oranges cannot be tur
more account. A good ma
sold, but quantities lie about
the trees and are wasted.
are very good preserved wh
made into marmalade. I
mistake to suppose that it is
sary to have Seville orang
that purpose; the common
kind does just as well, the
suppose an old-fashioned
keeper would be horrified
idea of making her marmala
anything but the orthodox a

Lemons in Natal are by no
so satisfactory as oranges.
grow to a large size, and are
all rind and tough white
with very little juice.

Citrons are plentiful, but
be considered a useful fruit
good for candied peel.
flourish, which are nice thi
hot weather to make ref
drinks with, and I think the
to as great perfection in N
they do anywhere.

Bananas deserve to be me
next. The Banana grows to
height, and is covered with
limp leaves that hang down
a foot or more in length;
leaves have a way of rustling
when the wind blows throug
like the ghost of a lady in
silk gown. The Banana has
crimson flower, very mu
shape and size of a water lil
fruit is long-shaped, and g
thick clusters round a stron

ally, insipid, and of a slightly
flavour. A taste for it is
d; few people like it at first,
improves on acquaintance,
children get very fond of it;
is good for them, being a
ome and nourishing fruit;
it may be regarded more in
it of food than ordinary fruit,
is so satisfying that after a
andful of bananas one would
e had had a tolerably substan-
al. They are excellent also
in the form of pancakes or

tains are a coarser and larger
of Banana, and to my mind

There are three kinds of Guava
al. They are a coast fruit.
I say that I have seen them
much about the part I know
the neighbourhood of Maritz-
but at the Chace, a beautiful
in the Town Bush Valley,
Maritzburg, they have all
sorts. The largest kind is
the size of an ordinary hen's
It is covered with a thin
skin, and the inside is pink
lpy. It smells very much
mouse, which is not so
t; but if one holds one's
tightly and eats it very quickly
ly is not bad, and rather
ing in hot weather. The
ellow Guava is a poor imita-
its larger brother, and some-
avourless, but is without the
smell. The little red Chinese
is delicious; too much can-
said in its favour. In shape
e, it is not unlike a small
, but of a deep crimson

It has a slight taste of
berries, combined with a deli-
flavour peculiar to itself. It
gether excellent. It is of
ava that the far-famed jelly
; and I think that, prepared
al, quite equals what we get
ie West Indies, and it is far

'nats' are an agreeable and
fruit. They grow in thick

bunches, on a handsome, well-shaped
tree, that in its height, and the
colour of its leaves, reminds one of
the laurel at home—but the leaves
are smaller.

The fruit is about the size of
small yellow plums, but quite unlike
any plum in taste. It is full of
juice, and has a partly sweet, partly
acid flavour. It partakes a little of
the general insipidity of the fruits
in the colony, but after the first dis-
appointment one gets used to that.
It makes good jam, and capital tarts,
so it deserves some praise. And
the trees are always ornaments to a
garden, for they retain their beauti-
ful shiny leaves all the year round.

The Grenadilla is the fruit of a
species of passion-flower, which
flourishes like a weed in Natal; but
it does no harm, excepting, perhaps,
as a harbourage for snakes, which
are fond of curling themselves up
among its thick leaves, and people
need to be cautious when they are
picking the fruit.

The Grenadilla requires support,
and it very quickly finds its way
from one tree to another, around
which it twines, ornamenting it
with its lovely starry flowers and
pretty fruit. The fruit is green,
when young, but as it ripens,
gradually changes to a deep purple.
It is egg-shaped, and one cuts the
top off, and eats it just as one would
an egg. It is so full of small seeds,
pulp, and juice, and besides being
very good in its natural state, makes
excellent jelly.

The Mango I think quite unplea-
sant, but as many people think
otherwise I must not run it down.
It is like an enormous plum, and
has a taste of turpentine, com-
bined with various other flavours,
and is so extremely sticky, that I
have heard that in India, where it
is thought a great deal of, people
are in the habit of eating it in their
baths, so as to get rid of the sticky
effect as speedily as possible.

Pincapples flourish abundantly
on the coast; they will also grow

higher up, but they do not do so well, as they require so much heat. A good many are brought to Maritzburg from Durban for sale, and can be bought for about fourpence apiece in the season. There is not much pains taken with their cultivation, and they are seldom more than half the size of those reared with so much care in our own country, and not to be compared to them in flavour. They are too much inclined to become woody and tough, but even at their worst they always seem to be appreciated, and the coolies, who are their principal vendors, find a ready sale for them.

The Cape gooseberry is a small shrub, and bears a bright yellow berry, as unlike a gooseberry as one thing can be unlike another. It is a wild plant, and is found all about near Maritzburg. It is a useful little fruit, and nice when cooked in various ways.

The Amatangula is another wild berry, that is a good deal sought after; it is bright red, and is used for preserves and jelly. The jelly is not a bad imitation of red currant.

The Papaw is a large round fruit, that grows on the coast; it is chiefly useful for cooking purposes, and from its flavour and colour might very well pass for an apple.

The Fig-tree does well in Natal, and no doubt, if the birds would only allow the figs to ripen, they would be very good; but though we had several large-sized trees in our garden, I cannot say that we ever had the satisfaction of eating a single fig off them; the birds gobbled them all up, when they were only half-grown.

Grapes answer very well against a wall. But let me warn anyone against trying to make them grow out in a field. Preparing the ground for them—for it must be properly prepared—is a great expense, and they do not do well at all. Some people have fancied that they might be cultivated in that way, as they are at Cape

Town, but it is not possible, to the seasons in Natal and Cape being quite different. The rainy season comes just a wrong time for grapes in Natal. We tried the experiment several times, but it was a complete failure. And we lost our vines every chance. We planted several hundred plants of different kinds; and had a Swiss gardener who *professed* to know his work, but he did not look after them, but all to no purpose. The heavy rains came and beat down some of our poor plants and washed others out of the ground, and the hot winds dried the rest, very few of which ever bear any grapes. And I am afraid to say what, with the denier's wages and Kaffirs' labour, and the plants, our unlucky venture cost us. I asked an old, experienced gardener about it, and he said he did not believe grapes could be grown in Natal, without a good wall to support them. They do very well, grow to a large size, and are of fine flavour, as houses are usually low, it is so easy to get a good wall.

The Prickly Pear, the fruit of a cactus, is watery, somewhat tasteless, but not unpleasant. It is extremely unpleasant to touch, though, as it is covered all over with minute thorns, which get into one's hands. The only way to get at the pears comfortably is to cut with a knife and fork and cut them into a basket. The cactus is almost a weed in the colony, and makes a very secure hedge. Cattle are afraid to jump it on account of the prickles.

There are Peaches in abundance, but they are not very satisfactory. They suffer from heavy rains which come in the summer, just when they ought to be ripening, and want more so that they really have no chance and they drop down or are

as in a green state, in are only fit for pigs. The early *white* peaches are not bad, but the yellow kind seldom perfection, and nectarines fail from the same. I believe it is from peaches called 'Cape Smoke' which I should think is equal to Natal rum in its effects; but it is popular on account of its cheapness and inequalities.

Oranges are gorgeous in shape and pretty in form. I have seen the orchard of them, and have only made a splendid tree. I think their good looks and with their handsome ; they are full of taste and have scarcely any

English fruits in Natal. Every berry seems to succeed the other, and even surpasses ours. As much cannot be said of the berries. The heavy summer sun washes all the taste out of the berries and beats them into the dust. That in eating a straw-fruit is apt to swallow as much of one's mother earth as

of a common, useful sort of fruit; but I have never seen any very fine kinds grown in Natal. I should think there is something against their doing well. The strawberry is a stunted sort with far smaller leaves and flowers than that which we are used to see in England; and is not unlike our strawberry and is used for jam.

I never heard of any strawberry being grown in Natal.

I suppose the climate is not suited to them. The Olive tree and I am surprised it is not cultivated, as it is popular. I believe it is rather impatient of the heat, as it is before an olive bears, it does, it is a small

fortune to its owner. A colonist in Natal has no excuse for being without a good kitchen garden. With the exception of a few drawbacks, everything favours him. The soil is exceedingly productive in most parts, and there is generally plenty of means of irrigation; of course of the greatest importance in the dry winter weather.

The first thing to be done is to make a good fence; and I have been told there is nothing like a sod hedge planted with cactus or aloes, and, if possible, a deep ditch on the wrong side. That seems the greatest protection against that plague of all gardeners, the oxen, which are allowed to roam about the veldt at will. Most English vegetables, as well as potatoes, peas, and French beans, are equal to those at home; and if the matter of irrigation be accomplished—not difficult where there are so many streams at hand—anyone may have a succession of these vegetables all the year round.

No homestead ought to be without a good garden. Industry alone is wanted, and I fear that is very much wanted in Natal; for good gardeners are few and far between. And in the whole of the town of Maritzburg there is only one greengrocer's shop, which of course cannot supply the demand, and asks what prices it chooses for its mouldy little heap of potatoes and flabby vegetables or fruits which it displays in the dust-covered windows. Carrots also do well, and grow to a very respectable size; indeed, I have seen some not unworthy of our shows in England.

Turnips are apt to fail, and at their best are never quite satisfactory. Cabbages, cauliflowers, and spinach are excellent; of the latter there is a wild kind, just as pleasant as the cultivated sort.

Beetroot grows to perfection; but I cannot make out that that very useful root mangel-wurzel cannot be grown, though one would think

it had very much the same nature as the beetroot.

As I am on the subject of roots, I must say a word for the poor, neglected cattle in Natal. I most sincerely wish some enterprising colonist would interest himself in their welfare. It seems cruel, indeed, that such hundreds of poor, patient, useful creatures, should be so uncared for and ill-treated. It makes one's heart ache to see the poor creatures, during the long months of winter, staggering about the veldt, seeking their scanty meal, which is often far to seek, and really almost reduced to skeletons.

Their owners have to provide food for their horses, or their chief means of getting about would fail them. Why should the cattle not receive the same care? Would any farmer at home, even the most careless, allow his beasts to exist on any coarse rubbish they might chance to pick up? Even our winter grass, which is sweet and nourishing compared to the burnt-up, rank stuff in Natal, does not suffice.

Our cattle have good roots, and sweet hay, and warm, snug beds to lie on. Their unfortunate brethren in Natal have no roots, no hay, and generally the cold damp veldt for a bed, with perhaps the variation of a horrid dirty kraal, in which they are penned up, sometimes with scarcely room to turn round.

What prevents their masters from providing for them as our farmers would? Nothing but laziness. No doubt a colonist would make the excuse that mangels and turnips do not answer, and forage and mealies are expensive and uncertain.

Allowing this, there are other kinds of feed—yams, for instance (sweet potatoes)—and what can be better than yams? The most prejudiced can have nothing to say against them. They are of pleasant flavour, sweet, wholesome, and nutritious in the greatest degree, and they will grow *anywhere*. Cattle are

extremely fond of them. We grow whole fields of sweet potatoes. Why not cover all the acreage to spare with something poor creatures can eat and instead of letting them draw a miserable existence, trying to live in their bodies on the poorest pittance of food? One would say: 'We burn the grass before the winter comes, so allow the young grass to grow again.' It is true; they do it. And one sees patches here and there of bright green. But the grass does not grow fast in the time, and the patches are a long way apart. But the food of the cattle is sufficient and it needs no other. Anybody has seen them, and takes the trouble to think at all, I am sure will sympathize with me. I think colonists should consider themselves very fortunate that they have any cattle at all, considering the way they do, instead of complaining they do, of their dying by hundreds. I pity the wretched animal and their masters—not a bit.

Pumpkins also are good food for cattle, though of course they are not the nourishment or substitute in them of yams. The sun-dried pumpkins, when pressed into a kind of cake; and I am glad that some have had the idea enough to think of providing that way for the creatures in their care. I only wish that all would follow their example.

Cotton, coffee, and even sugarcane grow in Natal. I am not going to give any sufficiently exact information on the subject. Cotton grows best on the coast, as it requires a good deal of warmth. Coffee seems to prefer a tropical climate though it will grow near Durban. Tea does not seem to have been turned to much account. I have only seen a few bushes. I suppose there is some difficulty in its preparation, and therefore it is not cultivated to any extent.

THE STORY OF A LIMESTONE CAVE:
ACCOUNT OF THE VICTORIA CAVE, NEAR SETTLE.¹

CHAPTER I.

THE BEGINNING.

OBULAR mass, of a magnitude that surpasses the our conception, and of a ure at which every particle stance is expanded into a gas and vapour, is revolving axis and repeating through its boundless orbit amid the f space. It might almost at the Prophet's allusions chariot-wheels of the LORD nothing more than figura- o such a form philosophy o the body of matter above nd us, in which our own a comparatively unimpor- . There the wisest confesses ost in the inconceivable and te. It is the utmost point we can arrive in the effort back our thoughts to the n 'In the beginning God he heavens and the earth.' we must seek the com- nt of the story which we o tell.

nt writer² says :

body was brought into a state on by the action of laws to which n. in His Divine Wisdom, has all matter. In consequence of e expansion and attenuation, the ne of vapour, expanding beyond of attraction, is supposed to thrown off by centrifugal force. of vapour, which may be sup- ac time to have resembled the turn, would in time break up d masses; and these masses, into globes, would (by the wer of attraction which they

would assume as consolidated bodies) re- volve round the sun, and, from mechanical considerations, would also revolve with a rotatory motion on their own axes. . . . As the cooling went on, each of these bodies may be supposed to have thrown off similar masses of vapour which, by the operation of the same laws, would assume the rotatory state, and, as satellites, revolve round the parent planet.

We need not concern ourselves with a scientific examination of the philosopher's hypothesis. Let it suffice to say, that he bases it mainly upon the following arguments : that existing phenomena prove the centre of the earth to be heated to a degree at which all its component atoms must necessarily be reduced to a gaseous condition ; that the spherical form of the earth is precisely such as it must have assumed if its whole substance were at one period of time in this state of vapour ; that the gradual cooling of the surface would be the natural result of long ages of revolution in space, and that the structure of the earth's crust is such as would have been produced by gradual cooling ; and, finally, that the rotatory motion of the earth and other planets round the sun, and of the satellites round the planets, is exactly what must have resulted if the satellites had been thrown off from the planets, and the planets from the sun.

The entire solar system, therefore, forming a single portion of a far vaster system, may be believed to have originated as one among many severed fragments of a proportion- ately vaster mass ; the fragment

iter compiles his narrative from facts which the examination of the Cave t to light, and from personal acquaintance with most of the objects discovered t his acknowledgments are due, also, to the pamphlets on the Cave by Mr. W. ins and Mr. R. H. Tiddeman, reprinted from the *Journal of the Archaeological d the Geological Magazine*.

² *The World before the Deluge*.

being eventually resolved into a central sun with numerous attendant planets, and these in turn throwing off their several moons.

Let us confine our thoughts to our own planet, and note the various stages of the progress through which the philosopher tells us that it passed. Its size is but insignificant, when compared with the vast orb which gave it birth; though in its nebulous state it is many thousand times larger than the solid earth which mankind is to inhabit. No sooner has it become disengaged from the sun, than it is hurled away into the regions of space, until the law of attraction stays its course, and fixes for it an orbit which it must follow for countless ages around the body from which it came. Before the chills of the immense regions through which it flies have had time to exert their influence upon its surface, a mass of this has again been rent asunder, and is revolving as a satellite round the planet, as itself is revolving round the sun. But soon the heat of this new-born planet begins to dissipate itself; and while centuries pass over it, the gaseous substances are gradually condensed into a liquid. As the first result which follows, we note that the entire body is taking a spheroidal form. The poles of its diameter become flattened, and the circumference upon which it revolves is swelling, in obedience to the same law of gravitation by which it is held in attraction to the central orb.

At the same time the specific gravity of the various particles is making itself felt, and a thick cloudy atmosphere is being formed, in which all the gases that compose our air are mingled with the vapour of the water, while the heavier gases of mineral substance are slowly subsiding into the boiling liquid. Conceive the mighty caldron of this primeval chaos into which the entire body of substances in the composition of the earth has been indiscriminately poured. The

essential contrariety of their opposing elements is intensified a thousandfold by the confusion in which they are mingled together, and dense whirlwinds of cloud, compacted vapour, and foam seas of molten and glowing minerals are striving in one world-wide tumult to gain the mastery. The senses of a bold man often quail when he witnesses the electric shocks that agitate the atmosphere above him; but here every part of the globe is pierced, through its depth, with a flash of incessant lightning, and shaken with a furious roll of perpetual thunder.

Meanwhile the decrease of temperature still continues to condense the burning liquids. Small particles of solid matter are formed upon the surface, and by degrees they become collected into thick and spreading layers, and then begin to encrust the globe. It is such is the fury of the elements that many a long age must pass before a solid envelope can form itself; for as the floating masses combine themselves together they are immediately upheaved and broken once more to atoms. In time, however, their bulk and strength increase, and numberless islands are formed upon the surging ocean, not yet islands of stone among seas of water, but islands of burning mineral substances fused together into a seething mass, and tossed upon an ocean which only differs from themselves in being molten with a heat yet more intense.

Gradually also, in the decreased temperature, the suspended clouds of watery vapour begin to be condensed, and drops of boiling rain fall here and there upon the glowing earth; but only to be evaporated again into steam, and then to fall again in rain; until at length the watery element asserts its power, and forms in course of time boiling streams of its own, struggling against the boiling lava streams.

both land and water have entered upon the first of their existence. But the consolidating crust is ever up and bursting open still, the weight of the surging above and the pressure of liquids beneath; and vast of the one element rush to the centre, as the cruphe other are forced up through a series of submarine which are opening in a succession and on a scale of magnitude. Let us stop the effect that is being by this stupendous war-

in the ocean-bed a narrow cleft through the burnment by the contents of volcanic furnace. A hisstream is spirited upward at depth below, and rearing summit above the Before it can fall and elf, the waters have coninto a tall and burning ow again there is a larger t a spiriting fountain, but ave of the fused matter g upward into the sea; the seething waters have re will be a solid hill of the strife continues, age

Could we see the basin an, there would appear a : of granite, with endless peaks and cones, like a of domes and minarets aacles surmounting the ked roofs of some infernal th are the granite hills of or of the Scottish High- fore time clothes their th verdure, and makes nework of their smoothly ests. Now they are sub- beneath the heated seas, again they are rolling off of waters; and then once waters cover them, and e are poured away, age

But the first process of transformation which made them rugged has commenced already. Many of their chemical substances are such as decompose under the action of water or of atmosphere; and these are carried off from the outer portions of the rocks to form deep beds of clay and sand, and then to become baked and fused again into hardened structures by the heat of the surrounding elements. Here is the beginning of what geologists term the *Sedimentary Rocks*, as distinguished from those of volcanic origin.

Nor must it be forgotten that the crust, which is thus receiving continual additions, encloses a globe enormously larger than the earth will afterwards become; and the constant cooling of the imprisoned matter involves a corresponding diminution of its bulk; so that the vast envelope is ever being rent and crushed and dislocated upon a scale increasingly tremendous, in order to accommodate itself to the ever-contracting mass round which it is being formed. And of these varied operations, which are being performed upon it, none can take place without producing violent outbursts of electric force of a vastness corresponding with its own, themselves also bearing their part in the same awful crash which is hurling upwards the mountain chains, and tearing downwards the ocean beds, for the formation of a future world.

Thus far the aspect which the earth has assumed is that of a vast black and boiling ocean. If the surface is varied by a few rugged peaks and islets of burning stone, these are scarcely yet worthy of the name of land; and neither element is at present capable of bearing life. The waters throw off a continuous effusion of dense steamy vapour, which returns in perpetual rain, mingling sea and sky together in a thick mass of

away. The surface of the land is nearly cooled, the atmosphere nearly cleared, and there are intervals in which the rainfall is so slight that it might almost seem to have ceased entirely. At the same time the volcanic matter is ever solidifying more deeply beneath the crust of the globe, and enabling it to offer a firmer resistance against the pressure from within. The earthquakes are growing less numerous and less terrific, and the eruptions are gradually confining themselves to a multitude of fixed volcanoes. While this beneficent change has been making itself felt, the highest work of material creation has begun. There was nothing more to be seen at first than insignificant particles, such as those which had preceded them, destined to work out their whole existence upon the rock on which they spring. But this time it is a new order of creation, with features and capabilities of its own, requiring the dry land for their operation and development. And it is the beginning of a type of beings in which the higher classes of terrestrial animals are to have their place, from the tiny mouse to the colossal mammoth,—a type of beings among which, in the Creator's good time, Man will form the crowning point. For it is the day on which the great work is to be ended. 'And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth, after his kind. . . . And God said, Let us make man in our image and after our likeness. . . . And the evening and the morning were the sixth day.'

But we must pass forward now to the time when the more gigantic operations in the building of the earth have been completed, and when the walls and pavement, the domes and towers, have been wrought at last into the general form which they are henceforth to retain unchanged. Again and

again indeed, there are to be periods of submergence and upheaval every part. Water and atmosphere alternately have yet much to do in perfecting the beauty of the world's outline; and a third mighty instrument, of which we have yet to see the working, is to produce effects no less vast than these. But at least in the parts with which we are concerned, the mountains and valleys have now been cut, whose chief features will permanently endure through the ages to come.

Our story requires us to observe the scene as it appears after an upheaval of the earth's foundation. The hills are lifting their crests in the light; the plains between them are pouring off their waters to sea the seas of a lower level. Thus the district of Craven and portions of our limestone scar appear out of the waves; not yet, indeed, as a land of hills and valleys, but only as a group of detached crags and desolate rocky islands. The waters of the tumultuous sea from which they have been raised are surging round them with redoubled fury, as they grudged the robbery. But we may learn something of what has been effected in the interval.

All the upper layers of the district have been cleared off and carried out into the deeper seas, so that over many miles the surface of the upheaved limestone strata has been laid bare. Of the vast sandstone beds which had been deposited above them only a huge fragment here and there remains. From the spot with which we are concerned three of these fragments may be seen. There is the mass which in one day to form the level summit of Ingleborough; and across a turbulent arm of the sea there is another which is to be the rounded crown of Penyghent; and a third close by across a narrow inlet, is extended over a longer and broader island and is to receive the name of Fountains Fell. And many a limestone crag, either forming an offshore

these loftier points or stand-
a separate island, rears its
above the billows.

When we look for the miles of
vertical rock, where the sec-
of the limestone bed had been
d, we find that the highest
is, with all traces of the up-
andstone layers, have been
l away, and broad clefts are
rough the length of the crag
e currents which streamed
it. But still it is not diffi-
to trace its form. For now
is the face of a single crag,
ow a longer line forming the
ge of a considerable island,
nding in regular succession.
from below they might be
for a series of ruinous frag-
which once formed parts of
nuous wall. Here this wall
nature built is still towering
the sea, and here is a portion
only becomes visible when
le is low; but its ruins are
sufficient to show where the
precipice was reared, and to
off the limestone district of
it is the boundary.

thward and westward of this
ntary wall is the district
the deep sandstone covering
ffered comparatively little
. One portion of it, rising
bove the water, is contiguous
rtion of the limestone rocks,
g a single island with it, so
ie boundary wall disappears
n them. But the smoothly
d appearance which the crown
sandstone hill presents is to
for it the name of the Rye
And further off, across some
f sea, emerge other groups
dstone heights, stretching
nto a district which is one
be known as Lancashire.

this time a change has been
lly taking place in the inter-
cture of the limestone rock.
been unable to preserve its
t solidity, like the harder
ices which were formed above
eneath it. The lime which

enters so largely into its forma-
tion, is readily dissolved again by
the action of water. And now that
the rock has been exposed to this
influence, it has everywhere yielded
to the operations of the penetrating
element. The rainfall from above
and the springs from below are
working out an endless labyrinth of
channels, which are continually
being widened and deepened and
multiplied; while many a fragment,
great or small, within the heart of
the rock, becomes entirely detached
by this process, as the waters are
percolating round it. Here and
there are places at which the stone
is more liable than elsewhere to
this destructive action, according to
the varying proportions in which its
original elements are distributed.
Or, again, the way has been prepared
for the water to operate, by cracks
and fissures which were made in
the upheaval of the rock. Several
of these weak places in the lime-
stone present themselves along the
faces of the cliffs before the never-
resting tides. And here the effect
which is produced needs but little
explanation. The waters from with-
in and the waters from without are
working now for the same result.
The notable instance which we are
to take will serve as a specimen of
all. But first we must describe its
exact locality.

In order to do this, we must be
guilty of a very vast anachronism,
and begin to make use of names
which are not to exist for many
ages later. We are not far from
the curve in the great Craven
Fault, where its course from east
to west is changed, and makes a
sudden turn to the northward.
Through this curve of the Fault a
deep and broad gulf has been
broken, into which the ocean is
angrily dashing, but which is one
day to carry down the more
peaceful stream of the Ribble.
A mile to the eastward there is a
smaller channel, stretching across
into the larger one, so that the

rocks between them form a detached island, whose western and southern cliff is the corner of the Fault. Let our point of view be at the entrance of this smaller channel, where it cuts through the southern frontier of the limestone. We look up it towards the north, and observe the face of the cliff which rises over it upon our right. Along the greater part of its length the channel is too narrow to allow the full violence of the waves to be felt against the cliff. But about a mile from the entrance this channel begins to open out upon the larger gulf beyond, and there the western sea is rolling in with all its fury. At this point there is a spot where the waves seem to be employed more busily than elsewhere in rending the cliff away. It may be that here the waters from within have been able to loosen the structure of the rock more completely, and have thus prepared it to yield more readily. For a considerable hollow has already been worked, as one by one the severed fragments are carried off. And each year the double process of destruction is proceeding; the substance of the limestone is being eaten away, and the sea is washing out its ruins. At last a tunnel is scooped out, far into the recesses of the rock, branching off into many a deep passage and vault and chamber on either side, and not unfrequently uniting with other tunnels which have been started from other places in the cliff.

We hear the angry crash of the water as its progress is checked suddenly by the force of an opposing stream which has entered by another channel. Or a wave becomes enclosed in some deep side cavern, and dashes itself back beneath the vaulted ceiling, to meet with fresh opposition at the entrance, as it strives to combine again with the stream which had urged it onward. The hollow roll

continues to resound, as if the thunder of the skies were imprisoned beneath the mountain. At every fresh entrance of the tide the shingly pavement which it has formed is dashed against the solid rock, its stones are carried off into the ocean, and new fragments are torn down from the roof and walls to increase the size of the Limestone Cave.

CHAPTER IV.

MAN AND MAMMOTH.

WE visit the scene again, after ages which we must not attempt to reckon, and the ocean is no longer there. Further changes have taken place, and have caused the waters to recede. The gulches and channels in which they had flowed are now ravines and valleys connecting together the hills which had formerly been separate islands. The only water that now divides the rocky heights is in the rushing streams and rivulets, and in the marshy pools and lakes which fill the deeper hollows. And now the landscape is adorned with a heavy growth of herbage. A grass carpet is spread over the high ground, and many a dense forest clothes the hill-sides, while reeds and moss grow luxuriantly in the damp valleys.

We look up the same opening between the rocks which we have known as a narrow channel of the sea. It is now a mere ravine among the hills, with a narrow bottom along which the moisture is drained off into a lake below. A thick growth of trees and brushwood skirts the sides of the ravine; but above the line of woods upon the right we see the same dark opening in the rock, which we had previously seen above the level of the waves.

Beyond the further end of the ravine there has been a similar transformation, where the sea had formerly raged in a larger and

gulf. The wild beauties will adorn the valley in later years already here—the long slopes of the hills, their piles of newwork, rising high like domes above them, stretching down like mighty buttresses upon the river-bed below grassy slopes, alternating waving woods and tangled growth,—

the Ribble rustling nigh,
illumined with his last rose glance
Ingleborough, peering o'er the vale,
Wyghent, the Cap of Ribblesdale.*

no Druids have as yet raised circles of stone upon the slopes of Ingleborough; and there the tunnel piercing its flanks, or traversing the neighbouring moor to carry the traffic of the Great Railway. Let us see how the art of man has gone in digging the earth beneath his feet.

He has chosen the Cave for his

It is the same desolate and cavernous, still retaining much of its smooth water-worn appearance when the waves first scooped it from the cliff. But since that time loosened blocks of the limestone of every shape and size, have continually fallen from the roof. The cave has frequently flooded it, and the deposits of earth and sand, covering every part of it the moisture dripping from the crevices and through the rock. The condensation of this moisture, charged with lime and other mineral substances, has by degrees formed stalactites from above, covered the floor with layers of white lime. Then all has been changed by the falling blocks, and in the accumulating earth. These soaking walls, and the bed of stones and clay, where the man seeks his nightly refuge and takes refuge from wind and rain.

He stands now, an unclothed savage of tall and massive build, near the entrance of the Cave. Probably his wife and children are within, waiting eagerly for the supper which he is about to bring them. In the marsh below, a huge monster is browsing quietly. It is a mammoth or elephant, measuring not less than fifteen feet in length. It has an immense trunk, and wears shaggy hair and mane. Its tusks curve outwards until their tips are some ten or twelve feet apart. Another huge monster of smaller size is its little one. There is the uncouth form of the rhinoceros also, covered with woolly hair, and carrying two horns upon his nose. And a playful group of bison are plunging in the marsh. But the savage stealthily watches a herd of deer approaching in the distance. At this moment an enormous bear appears round an angle of the rock, dragging with him the sleek young stag that has just become his prey. He too has chosen the Cave for to-night's resting place, and he utters a fierce growl as he sees the tall form before him. In an instant a block of limestone is in the grasp of the man, and fierce blows fall upon the head of the grisly monster. Not without many a bleeding wound, the human savage comes off the victor. He has robbed his booty from the bear, and prepares to make it his evening meal.

But another fight on the morrow may end with a different result; and as the next sun sets in the opposite sky, a troop of hyænas may be quarrelling over the lifeless human forms. Day after day the gnawed bones of rhinoceros and mammoth, of deer and bison, are piled upon the same heap with those of the man. Bears and hyænas are in their turn the joint tenants of the Cave, and their own

* Rev. H. J. Bulkeley.

bones are left at last among the fragments of their prey.

Another foe, more terrible to the future ruler of the world than these wild beasts, is slowly advancing against both him and them. All the present tenants of these lands are to be driven far southward, or destroyed entirely, by the common enemy. It is the great ice-sheet, which is gradually moving on from the pole, and spreading itself over a large portion of the northern hemisphere. It is writing the history of its own advance with deeply engraved characters on the hills and stones, with strangely wrought records in the caves and valleys, that future times may read.

Ever since the internal heat of the globe ceased to penetrate the crust, and the surface depended for its warmth upon its exposure to the sun's rays, the ice-sheet began to form itself. Around the extremities of the globe's diameter, where little influence of the sun is felt, the waters are gradually congealed, and the coldness of the surrounding atmosphere produces a similar effect upon the falling moisture. Vast beds of snow are piled upon the frozen ocean, and pressed down by their own weight until they also form a body of compact ice like that on which they fall.

From various causes, depending upon the changing relations of the planet to the central orb, the solid mass of ice is from time to time extended far across the temperate regions or even into the tropical lands; and again it is compelled to recede from time to time, as other changes allow the rays of the sun to reassert their power. At one such epoch, at least, not merely the Pennine Hills, but all the districts from the European continent to the west of Ireland, are encrusted beneath the glassy covering, in which the highest peaks are hidden and all distinction of land and sea is lost.

Already the marks of the ice have been left upon these hills while the waves of the sea were beating high around their summits. Huge masses broken off and drifting away from the wide ice-sheet of the north have been floated in these lower latitudes, and many glittering blocks have been entangled among the crags or stranded upon the shores of the rugged islands to melt away on the spot where they were left; and when the ice-berg itself has disappeared we may still discover its remains. For before it drifted off from its birthplace in the Polar seas, the stones and shingle of the bed on which it was formed were gathered up into its base, and large masses of them have been safely conveyed with it on the voyage. When the huge vessel is wrecked at last, and all its icy substance has vanished, we may often tell the port from which it had sailed by examining the remnants of its cargo. And the blocks of grey trap rock scattered here and there above the limestone precipices, are such as can only have been found in the Scandinavian mountains.

Not merely detached ice-bergs, however, but the great ice-continent itself, is to leave proofs of its presence here. Watch the effect of its advance, as it pushes the first great glacier down the bed of Ribblesdale. Higher and higher the falling snow is piled, and the upper peaks of the hills rear the whitened crowns among the clouds. By degrees the increasing weight becomes too heavy for the sides of the mass to support it, and vast avalanches are thrown down upon the lower levels. The snow crystals are compacted together into ice, and thus a solid glacier is formed stretching from hill to hill across the head of the valley. No sooner is it formed than it begins slowly to descend, as the continual additions to its weight and the unceasing pressure from above combine to urge it forward.

same operation is being carried on also in the bed of the lesser stream where the Cave is formed. Let us observe more closely the mode of action. Blocks of stone are bedded firmly in its base, and are ground rudely against the surface as it passes over them. Thus, it either scores the rocks, or becomes scored themselves, according to their hardness, with lines and ridges, to prove the violence with which the glacier thrust itself forward. Every obstacle that it meets, it pushes the loose contents of the moraine are pushed along before it; and as it is bearing downward it leaves behind it a path a confused mass of earth and stones, fragments of the rock, bones of former inhabitants, remains of former vegetation. It is here the Cave; and here, as it is moving by, the mass of accumulated rubbish at the entrance is pushed in. By this means a heap of rubbish is piled in the lower portion of the Cave. In it are laid bones of the mammoth, whose tribe the ice has exterminated for ever; bones of the mammoth, who is henceforth to be known only in a different form in distant climes; bones of the extinct bison which hyænas have devoured, and bones of hyænas who have devoured them; bones of the bear which slew the man, and bones of the man whom the bear slew. In front of the glacier has passed the entrance of the cave, but still the ravine is blocked for ages with a mass of rubbish, which even in this it leaves its record. During the day, while the sun shines, the surface of the ice is thawed, and a stream of water, thick and muddy, flows from the friction of the rocks, is squeezed from it; but all freezes again, and the stream ceases to flow till the chills of evening. Each day a little water trickles gently through the entrance of the cave, over the mass of rubbish, the moraine of the day, which acts as a barrier to prevent off all the stones and larger bones from the muddy water,

and only suffers the fine grains of sand and silt to pass. With these the daily stream disperses itself over the bed of clay, where all the substances which compose the mud find their natural level. First, there is spread out a thin layer of the heavier particles, and, above them, the lighter substances form another layer. The flow ceases at night, and the double layer of its deposit becomes hardened; and then the process repeats itself when the next day's sun thaws the surface of the ice once more. So day by day for a long period the stream from the glacier continues its work, until a bed of laminated clay, many feet in thickness, but regularly formed in alternate layers of darker and lighter colour, slopes inwards towards the back of the cave from the irregular heap which blocks the entrance.

A further change in the atmosphere, and the glacier begins to yield. Every day its front melts away, and the ice seems as it were to retreat back again up the valley as slowly as it had come down. And, as it melts, the furrowed boulder-stones which it carried drop one by one from its grasp, the clay is spread thickly along the bottom and sides of the ravine, and numberless rivulets are bearing the water into the lake below. In front of the Cave, against the bank of clay and bones which the solid glacier made, another clay bank, full of scratched boulders, is heaped up from the melting glacier. And here the part which the ice contributes to our history is ended.

CHAPTER V.

THE CAVE AND ITS INHABITANTS.

VERDURE once more clothes the hill-sides and the valleys, after the ice-age has passed away; and in the meantime the Cave still carries on its eventful history. It is now no longer the same deep passage, with its clay floor sloping gradually

away into the heart of the mountain, as when the glacier left it. At its entrance a bank of loose fragments rises higher with every winter's frost, as the weather detaches them from the face of the cliff. Within the Cave, also, fragments of the rock are still falling, and new beds of clay are deposited by the moisture; a thick stalagmite has at times crusted over all, and then has been crushed by the falling rock, and covered by the deepening clay. Thus the ground has continually been raised, until the level is only broken by huge blocks of stone, and the Cave is a low, dark chamber of which all the further recesses are from time to time choked up and lost.

But man has again chosen this Cave for his habitation. Possession has to be disputed sometimes with his enemy, the bear—not the gigantic cave-bear of former ages, for he, like the mammoth and rhinoceros, has passed away—but the brown bear, who is a scarcely less terrible antagonist. One of them has yielded to the man in a recent conflict, and his jaws and broken bones are lying in the Cave. A thigh-bone of the same animal is converted into an implement of rude workmanship. The man has broken off its jointed ends, and lashed it across two forked poles which are fixed in the ground; and now he and another are dragging a skin backwards and forwards across the bone. Thus, the hard leather will be rendered supple and pliable for clothing. Already the centre of the bone is polished brightly with the friction.

Watch the man again, employed in another work. Some sharp flakes of flint serve him for knives, and he is cunningly fashioning a flat piece of bone, about four inches long, to make a harpoon for fishing. With two sharp notches cut into it on each side he makes a double barb; and, again, a third notch on each side, cut in the opposite direc-

tion, will enable him to firmly to a wooden handle thongs of leather.

Before the entrance of the Cave into which the Cave opens still a tarn, or lake. It is between the front of the limestone precipice and the series of sandstone hills which the Rye Loaf rises to. This lake is to bear the name of Utter-Mere, corrupted into a mire, distinguishing it from an inner tarn, which lies considerably higher across the next ground, near the spot which is day to be Malham. The third tarn also, some three miles away, beyond the river, at which the men have made a road from the half-trunk of a tree, they have roughly hollowed out one or other of these lakes. The savage, with his bearskin, sallies forth, to strike a fish into the first fish that basking on the surface of the water.

Meanwhile his wife remains in the Cave. Her dress is that of a reindeer, with a circlet of beads neatly shaped and carried off by her husband's skill. Her round face is covered with leaves as for a fire at the entrance of the Cave to broil their meal. Scattered about are red deer, wild horse, and horned ox, as well as fowl, the former luxurious repasts.

But the art which could make these implements and ornaments may not long content its inventors. The dwellings that unaided man can provide. After a time of men learn to build huts of stone and wood, where more warm comfort can be obtained. The wild animals, too, can be effectually shut out. To the caves are henceforth yielded their undisputed occupation; many traces of the former tenants have been left. In a cave, a quarter of a mile away, is found a human skeleton; and one there are specimens of

have been laid down with weapons and implements are superseded by a new one. There is also the old and other mementos. But the Cave has become a retreat for bear and wild clay, and stalagmite, and stones bury the relics of

was not the last human

When centuries have passed we find another family dwelling here, but not from the same. They belong to a new race; their forefathers drove out the old inhabitants of these hills; and now they are driven out by the expulsion themselves. A family of Celtic descent, who long enjoyed friendly relations with the Roman invader, learnt from him much of the new civilisation in which they were nurtured. Their home was no rude hut, but a well-built villa of brick and stone as the Roman had it; and he was able to erect. But now all was trembling at the advance of the tribes from the North.

Goths, Vandals, and others, making their terrible inroads on southern Europe; the Roman man has gone to guard his imperial home, leaving the provincials to do the same. Scots from the Caledonian hills seize the opportunity; and after all the southern and eastern coasts of England are won by Angles, and Jutes, and others, and beyond the German Ocean the middle of the sixth century the district from the Humber to the Tees becomes the kingdom of the Anglian tribe, under the name of Elia. The more fertile lands are taken by others, and the race under Elia, who were at Bamburgh, after their distance from Urben, the leader. A few years later the Anglian is one established under these new masters.

But the Pennine Hills are as yet their western boundary. Beyond them, to the coast of the Irish Sea, a portion of the British race still holds its ground, and forms a line of connection between the larger Celtic kingdoms in Wales and Scotland. Against this district, therefore, the full hostility of the barbarian is directed.

Trembling with fear and exhausted with fatigue, the flying family of Roman Britons is seeking a hiding place among the hills. They have left their wealthy villa and well-stocked homestead to be plundered and burnt by the pitiless spoiler; for the terrible story of his deeds of violence has long been known among them—long enough, at least, to make them feel the necessity of flight as he approaches nearer. And where shall they find a better refuge than in this secluded Cave? They know it to be as large and roomy as any cave that these rocks contain, and its low side chambers, damp and dark as they are, will add to its convenience. A cold and desolate home, indeed, after the luxuries which they have left, for it stands more than fourteen hundred feet above the sea level, and nine hundred above the neighbouring river. But all this will make it the more secure. And the river runs more than a mile away, and the road with which the Romans have spanned the island from York to Lancaster, lies still further in the opposite direction. Others have already sought similar places of refuge. Some have gone to Kelko Cave, nearer to the river, in a spot at once less elevated and less desolate; but these advantages may well be set aside for larger room and greater seclusion. Here, therefore, is the place they need. The bleak cave on the mountain-side is a fitting nest for the last retreat of these brave children of the Roman Eagle.

They have brought with them a fine drove of cattle, of the common

short-horned breed, as well as goats and pigs, and a few horses. Some fowl also have been conveyed. And they have brought their dogs, to aid in tending the cattle and to hunt the woods for game. Now the cavalcade has climbed wearily up the rugged heights and penetrated the forest of gnarled oaks and yews which skirts the cliff. Behind these they hope to be safely hidden.

Let us notice the mode of life which they follow under these pitiable yet interesting circumstances. The level space outside the entrance of the cave serves them for a kitchen. It is the same spot on which the wife of the savage had kindled her fire in past ages; but the splintered fragments of the cliff have formed a layer no less than six feet in thickness above the charred embers of her day. The present fireplace would seem better adapted for her rough hands than for the fingers of these ladies who are busy round it now, for it consists of nothing more than a few blocks of stone arranged upon a larger hearthstone.

The food that they cook is chiefly from their own domestic stock, which supplies them abundantly with beef. It yields also pork and goats' mutton, as well as horse-flesh, which is commonly used in these days. A fowl is an occasional luxury. It would seem that they are unskilful hunters, or have little taste for game. It is but rarely that their larder contains a red deer or a roe-buck; now and then there is a grouse from the hills, or a wild-duck from the tarn. And when the meal is ended, the refuse is thrown out at the front of the cave.

Clothing also demands the attention of these refugees as well as food. Sometimes one of the family is to be seen spinning at the loom; another is sharpening and rounding bone pins and needles on a piece of slate: and a third is employed with needlework.

Sometimes too they have for amusement. One of the has taken from her hair flat pin of bone, fashioned in ornamental form, and she j to add to its embellishment striking circles upon it forked pin of bronze.

They have brought articles from their former and luxurious home to k contrast continually in mind, they can add but little cor this miserable abode. These ful vases of Samian war imported at considerable co foreign lands, and agree with the surroundings c kitchen. They have been co here, perhaps, in the hop they may one day again a comfortable mansion; but meantime they must serve t poses of daily household use

The clothing of the ladies and tattered; but some brooches and pins that faster of rarest elegance. They necklaces of beads—blue and glass, and jet, and amber they have costly bracelets and studs and finger rings. of these jewels are of Roman but some of the most exquisite from the hands of native artists. Such, for example, brooch that fastens this mantle. It is in the form of a dragon, wrought in bronze gilded, and its ornaments red and green enamel. A brooch is skilfully twisted in wire, and made to resemble a serpent. A third is still elaborate; in the form of a bird with its wings enamelled in blue, green, and yellow. A is shaped like a harp, and decorated with diamonds and enamel, bordered by triangles of gold. These are but a few of the many valuable treasures of the new owners of the cave p

A bag of money must also be reckoned among them. The

silver coins of Trajan, already some centuries old, reminding the Briton of the great Cæsars by whom his savage forefathers were subdued, and their children tamed; and in all his trouble he can still be thankful for the conquest to which he owes so much. And it may be that, as he deciphers the name of Gallienus on this bronze coin, and the name of Tetricus on that, he can recall something which he has heard of the effeminate princes and unworthy provincial governors who first seized and then disgraced the Imperial purple, and hastened forward the decline of Rome. There are also barbarous imitations of the Roman coinage, struck by unskilled hands in Britain, telling of the same period of lawlessness and decay. Then he reads the name of Constantine the younger, and of Constans, the two sons of the great Constantine, whose tragic deaths terminated worthless reigns; and these names recall the new capital raised on the shore of the Bosphorus, and the famous effort to restore the Empire in its eastern portion when the star of Old Rome was setting; and then follow thoughts of the final fall, of the uncertain rumours which have reached them that Rome has become the prey of the Goth and all her fair provinces are devastated by kindred hordes; and then the more than rumours of savage Saxon and Angle, who are wasting the Briton's land.

The old provincial wraps round him a thick mantle of skin. A pair of well-worn links of bone, each of the size of a finger, and ornamented with spiral lines and circles, are the clasps by which he fastens the mantle across his shoulder; and the ornaments, worn away by constant friction with the leather, tell of the long time that the links have served their purpose. Now he grasps his sword, an ivory-hilted sword of genuine

Roman work,—and thus he goes forth upon the hill to change the current of his thoughts.

Now follows an eventful time. In 607, Æthelfrith, the grandson of Ida, marched on Chester; a fatal day of the twelve hundred monks of Bangor passed; and thenceforth the Angles held a firm footing on the shore of the Irish Sea. Nine years later the Kingdom of Elmet, in south-western Yorkshire, severed now from the kindred tribes of Wales, is compelled to yield to Eadwin, the king of the united Northumbrians. There is a gleam of hope for the Britons under the victorious Ceadwalla of North Wales, but he falls at last before Oswald, the son of Æthelfrith. Still for more than a century they retain their feeble hold among these hills; until Eadbert, the last of the descendants of Ælla, ascends the Northumbrian throne. In 794 he subdues at last the kingdom of Strathclyde, and the Craven Hills have become the spoiler's land.

But before this time the fabled remains of the vanquished race have relinquished their dwelling in the Cave. The hope of removing their goods to a happier abode has not been realised. Jewels and weapons, clothing and ornaments, coins and pottery and household implements are left in confusion; and soon these, with the refuse of the men, are buried in the deepening snow. The bed of clay rises, and the stones of the rock fall into it. The huge badger is the next important tenant of the cave; and with him the wild cat and the fox feed on the rabbit and the hare.

And except the howls of the wild beasts, there is nothing, so far as we know, to break the silence of the cave for a thousand years. After this interval its records speak again, and the event to which they bear testimony is the hostile expression of the strife between Celt and English.

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away into the heart of the mountain, as when the glacier left it. At its entrance a bank of loose fragments rises higher with every winter's frost, as the weather detaches them from the face of the cliff. Within the Cave, also, fragments of the rock are still falling, and new beds of clay are deposited by the moisture; a thick stalagmite has at times crusted over all, and then has been crushed by the falling rock, and covered by the deepening clay. Thus the ground has continually been raised, until the level is only broken by huge blocks of stone, and the Cave is a low, dark chamber of which all the further recesses are from time to time choked up and lost.

But man has again chosen this Cave for his habitation. Possession has to be disputed sometimes with his enemy, the bear—not the gigantic cave-bear of former ages, for he, like the mammoth and rhinoceros, has passed away—but the brown bear, who is a scarcely less terrible antagonist. One of them has yielded to the man in a recent conflict, and his jaws and broken bones are lying in the Cave. A thigh-bone of the same animal is converted into an implement of rude workmanship. The man has broken off its jointed ends, and lashed it across two forked poles which are fixed in the ground; and now he and another are dragging a skin backwards and forwards across the bone. Thus, the hard leather will be rendered supple and pliable for clothing. Already the centre of the bone is polished brightly with the friction.

Watch the man again, employed in another work. Some sharp flakes of flint serve him for knives, and he is cunningly fashioning a flat piece of bone, about four inches long, to make a harpoon for fishing. With two sharp notches cut into it on each side he makes a double barb; and, again, a third notch on each side, cut in the opposite direc-

tion, will enable him to bi- firmly to a wooden handle- thongs of leather.

Before the entrance of the into which the Cave opens th- still a tarn, or lake. It is en- between the front of the or limestone precipice and the op- series of sandstone hills a- which the Rye Loaf rises east- This lake is to bear the name- Utter-Mere, corrupted into- mire, distinguishing it fro- inner tarn, which lies consid- higher across the next rid- ground, near the spot which- day to be Malham. Then- third tarn also, some three- away, beyond the river, and- the men have made a rude- from the half-trunk of a tree- they have roughly hollowed- one or other of these lake- savage, with his bearskin- him, sallies forth, to strike hi- poon into the first fish that a- basking on the surface of the-

Meanwhile his wife remains- the Cave. Her dress is the a- a reindeer, with a circlet of beads neatly shaped and car- her husband's skill. Her ch- round her collect leaves and- for a fire at the entrance of the- to broil their meal. Scattered- of red deer, wild horse, and- horned ox, as well as fowl, f- former luxurious repasts.

But the art which could f- these implements and orn- may not long content itself- the dwellings that unaided- can provide. After a time th- of men learn to build huts for- abode, where more warmth- comfort can be obtained. The- wild animals, too, can be- effectually shut out. To the- caves are henceforth yield- their undisputed occupation- many traces of the former h- tants have been left. An- cave, a quarter of a mile away- tains a human skeleton; and- one there are specimens of h-

which have been laid down
lost, with weapons and imple-
ments which are superseded by a
newer fashion. There is also the
red wood and other mementos
of the feasts. But the Cave has be-
come a secure retreat for bear and
deer, while clay, and stalagmite,
falling stones bury the relics of
man.

But this was not the last human
inhabitant. When centuries have
passed away we find another family
seeking shelter here, but not from
natural foes. They belong to a
race whose forefathers drove out
former inhabitants of these
barren lands; and now they are
to suffer expulsion themselves.
They are a family of Celtic descent,
who have long enjoyed friendly
course with the Roman invader,
have learnt from him much of
arts and civilisation in which
they had been nurtured. Their home
has been no rude hut, but a well-
constructed villa of brick and
stone, such as the Roman had
taught them to erect. But now all
is trembling at the advance
of barbarous tribes from the North
and East. Goths, Vandals, and
others are making their terrible
invasion into southern Europe;
the Roman has gone to guard
his ancestral home, leaving the
Celtic provincial to do the same.
The Goths and Scots from the Caledonian
highlands seize the opportunity;
soon after all the southern
eastern coasts of England are
invaded by Angles, and Jutes, and
others from beyond the German
Ocean.

In the middle of the sixth
century the district from the Hum-
ber to the Tees becomes the king-
dom of an Anglian tribe, under
the chieftain Ælla. The more
fertile parts are taken by others
of the same race under Ida, who
sits on his throne at Bamburgh, after
his resistance from Urien, the
Scottish leader. A few years later
Northumbria is one established
kingdom under these new masters.

But the Pennine Hills are as yet
without their western boundary. Beyond
them, to the coast of the Irish Sea,
a portion of the British race still
holds its ground, and forms a line
of connection between the larger
Celtic kingdoms in Wales and
Scotland. Against this district,
therefore, the full hostility of the
barbarian is directed.

Trembling with fear and ex-
hausted with fatigue, the flying
family of Roman Britons is seeking
a hiding place among the hills.
They have left their wealthy villa
and well-stocked homestead to be
plundered and burnt by the pitiless
spoiler; for the terrible story of his
deeds of violence has long been
known among them—long enough,
at least, to make them feel the
necessity of flight as he approaches
nearer. And where shall they find
a better refuge than in this secluded
Cave? They know it to be as large
and roomy as any cave that these
hills contain, and its low side
chambers, damp and dark as they
are, will add to its convenience. A
cold and desolate home, indeed,
after the luxuries which they have
left, for it stands more than four-
teen hundred feet above the sea
level, and nine hundred above the
neighbouring river. But all this
will make it the more secure. And
the river runs more than a mile
away, and the road with which the
Romans have spanned the island
from York to Lancaster, lies still
further in the opposite direction.
Others have already sought similar
places of refuge. Some have gone
to Kelko Cave, nearer to the river,
in a spot at once less elevated and
less desolate; but these advantages
may well be set aside for larger
room and greater seclusion. Here,
therefore, is the place they need.
The bleak cave on the mountain-
side is a fitting nest for the last
retreat of these brave children of
the Roman Eagle.

They have brought with them a
fine drove of cattle, of the common

short-horned breed, as well as goats and pigs, and a few horses. Some fowl also have been conveyed. And they have brought their dogs, to aid in tending the cattle and to hunt the woods for game. Now the cavalcade has climbed wearily up the rugged heights and penetrated the forest of gnarled oaks and yews which skirts the cliff. Behind these they hope to be safely hidden.

Let us notice the mode of life which they follow under these pitiable yet interesting circumstances. The level space outside the entrance of the cave serves them for a kitchen. It is the same spot on which the wife of the savage had kindled her fire in past ages; but the splintered fragments of the cliff have formed a layer no less than six feet in thickness above the charred embers of her day. The present fireplace would seem better adapted for her rough hands than for the fingers of these ladies who are busy round it now, for it consists of nothing more than a few blocks of stone arranged upon a larger hearthstone.

The food that they cook is chiefly from their own domestic stock, which supplies them abundantly with beef. It yields also pork and goats' mutton, as well as horse-flesh, which is commonly used in these days. A fowl is an occasional luxury. It would seem that they are unskilful hunters, or have little taste for game. It is but rarely that their larder contains a red deer or a roe-buck; now and then there is a grouse from the hills, or a wild-duck from the tarn. And when the meal is ended, the refuse is thrown out at the front of the cave.

Clothing also demands the attention of these refugees as well as food. Sometimes one of the family is to be seen spinning at the loom; another is sharpening and rounding bone pins and needles on a piece of slate; and a third is employed with needlework.

Sometimes too they have for amusement. One of the ladies has taken from her hair a flat pin of bone, fashioned in ornamental form, and she proposes to add to its embellishment striking circles upon it with a forked pin of bronze.

They have brought such articles from their former world, and their luxurious home to keep the contrast continually in mind, though they can add but little to this miserable abode. These beautiful vases of Samian ware, imported at considerable cost from foreign lands, and agreeable with the surroundings of the kitchen. They have been consigned here, perhaps, in the hope that they may one day again adorn a comfortable mansion; but in the meantime they must serve the purposes of daily household use.

The clothing of the ladies is old and tattered; but some of the ornaments are of rare elegance. They have brooches and pins that fasten of rarest elegance. They have necklaces of beads—blue and glass, and jet, and amber; they have costly bracelets and rings, studs and finger rings. Some of these jewels are of Roman origin, but some of the most exquisite are from the hands of native artists. Such, for example, is a brooch that fastens this mantle. It is in the form of a dragon, wrought in bronze, gilded, and its ornaments of red and green enamel. Another brooch is skilfully twisted in wire, and made to resemble a serpent. A third is still more elaborate; in the form of a bird with its wings enamelled in blue, green, and yellow. A fourth is shaped like a harp, and delicately ornamented with diamonds of enamel, bordered by triangles of gold. These are but a few of the many valuable treasures of the new owners of the cave. A bag of money must also be reckoned among them. There

silver coins of Trajan, already some centuries old, reminding the Briton of the great Cæsars by whom his savage forefathers were subdued, and their children tamed; and in all his trouble he can still be thankful for the conquest to which he owes so much. And it may be that, as he deciphers the name of Gallienus on this bronze coin, and the name of Tetricus on that, he can recall something which he has heard of the effeminate princes and unworthy provincial governors who first seized and then disgraced the Imperial purple, and hastened forward the decline of Rome. There are also barbarous imitations of the Roman coinage, struck by unskilled hands in Britain, telling of the same period of lawlessness and decay. Then he reads the name of Constantine the younger, and of Constans, the two sons of the great Constantine, whose tragic deaths terminated worthless reigns; and these names recall the new capital raised on the shore of the Bosphorus, and the famous effort to restore the Empire in its eastern portion when the star of Old Rome was setting; and then follow thoughts of the final fall, of the uncertain rumours which have reached them that Rome has become the prey of the Goth and all her fair provinces are devastated by kindred hordes; and then the more than rumours of savage Saxon and Angle, who are wasting the Briton's land.

The old provincial wraps round him a thick mantle of skin. A pair of well-worn links of bone, each of the size of a finger, and ornamented with spiral lines and circles, are the clasps by which he fastens the mantle across his shoulder; and the ornaments, worn away by constant friction with the leather, tell of the long time that the links have served their purpose. Now he grasps his sword, an ivory-hilted sword of genuine

Roman work,—and thus he goes forth upon the hill to change the current of his thoughts.

Now follows an eventful time. In 607, Æthelfrith, the grandson of Ida, marched on Chester; the fatal day of the twelve hundred monks of Bangor passed; and thenceforth the Angles held a firm footing on the shore of the Irish Sea. Nine years later the Kingdom of Elmet, in south-western Yorkshire, severed now from the kindred tribes of Wales, is compelled to yield to Eadwin, the king of the united Northumbrians. There is a gleam of hope for the Briton under the victorious Ceadwalla of North Wales, but he falls at last before Oswald, the son of Æthelfrith. Still for more than a century they retain their feeble hold among these hills; until Eadbert, the last of the descendants of Ælla, ascends the Northumbrian throne. In 793 he subdues at last the kingdom of Strathclyde, and the Craven Hills have become the spoiler's land.

But before this time the families of the vanquished race have relinquished their dwelling in the Cave. The hope of removing their goods to a happier abode has not been realised. Jewels and weapons, clothing and ornaments, coins and pottery and household implements are left in confusion; and soon these, with the refuse of the meal, are buried in the deepening soil. The bed of clay rises, and the stones of the rock fall into it. The huge badger is the next important tenant of the cave; and with him the wild cat and the fox feed on the rabbit and the hare.

And except the howls of the wild beasts, there is nothing, so far as we know, to break the silence of the cave for a thousand years. After this interval its records speak again, and the event to which they bear testimony is the last hostile expression of the strife between Celt and English.

man, before it is quenched in peace for ever. Nothing indeed remains in the cave to bear witness to this circumstance of its history; but it must occupy a place in our annals as it has been handed down.

Let us briefly notice how the thousand years have passed. The conqueror of the Briton was himself harassed by the invading Dane, who carried fire and sword throughout the island. The village of Langcliffe, skirting the rocks above the Ribble where it flows nearest to the cave, was burnt by this new enemy. One century after the Northumbrian Eadbert subdued Strathclyde, the Danes slew the last princes of his race. Two centuries later the whole of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish power was swept away together, and the Norman set up his dynasty. Yet two centuries more, and the two races are so entirely mingled into one that the representative of William the Norman can bear the Saxon name of Edward. By him the Celtic kingdom of Wales has been compelled to acknowledge the English sway; and he has invaded Scotland and proclaimed himself its master. Thence he carried away the *Lia-fail*, the sacred stone which Fergus, the son of Eric, had brought with him from Ireland, and on which the Scottish kings had ever since been crowned. Edward believed that by conveying it to England he would maintain his claim to the Scottish dominion, and he placed it in a new chair in which his successors were to be seated at their coronation. But the Scot boasted that

Unless the fates are faithless found
And prophets' voice be vain,
Where'er this monument is found
The Scottish race shall reign.*

And both were proved to be right; for the two royal lines met eventually in a common heir, and Eng-

land and Scotland were at last united under a single crown. So the jealousy between Scot and Englishman was not extinguished.

In the year in which the stone of our cave reopens, nearly a century and a half has passed since the one kingdom of Great Britain combined the twofold realm. During that time the descendants of James Stuart of Scotland and Mary Tudor of England have worn the united crown. But now, for six years, the direct representatives of the Scottish King have been excluded, and the House of Hanover descended from his daughter, occupies the throne. The Scottish Highlander was but half reconciled to his union with the southern race, and the very country in which the new dynasty has been reared is sufficient to suggest to him the memory of the Saxons of old. What wonder that he declares himself in favour of the Stuart claim?

Now, in 1745, comes the last effort to restore the exiled Prince James to his father's honours; and his son Prince Charles, as regent, has established his court at the Palace of Holyrood. From thence he marches into England, and the shelter of the western hill. If proof were needed of the lingering suspicion between the two, it may be found in the popular belief which these northern districts entertained, that the Highlander is a cannibal, and children his favourite food. As the Scottish army approaches, the inhabitants of the neighbouring mansion are alarmed lest their little boy of six years of age should be taken and devoured. They are anxious at the same time to preserve the valuables of the household. Accordingly the family plate and the favourite child are hidden in the cave. The army passes by, and boy and plate are

* Sir Walter Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*.

1. The prince continues his as far as Derby, when he is ntly compelled to retreat; the next year the battle of en ends the last hope of the of Stuart.

cave by this time has been l up by the falling *débris* of k, till only a narrow aper- left in place of the once and gaping archway. The farmer fears lest his sheep tle should fall into the vault lost, and he builds up a f rough stone against the e. The trickling lime-water ver it, and binds the stones r. In front of it the rub- collected, and the herbage

There is almost another entury in our annals.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CAVE DISCOVERED.

ER day for England's throne our story; for now, among subjects of the empire, there heart that hesitates in its ce. A monument in St. church at Rome has marked resting-place of the Stuart recording the title of King III. of England, with the of his two sons. Some rare alone attest the regal claims g Charles III. and King IX. The King of Sardinia eed survived them, as heir rights of Henrietta Maria, s of Orleans, the younger r of King Charles I., but abdicated his claim. Thus ldren of King George III. ecome undisputed heirs to ble honours once possessed r seventh ancestor, King I. of England and VI. of d.

the 28th of June, 1838. the Princess Victoria is r invested with the crown uncles and her grandfather. person what numerous lines

of royalty have met in one! As the recently disputed claims of Stuart and Guelph are combined, so when we look back to more distant times we see in her the representative of each rival race. She can boast the old Celtic blood; for she traces her ancestry to Matilda, the daughter of Malcolm Can-More, and grandchild of Duncan, whom Macbeth slew. She is a Saxon, too, for Malcolm's wife and Matilda's mother was granddaughter to Edmund Ironsides; and here is the blood of Alfred and Egbert, and of the sea-king Cerdic, who first founded the West Saxon kingdom. And she represents the line of William the Norman.

See how the scene that is enacted to-day recalls those varied lines of ancient sovereignty. Beneath the seat of the coronation chair is the Fatal Stone! of the old Scottish kings. Before it is the shrine of the sainted Edward, the last Saxon monarch; and he was son of Ethel-red, and brother of Edmund, the young Queen's Saxon ancestors. And these noble walls of Westminster Abbey are the work of another ancestor, King Henry III., who was fifth in descent from the Norman Conqueror; and here, too, is his place of burial. Such are the happy surroundings in which Victoria receives from the successor of Augustine the sacred unction, and the crown and sceptre, and all the insignia of royalty, which the pomp of mediæval ceremonial has handed down.

And on a day so bright with promise, well may all England be keeping holiday! So it chancs that a pedestrian from the little market-town of Settle is wandering among the hills, his thoughts divided between the great event of to-day and the many subjects of interest which the limestone crags suggest to him. He climbs along the side of the ravine where the scene of our tale has been laid, and

his dog, led by curiosity, enters a crevice in the rock. To the surprise of its master, the animal reappears through another crevice some few feet distant from the first. He clears away some of the loose fragments of stone, and finds the long-forgotten Cavern. He takes the first opportunity of making further investigations; and with a wise foresight of the importance of his discovery, he names it, in memory of the Coronation Day, the Victoria Cave.

Let us pause and notice the changes which have passed over the surrounding district during the period in which the cave has chiefly turned our thoughts to the history of our kingdom. As year after year has passed on, the footsteps of men have traversed the valley with increasing frequency. They have collected the loose stones together to make fences for their cattle, and by degrees the rudely piled heaps of former times are all giving place to more neatly fitted walls. They have built a kiln on the hill-side opposite the cave, where they burn the stones to lime. And the rarer forms of nature are fast disappearing as the works of man's art are multiplied. The last copse of yew and oak and hazel has vanished from the hill-side; only here and there on neighbouring slopes you will now find a few scanty remnants of the primeval forest. The last Royal Osmonds has shed its flower in the marsh below, and the last parsley fern has scattered its spores upon the cliff. You must go to seek these rarities in the more secluded valleys near the Westmoreland border. And the last red-deer has shed an antler on the hill above, where it will one day be found in a narrow fissure of the limestone. The kindred of the deer gradually receded into the inner ranges of the hills; the monks of Fountains carried home their last venison from their domain

on Fountains Fell; and the last deer died away. Attercliffe, too, has long ago died itself of nothing but a level marsh, traversed by small rivulets, marks the place and no tradition has survived to endorse the evidence which the name and the site supply of its former existence of a mere. Giggleswick Tarn has been drained by its owner in recent years, and in its peaty bottom was found the ossuary in which the old savage crossed. The bones of his fellow have been exhumed from the King's Barrow Cave.

The relics left by the Roman and Celtic tenants in the Kelso Caves at Giggleswick, have also been brought to light. This very hill within a short distance, has been pierced with the shafts of its mines, and not far away the earth has also been bored for coal. And now, from this ravine before the Victoria Cave, you may look to the southward and discern the smoke of manufactories; and as you look over the opposite end there is the line of the Midland Railway thrusting its way along the deep cleft of Upper Ribblesdale on the route towards Carlisle.

The geologist also is to be seen among these hills and valleys above the Craven Fault. He breaks open with his hammer the remains of plant and animal, the beautiful shells and corals, and the strange leaves and flowers of seaweed; and with the aid of the chemist he makes them tell him how the limestone was deposited in the deep basins of old. He studies the pebbles by which streams disappear into the earth and are lost until they emerge again through a cave in a distant side of the mountain and he studies the clefts and fissures which traverse broad districts of the limestone where it is exposed on the level heights; and from all these things he learns how the rock is eaten out by the agency of

water. Then he takes a general survey of these rugged heights, and contrasts them with the more rounded forms of the hills southward and westward; and he sees the line of division between these different forms marked for many a mile by the long limestone scar, and he marvels at the tremendous catastrophe of nature which heaved such masses upward from below, and which even carried above them the sandstone summits of the higher mountains to stand as relics of the past and to tell the tale.

As he continues on his path he sees the single fragments of volcanic rock scattered here and there, so different from the water-formed limestone on which they lie,—the poised block which the villagers call Samson's Toe, and others of smaller size; and he sees that they came from the hills of Norway, from whence only the cold strong grasp of the iceberg can have borne them. Often, too, when a bank of earth has been uncovered, he finds under its surface a boulder scarred and polished; and he sees that the only power of nature which could have done the work was the descent of the mighty glacier, grinding the stones which it held against others which were embedded in the frozen ground beneath it. And here and there he sees a mound stretching into the valley from a projecting cliff; just such a mound as he sees the descending glacier actually raising in other lands; and so the mound of earth confirms the record of the stones. His thoughts wander on to catastrophes in the remoter past yet more awful than the upheaval of the limestone, to changes yet more marvellous than the spreading of the ice-sheet.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CAVE EXAMINED.

WE must follow the company of archæologists at the Cave, as they

begin with patient diligence read backwards the record which we have traced out from its beginning. This will bring the history of the Cave down to the present day, and at the same time will enable us briefly to recapitulate the details. In exploring the clay of the floor, the discoverer the Cave has not to search before he finds ample proof that has been inhabited by man. When afterwards the accumulated fragments of the cliff are cleared from the entrance, and the whole of the bed of clay is carefully examined, the interesting evidences of man's occupation are largely multiplied. And, moreover, the strange medley of articles picked out of it reveals much of the history of those who left them there.

Here are numerous implements made of bone or the antlers of deer; spoons and knife-handles, little rods and pins; and here is a bone stud, and beads of glass and amber, and one of jet neatly turned. Here is a stone celt; and this, well as the rudeness of some of the bone implements, seems to speak of the earliest races far beyond historic times. But here, on the other hand, are daggers and spear-heads of bronze, belonging to a later age, and here are nails and needles, pins and buckles, also of bronze and iron.

Here are perforated spindle-whorls of bone and pebbles, belonging to the women's loom. Here are slates marked with grooves on which they rounded and pointed their bone pins. Here is a large spoon-shaped ornament of bone, adapted for fastening a lady's hair, and circles are engraved upon it; and here is an instrument with which she engraved them, for the points of the little forked pin of bronze exactly fit to the radius of the circles. Here are eight curious articles of bone, not unlike the handles

modern gimlets, but hollow, and each having a hole pierced through it in the middle. They are embellished with circles, dots, and spiral lines, which, in one case, are almost entirely worn away. They seem to have served as links to fasten thick clothing, so that the friction has destroyed some portion of the ornamental lines.

But here are ornaments of a more costly character, both personal and domestic. Among the large quantities of broken pottery are pieces of Samian ware, such as this which is adorned with the figure of an animal in flight. And here are clasps and brooches and rings of bronze, many of them enriched with beautiful workmanship, and enamelled in brilliant colours. Here are two armlets of twisted gilt bronze, and some fibulæ shaped like harps, which seem to be of Roman pattern. Here, too, is the ivory boss of a sword-hilt, undoubtedly Roman.

But this other lyre-shaped fibula, and this like a bird, and this like a dragon, are certainly of Celtic workmanship. In fact, their style of embellishment agrees precisely with some well-known Irish illuminations. A group of ornaments like these, on which both Roman and Celtic hands have been employed, and some of which have been imported from abroad at considerable cost, must certainly have belonged to a wealthy Briton of the period when his race mingled freely with their Roman masters.

Additional information, no doubt, will be gathered from these coins which have been found. These two silver coins are Trajan's; but here are others of bronze, which belong to a much later period. Here are Gallienus and Tetricus, who lived in the latter half of the third century; and here are Constantians and Constantine the Second, who succeeded their father in 337;

and here are bronze coins of British work, which tell of the time when the Roman departed, and when the Briton strove to imitate his work as best he might. We know therefore, that the inhabitants of the cave were connected with the Roman conquerors, yet that the date of their habitation was not until the time when the Romans left the land.

How far will the kitchen-refs confirm what we seem now to have ascertained? With the quantities of charcoal, marking the places where food was cooked, there are stones and pebbles, partly burnt which have evidently served for hearth and fireplace. These correspond with the rude life which cave-dwellers must necessarily have led. And here are numerous bones mingled with the clay. But it is necessary to distinguish, as far as possible, between what belonged to the human inhabitants, and what must be attributed to the carnivorous animals which have followed them. To the latter class we may reasonably assign these bones of an immense badger, and these of a wild-cat. And here are the remains of hares and rabbits which they preyed on. For a careful examination can often discriminate between what has been used for human food and what has been gnawed by wild beasts; and at least we know, that only human hands can have split these bones lengthwise to extract the marrow.

Let us, therefore, notice what kind of food the inhabitants of the cave were accustomed to enjoy. Look closely at these bones of dog for if we find that they have been stripped for human food it must carry the heap back to very early times. But they are all unbroken and we gather that the dog died of natural death, as the servant, not the prey, of his owner.

By far the largest number of bones belong to the *Bos longifrons*.

horned ox, a breed which became extinct some time after the coming of the Romans from the north.

And here are the remains of wild goats, which also became extinct about the same period. There are also horse bones, and the use of the horse for human food points to the Roman times. Now, all the remains of domestic animals, such as stocked the land of the Britons under the Roman government. And these include pigs, and these bones of wild animals, two kinds of deer and some grouse and wild fowl, but these are extremely rare. Thus the bones teach us that the persons for whom we are digging were not a hunting tribe, but led a domestic life on their land, instead, with their pigs, fowls and fowl and cattle and sheep around them.

the different kinds of animals lead out the conclusion that they drew from the coins and other things. They belonged to a people accustomed to wealth and comfort, who were compelled suddenly to live here among the wilds. And we can affirm, without doubt, that they were of the last Roman-Celtic race, hiding themselves from some of those barbarous tribes who, from the middle of the fourth century to the middle of the eighth, laid waste, and at last subdued their land.

there are further proofs of human habitation here, telling of many ages anterior to this race. Only two feet of the fragments of rock had accumulated before the entrance since the last time which we have hitherto studying were left there; but the fragments of the same *débris* are found, and another clay bed is found, in which implements of the same sort appear again. They are flint knives, a bone bead, and

a well-wrought double-barbed harpoon. With them there is charcoal, and bones of horse and stag, brown bear, and the short-horned cattle. Inside the cave the layer of fragments which have fallen at the entrance dies away, and the lower clay bed, with only scattered blocks, meets the upper one. Hence we may assume that some of the more rudely formed articles that were discovered at first are to be assigned to this earlier time. Here, among the bones of the bear, is a broken thigh-bone, polished by friction, and evidently handled by man. It reminds an archæologist of the mode in which some American tribes at the present day have been known to fix a bone for the purpose of rubbing down upon it the roughness of the skins which they intend to wear. Altogether, here is ample evidence that the cave was occupied by a race of men who lived by fishing and the chase, and possessed the merest rudiments of art, in what is commonly known as the Neolithic age.

The explorer next penetrates a thick mass of clay, extending over the whole surface of the cave, and in some places not less than ten feet in thickness. It contains no implements or bones. There are layers of stalagmite, sometimes hard and firm, sometimes rotten and broken. There are blocks of stone also, not rolled or waterworn, but evidently lying as they fell. The geologist concludes that all this marks a very long period when the cave was undisturbed, and when portions of its roof were frequently falling from above, while the moisture, dripping through the crevices, carried in the materials which formed the clay.

The next stratum, of great depth, is one which has caused the geologists much perplexity. 'The even stratification,' says one of them, 'and the lines of calcareous matter, by which it is separated

into layers as thin as the leaves of a book, show that it was the deposit of water, more or less in a state of rest; and 'the dip of the layer towards the interior of the cave implies that it was introduced from the mouth inwards.'⁵ The hypothesis on which the formation is accounted for has already been described in the account of the glacial epoch, and is probably as correct as it is ingenious.

The explorer examines still further, into depths which for many an age have never seen the light, and where the sides of the cave seem freshly worn and rounded by the sea, as if its action had been but recent. Here they find the deposit of laminated clay succeeded by one of still greater interest. It is full of animal remains, of which the discovery would be alone sufficient to repay him for all his labour. Here are skulls and many other remains of the Cave Hyæna. Here are bones of the *Elephas primigenius*, or mammoth, and among them we notice the undeveloped tooth of a little one. Here are the nose bone and other large fragments of the woolly rhinoceros. Here are bones of two species of extinct bears, and also of stag, and horse, and bison. And here, in the midst of the remains of these strange monsters, there is a still greater wonder. It is 'unusually clumsy,' indeed, as the anatomist pronounces, but still it is true and unmistakeable—part of the leg bone of a man.

These remains seem to cover the inner slope of a clay bank that lies

across the entrance of the cave. On the outer slope of the same bank, under the layer of fragments that have been splintered from the rock, the clay shows no remains of animals, but contains several rolls and scratched boulders, travelled from a distance. These tell plain of glacial action, and explain how the bank was raised by the descending ice, how the animal remains lying at the cave's mouth were preserved by it, and how the debris of the melting glacier was at last deposited upon its front.

Here the archæologist finds now that is of the highest interest. The position of the bone-bed seems to afford him decisive evidence that the extinct animals whose relics he in it were living in this district, a time anterior to the ice-age. He has also added another to the rapidly multiplying proofs that man was contemporary with them; as it recalls to him the curious legend current among the American Indians, of the 'King of Oxen,' hidden in the mountains since the death of his forefathers.

The work of the explorer is not yet completed; for it is a slow and laborious, as well as costly task, to unroll all the history which the hand of nature has written in the cave. At present he has not even ascertained the extent of the material through which he has to search. We can but hope that further chapters of the record will be deciphered, to give us a fuller insight into all that God has wrought in the edifice of nature and the evolution of mankind. J. E. F.

⁵ Mr. W. Boyd Dawkins, *Report on the Results obtained by the Settle Cave Exploration Committee out of Victoria Cave in 1870.*



AN AUTUMN IN WESTERN FRANCE.

II.—FINISTERE.

ED at Hennebont, on my
om Auray to Quimper, in
ee something of peasant-
Morbihan, and compare
at I had already seen in
tment of Loire Inférieure.
however, would not per-
do justice to the subject
s Finistere offers so much
interest that I think few
will care to imitate my
I will take up my nar-
Quimper, reserving the
rms of Morbihan for a
portunity. The journey
nebont to Quimper lies
hat has been called the
f Brittany; and well may
uthor, describing its swift
elicious valleys, and pine-
hts, say that here the
restlessness vanishes, and
ls no desire to pursue his
out rather to rest amid
ring woods and rushing
Nor are the towns less
han the country. Quimper
s: its graceful cathedral
n the midst of the pic-
narket-place, its pleasant
the river-side, its stately
tre of wooded hills, its
ple and graceful, piquant
-everything captivates the
and helps to make him
his way. Then, as far as
omforts go, the high roads
possess no more comfort-
han the hotel (de l'Epée)
y lucky stars directed me.
is not here, nor luxury;
st of beds, good food, and,
that unpoetic and often
ble creature, the waiter in
il coat, you have charm-
ns in costumes worthy
ke to wait upon you.

The prices, too, are always moder-
rate; so that when you leave
Quimper and other delightfully
genial old-world Breton towns there
is no occasion for ill-temper or loss
of patience over the bill, and you
shake hands with your host and
hostess as if parting from old
friends. Brittany, unsophisticated
in all things, is none the less so in
respect to foreigners, who may
travel from one end to the other
without having to grumble at their
landlords' charges. It was the
22nd of October when I reached
Quimper, to find soft, bright, golden
autumn weather, which set off to
the best advantage its cheerful
streets and gracious *entourage*.
Quimper—in Breton, Kemper—the
Corisopitum of the Romans, and the
former capital of ancient Cornou-
aille, has a history which its native
historians date from Troy. A cer-
tain Trojan refugee, Corineus, was
said by Breton chroniclers to have
founded it; but, from the time when
myth ends and fact begins, Quimper
yields to few other Breton towns in
interest. La Fontaine has given it
a reputation which it does not seem
to deserve,—having produced a
number of distinguished men.

C'était à la campagne,
Près d'un certain canton de la Basse
Bretagne,
Appelé Quimper Corentin,
On sait assez que le destin
Adresse là les gens quand il veut qu'on
enrage,
Dieu nous préserve du voyage !

The Quimper of legend and ro-
mance has been so often and so
well described by French authors
that it would be presumption in me
to enter upon it here. Every inch
of ground in the Breton Cornouaille
is consecrated to some family hero,
fairy, or saint; and there is no more

entertaining study than the popular stories, songs, and legends preserved for us by Villemarqué, Emile Souvestre, Pol de Courcy, and other Breton writers, to whom the taste has been a labour of love. Emile Souvestre, who wrote down his 'Mille et une Nuits de la Bretagne,' as he heard them from the lips of the people, sitting by the sabotiers' wood fire, joining with youths and maidens in the village festival, or traversing the forest in the company of pedlars and poachers, is the best companion one can have on a journey through Brittany. When the day's expedition is over, and the logs blaze on the hearth, the traveller should bring out those exquisitely naïve, witty, pathetic, and glowing narratives which more than any other reading will enable him to realise the poetry abounding in this 'antique land.' Quimper, for example, the ancient and noble capital of the Armorican Cornwall, is closely connected with the history of the Round Table. King Gradlon, who figures in its chronicles as Galan, was hunting with his attendants one day, when he came here and was miraculously fed by Saint Corentin. God had given the saint a little fish, which provided him with his daily nourishment in the following fashion: Every morning it swam to the borders of the saint's fountain, who cut off a piece sufficient for his daily meal, then threw it back into the water, whereupon it was made whole again. This little fish miraculously fed the King of Cornouaille and all his attendants, who were, by these means, converted to Christianity. King Gradlon lived at the famous Ville d'Is, built in the Bay of Douainenez, which Breton chroniclers affirm gave the name to Paris—Par-is; that is to say, the equal of Is. The Ville d'Is was built of gold and silver and marble; and, though the very existence of King Gradlon and his capital—de-

stroyed, like the ancient Cities of the Plain, for its sins—is mythical, is certain that a mighty city did exist in ancient times near its supposed site. In 1586, unmistakeable traces of buildings as broken sarcophagi were found embedded in the sand, or lying under the tide, like the relics of the little town of Julia Casarea in Algeria, which, in calm weather, can be seen through the transparent water.

Nor is the modern history of Quimper less interesting than its fabulous and the mediæval; leaving all this in the hands of our competent writers, I will descend to the Quimper of to-day. Travellers will not easily forget their first dinner, and the poetry bestowed upon the least poetic meal of the day by the bewitching costumes of the attendant maidens. It is not possible to describe all the costumes one meets in Brittany, especially that of Quimper, which French Quakerish, Vandykeish, all in all, and more captivating than any, if in words would appear cold. The great charm of these Breton dresses, made principally of the softest, most durable black or dark blue cloth, the finest cut and embroidery, and the richest braid as trimming, if trimming is used, consists in their simplicity and appropriateness. A good deal certainly done for ornament; but is always ornament of the right kind, and appears to belong to the dress as naturally as the ear belongs to the head, or the eyebrow to the eye. But at the *table-d'hôte* dinner (which, for variety of fish, flesh, and fowl, and excellent cooking, was put that of many a fine Paris London hotel to shame) we saw one of the many costumes of Cornouaille; and all travellers especially artists, should stay some time here.

Next day I was up betimes, and at seven o'clock started, in what

esy was called a carriage, for l'Abbé and Penmarch.

I would caution all those follow in my steps to see the le beforehand in which they se a long day's drive. Other- they may find, as I did, that a wretched affair, with a seat e broader than a knife-blade, no gs worth mentioning, and so ived and driven as to give a succession of bumps, jerks, cruises all the way, with extra hment when a bit of bad road to be got over. I had upon occasions literally to hold on, as knocked up for days after. lay was fresh and glowing, and drive from Quimper to Pont é thoroughly to be enjoyed, te of these drawbacks. The ry was Welsh and Cornish l, the first part of the way. y green hills, pine-clothed s, wide sweeps of golden , hanging woods with thatched steads amid the yellowing were gradually exchanged wild, open, barren stretch of land, patches of faded fern heather alone breaking the tony of sombre green and n. My driver, a handsome g fellow with dark curls and teeth, endeavoured to beguile edium of the way, as these n drivers always do, with lote and information. He ned me that he was on duty ris during the siege, and for hs slept on the ground. 'We othing to eat and nothing to ' he said, 'whilst our officers amusing themselves in the ; but that was nothing to happened after, when we were l upon to shoot our brothers e streets of Paris. I saw men, en, and children driven into ries, and shot down like wild s. Ah! it is a good thing ve peace, and to be among own people again.' He had d his five years, and had re-

sumed his former occupation, looking as contented as possible in blouse and sabots, into which his bare feet were thrust, encased with straw. There can be no doubt that the terrible war of 1870-71 has educated the people, and destroyed the Napoleonic idea as nothing else could have done. From the remotest hamlets of France the peasants were despatched to the great cities and frontiers, where of course they saw with their own eyes all the ills that Bonapartism had brought on the country. This young fellow doubtless had quite opposite opinions about 'L'Empire et la Gloire,' before these cruel experiences he described with such simple pathos.

Pont l'Abbé is a quaint little town, clean, quiet, and mediæval. Like Plougastel, the Ile de Batz, to be described by-and-by, and other isolated seafaring communities in Brittany, it has retained, from time immemorial, costumes and customs of its own. You hardly find the same uniqueness and isolation anywhere else, or, at least, not in the same degree. At Pont l'Abbé, for instance, you cannot help fancying that the clock of time has stopped, and that, here, people are still living in the middle ages. The only link connecting it with the modern world of railways and newspapers is the diligence, which comes lumbering up the grass-grown street at a snail's pace once a day, whilst very little that can be called activity reigns on its sleepy quays. Pont l'Abbé is a port, and vessels from Nantes, laden with corn, had just arrived, but everything seemed done in a drowse; and whilst in great American cities men wear out before they have reached middle life, here they might surely reach a hundred without feeling worn out even then. The town is pleasant to the eye, with its whitewashed houses and black and grey facings, pent-house roofs, and dormer win-

dows. Some are built of stone, and have quaint carvings; and the old château, now turned into a gendarmerie, would make a good sketch. The church is curious, and consists of a nave and one side aisle only, the chancel end entirely filled with beautiful old stained glass. The roof is painted sky-blue—a common occurrence in Finistère—and the slender pillars separating aisle from nave have a pretty effect. There is much quaint wooden carving here; but the chief feature of the church is the great richness and variety of the stained glass. Behind the church, and approached through a well-kept flower and vegetable garden, full of flowers even now, are the exquisite cloisters of the once flourishing Carmelite convent—among the most picturesque ecclesiastical remains of Brittany, and to my thinking as beautiful, though on a smaller scale, as the cloisters of San Marco at Verona. The artist and lover of architecture may be quite sure of finding ample material for study in Finistère. In this most out-of-the-way old-world spot is invariably to be found some interesting church, ruin, or relic; but of course any lengthened descriptions of all these would be supererogatory here, even if space permitted.

At the table d'hôte breakfast we were waited upon by an apple-checked, blue-eyed lassie in the gay costume of the district, the most striking feature of which is the head-dress, or *bigouden*, a padded cap of scarlet or crimson cloth, bordered with gold, silver, or silk braid, and covering only the back of the head, the hair being brought from underneath and fastened at the top. This *coiffure*, in conjunction with sky-blue vest, quaintly cut and trimmed, and blue and green petticoat, showing an under-bodice of orange, makes up one of the gayest and naïvet costumes of Brittany. The men—whom, however, I did not see

to advantage, till on market-day and Sunday, at Quimper (men should always look on their Sundays and market-days as judiciously spent!)—wear no less *bizarre*, chiefly for the vests or waistcoats of different sizes, worn one over the other, all gay and richly adorned. But it is only on holidays and holidays that costume is seen at its best, even the poorest turning out neat and trim. A breakfast which would have satisfied a Roman epicure, and for which I was charged the modest sum of five francs, I started for Penmarc'h in fine weather, which had been clear over for a time, brightened by a warm west wind, driving light clouds across a pale blue sky, with breaks of sunshine, and occasional rainbows, and rain drifting on the distant fields. The country grew wilder and wilder; the left hills and woods behind were now in a wide, dreary, monotonous plain, only broken by occasional farmsteads, a solitary menhir, rising with weeds from amid brown waste or tilled fields.

As we drew near, the church of the once flourishing city of Penmarc'h loomed in the distance. More like a castle than a church, with its fine congeries of towers and turrets, and the neighbouring ruin of Guenolé, with a scattered collection of two thousand inhabitants, are all that remain of what in the sixteenth century was a busy maritime town, rival in importance Nantes itself, which sent three thousand archers to fight, and possessing seven hundred fishing-vessels. The dukes of Brittany held it to be one of the most important communities in their duchy, and it was not till the discovery of the great cod fisheries of America that its prosperity declined. N

drearier or more in these village streets, meet no one but wild-ggy peasants, with d hats slouched over arting away seaweed, unwashed children, he stranger in amaze- we approach the sea, es before had glinted above the dips in the around us, the wind ly, and we heard the aves beating furiously ck. Three wild little charge of the horse light, and my guide he edge of the steep, promontory, along nder, now climbing, g the masses of rock, er, with many a fault, would say; now piled of the other, as care- olmens; now forming staircases, only to be ands and knees; now art, steep and unap- gainst which the blue almost tempestuously mild autumn day. The as calm almost as a umns of spray were n the purple depths h a deep, continuous hat a spectacle is here try day! An inscrip- ie rock, tells how five ers, a mother and four rudently lunching on he *tête de cheval*, were ly by one huge wave below. This happened r time, and only three rs ago. Two of the were recovered. The a-walls, stretching on remind one of the but colour, outline, and res are here sterner, e grandiose. The rich, ring of the Cornish ck add romance and ie picture, but take

away from the rugged grandeur, here attaining a point beyond which imagination cannot go. Travellers, however, should be pedestrians, and have weeks, not days, at their disposal, in order to realise what the coast scenery of Brittany is like. Guide-books mention no inn at Penmarch; but the little *Hôtel des Voyageurs*, at Pont l'Abbé, looks quite delightful, and the intermediate distance is nothing to a fair walker.

In spite of all the vandalism which has swept, and alas! still sweeps, over Brittany, that *vieille druidesse baptisée par St. Pol*, wonderful treasures, archæological, architectural, and artistic, are still found in out-of-the-way places. No wayside church in Finistère should be deemed unworthy of a visit, therefore, no matter how unattractive its exterior. In the imposing church of St. Nonna, the parish church of Penmarch, is some rich old stained glass and quaint carving. The outside, too, is well worth inspection. Each chapel has a separate roof, so that from the central rib branch out six little gables on each side with odd effect. It is disfigured by the usual hideous covered bier, painted black, and ornamented with death's heads and cross-bones in white.

My young driver, who had proved an instructive and entertaining companion on the way out, drowssed as we drove home in the misty rain and gathering twilight: but the good little Breton horse took no unworthy advantage of his master's weakness, and we reached home safely in good time.

Next day was market-day. It was touching to hear the clattering of sabots on the cathedral pavement, and see, one after another, some rough-looking, long-haired peasant-farmers or market-women deposit their huge baskets on the floor, and, meekly kneeling on their knees, pray reverently to their favourite

saint. There is evidently fervent piety here, in spite of what I heard the other day, from a landed proprietor of La Vendée. 'The French peasants are no longer what they were,' he said to me. 'The Vendéans are now as ardent Republicans as before they were Royalists, and they distrust and dislike the priests.' But in Brittany changes work slowly, and nowhere else do you see so many priests, nuns, churches, and religious institutions. The market-place was an animating sight. So crowded were the *halles* with vendors of eggs, poultry, butter, vegetables, flour, fish, &c., that I could hardly get from one end to the other. Corn, flour, and other country produce are here brought to market and sold in small quantities, much talking and banter going on all the time. Anything less like an English market-day cannot be conceived. Here were costumes from all parts; the blue vests and jackets of the men, braided with gold, blue trousers, and broad felt hats with hanging ends predominating. Some of the women wore high coalscuttle-shaped caps of white muslin with flying ends, pretty ruffs round the neck, breastplates bordered with gold braid, black dresses, white chemisettes, and gay violet, red, or even orange aprons. The true Breton *breek* or *brogue* is getting rarer and rarer, and is seldom seen except on the very old men; but it will be long before uniformity in costume reigns here.

Many articles of wearing apparel, notably those gaily embroidered vests both of men and women, were exposed for sale in the square behind the cathedral. Of sabots there was a goodly display; also of those comfortable and even elegant white flannel hoods worn by the women in bad weather. The younger women wore the prettiest semi-Elizabethan frills, so arranged as to be very high and full at the back,

and displaying the front throat. Quimper is noted pottery; and a gayer display not be imagined than the plates and dishes, all pain hand, with *naïve* designs of and flowers in bright colors. These are sold at a penny or pence a-piece, yet a skilful may gain five francs a day by rustic art. When a shower came on, red, blue, and green *brellas* were spread, the people put on cloaks and hoods, the coats of sheep or goat skin business went on as usual.

There is a museum at Quimper containing some fine prints engravings, many curious several relics, such as the diamond stone measure which was very life-blood out of the pen under the *ancien régime*. There is also a picture-gallery possessing amid many poor pictures and some fair examples of French art, and one or two dyke and Rembrandt pictures that look genuine. Several painters of merit are native Quimper; and one, Van Duval, has just embellished the chapels of the cathedral with brilliant and poetic frescoes.

The cathedral, both within and without, is as elegant and pleasing as any in Brittany, if not so interesting as some from an architectural point of view. The eye reposes gracefully on every part; and, whether from near or afar, its stately light yet solid flying buttresses and graceful proportions leave room for criticism. It is, I think, the largest church in Brittany, though some purists in architecture dismiss it coldly, to my thinking it is really beautiful. Ocularity all will notice. In accordance with a pious fan architect wished to symbolize the attitude of the dying Saviour, ascribed by St. John: 'A bowed His head and gave

Accordingly, the line of
l inclines from that of
that, looking from the
the church, you see a
rive in the rib of the
his wave-like bend by
offends the eye, but
nates, whether seen from
within. There is no
npery in Quimper Cathe-
beauty of the coloured
specially of the cleres-
elicate sculpture of the
he lightness and cheer-
grace of the structure
delight more than many
osing and elaborate in-
re, as everywhere else,
the despoiler has fallen
ny pictures, carvings,
having been destroyed
Revolution. But the
self was not touched,
tward appearance has
beautified by the grace-
lately built, under the
f M. Viollet Le Duc,
ruits of a penny sub-

things to offend good
are the sermons. I at-
s one morning, and the
s the substance of a
ached to a large and
ongregation mostly of
en and women: 'There
ities,' said the preacher,
y the Church on the
tly, to confess at least
; 2ndly, to confess in
arish; 3rdly, to confess
fifteen days of Easter.'
on of the first of these
rded by the Church as
h gravity that it is con-
e punished by the with-
hristian burial. Not one
ghout a long discourse
o simple, devout, care-
nt folk, of moral teach-
is counsel, or brotherly
Church's ordinances,
is laws, the Church's
t is all.

Quimper is picturesque, gracious,
gay. The gable ends and dormers of
its quaint old houses make delicious
light and shadow; the clear-flowing
river, bordered with stately elms
and crested by a lofty wooded hill,
offers a variety of walks; its
churches and museums, and, lastly,
handsome, genial people will entice
many a traveller to prolong his
stay here. I had come with anti-
cipations which were more than
realised, and I went away with
hearty regret.

All the way from Quimper to
Brest we picked up conscripts, a
new levy having just been made.
Women were weeping at every
station, and no one could talk of
anything but 'Les Conscrits! Les
Conscrits!' The lads—for few of
them could be called men—had
evidently been treated to a little
more wine than was good for
them, and screamed, sang, and
chattered at the tops of their voices.
They were mostly of the peasant
class, in blouses and sabots—
honest-looking lads enough, but
rough and uncouth as could be.
Whatever may be said against con-
scription, there can be no doubt that
it educates the French peasant, and
does more than anything else to
sharpen his wits and open his eyes
to those deadly enemies of his
country, the Napoleonic idea and
Clericalism. It is a pity that
nothing answering to conscription
offers itself to the women here,
who in Brittany and Loire Inférieure
are woefully ignorant in every way.
A friend of mine, who has kept
house in Nantes for more than
twenty years, paying maximum
wages, assures me that she has
hardly ever had one who could read
or write. It strikes one as a pain-
ful experience in French domestic
life when a well-dressed maid
brings you a letter, asking 'Est-ce
pour Madame?'—not being able to
decipher the address. Brittany is
the most Catholic part of France.

Convents and convent-schools abound; the education of all classes may be said to be in the hands of the priests and the nuns; yet statistically it stands lower than any other with regard to primary instruction.

The approach to Brest is exceedingly beautiful. On the 23rd of October the warm colouring of sea and sky was quite Italian; and the wide bay with the violet mountains rising on either side; the turquoise sea opening beyond, calm as a lake; the shining white city surrounded by public gardens, recalled many a recollection of Italy and the South. Here the gloom and rugged grandeur of Finistere have vanished, and the calmness and brightness of the scene are in striking contrast with the savage beauty I had lately beheld at Penmarch.

Brest, in spite of these natural graces, has a bad name. No guide-book has a good word to say for the hotels, and the following character is assigned to the Bretois by a French writer: 'All the inhabitants of Brest live at the expense of Government; which is true not only of officials but merchants, since business is almost exclusively confined to the equipment of the navy. Thus the characteristic of the Bretois is to have no character at all, and to greet with the same en-

thusiasm the rise or fall of Governments that have succeeded each other in France during the last century.' I trust the lament is incorrect; whilst I complain of the hotels, having five days invalided and well after at one (La Bourne). something, too, of Bretois and must say that the letters of introduction I had with me in that most generous land, 'La Petite Bre', nowhere procured me more kindness and courtesy than here.

There is only one thing to be said of Brest—and this cannot be said in praise, namely, the naval docks, since the war of 1870-71, accessible to all English ships, unprovided with a special defence from Lord Lyons. Of course, travellers do not know Brest when they arrive, when it is too late to take the necessary steps to visit it; and in the Murray's (brought with me, date 1881) a misleading statement to the effect that 'the authorities will not receive foreigners to visit it without a permit from their Consuls.' Most travellers will, however, have made their way to Brest, like myself, not to the naval docks, but to the population of Plougastel and Pointe de Léon, which I must leave for another chapter.

M.]



PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND PUBLIC SCHOOLMASTERS.

ving the second reading of the Public Schools Bill of 1866,arendon stated that 'there in a general concurrence of that some reform in several great public schools was and a feeling also was that, in a national point of the importance of these being made to fulfil their in the best possible manner ot be over-estimated.' Folthe same line of thought, lpole, to whose lot it fell to ce the Public Schools Bill, eventually became law, ob- (February 14, 1868) that chools were 'part of our life . . . they were the owth of a free people, and their mark upon the social, and intellectual character of ion; that was not a reason should not deal effectually em now. It was rather a why we ought not to rest l with things as they are, aining the good which we o be in them, it was rather a why we should endeavour to that good still further, to the sphere of their useful- nd 'enable them to adapt ves still more readily, com- and effectually to the modern ments of the age in which we For such reasons as these it at Parliament, acting upon borate report of the Royal ssion of 1865, passed that ler which the seven principlc Schools of England are d at the present day.

ie passing of that Act, the in question were emphati-amped as 'Public Schools,' to say, as institutions in he public were directly con- in whose welfare the nation

was interested, and which were altogether and for ever taken out of the category of those educational establishments, however large, which private enterprise or private munificence had founded, and which private trusts might be left to regulate.

If, then, the seven schools affect- ed by the Act of 1868 have been recognised and dealt with by the Legislature as 'Public Schools,' the public may fairly claim a right to take some interest in their manage- ment, and when glaring defects, in constitution or administration, are discovered to exist, he who ventures to point them out is hardly to be deemed a transgressor against the public weal. These remarks are prompted by the extraordinary tone adopted by a portion of the Press upon the controversies which have suggested the present article. Dis- cussion upon such matters has been angrily deprecated, the phrase, 'it is better to wash your dirty linen at home,' has been freely applied, and the individual who has, upon two occasions, been made the mouth- piece of others in the exposure of errors too grave to be left hidden, has been accused of a desire to con- stitute himself a 'supreme authority' over one particular public school, when his sole object has been to let in that light of public opinion before whose searching rays the fogs of error and prejudice are cer- tain, in the long run, to be dis- pelled.

The objections to a ventilation of these matters, by means of the public Press, are, in reality, absurd, puerile, and out of date.

The Act of 1868 was the first legislative effort which Parliament had been called upon to make in respect of our Public Schools.

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That it reformed many things, and improved much, may readily be conceded, but it can hardly have been expected, even by its authors, that it would prove entirely and absolutely successful in every particular. From time to time difficulties were sure to crop up in the management of the great institutions with which it dealt, and although many of the multifarious details connected with school management might doubtless be arranged by regulations made by the several governing bodies constituted under the Act, it must have been contemplated as more than probable that, from time to time, some question would arise upon which the action of Parliament would again be necessary. Such a crisis seems now to have occurred, for recent events have disclosed a state of things not only unsatisfactory to individuals engaged in the important work of tuition, but fraught with peril to the best interests of the schools of which we write.

The state of things in question concerns the relative position of the governing bodies, headmasters, and assistant-masters of our Public Schools, and it is much to be deplored that the relations between the three were not more fully discussed during the passing of the Act, and more clearly defined in its provisions. What those relations are, or were intended to be, is still to a great extent a matter of uncertainty, and it is clearly inexpedient that such uncertainty should remain. The two cases which have recently come before the public have created a wide-spread distrust of the system under which they have occurred, and have rendered further legislation absolutely necessary. The dismissal of Dr. Hayman from Rugby, and of Mr. Browning from Eton, have something in common, inasmuch as there was in both cases a dismissal without appeal.

There is, however, a radical difference between the two, to which it will be well to call attention. Hayman's dismissal, whether or unjust, was strictly in accordance with the Act of Parliament, and, wisely or unwisely, gave the governing body full power to retain or dismiss the headmaster at pleasure, without providing an appeal from their decision obliging them to give any consideration whatever for the exercise of 'pleasure.'

It is not our purpose to deal to attack this provision of the Act. It may be urged in its favour that in the case of a governing body judging a head-master, it may be presumed that such tribunals are generally composed of men of learning, ability, and discretion, and that different shades of thought and opinion, and, as a rule, little likelihood of dealing in a harsh and arbitrary spirit with the important question left to their decision. And, moreover, it is the case of ten or a dozen sitting in judgment upon one, one being the chief officer of the institution over which they exercise as the supreme power. It may be well that in so grave a matter the dismissal of a head-master should require the consent of a large proportion—two-thirds, of the governing body should be required, but the question of giving an appeal from their decision is one which certainly should require further inquiry, especially in view of longer experience, before such change should be recommended.

But in the Eton case the question is essentially different, inasmuch as it is not that of a dozen men judging one, but one man having the power of judging, condemning, and punishing forty or fifty, and this, according to the interpretation of the Act apparently adopted by the governing body of Eton, positively without appeal. Whether it

intention of the Act of Parliament that no appeal should lie from the head-master to the governing body, is a question open to argument. For while, on the one hand, it is perfectly true that the 13th section of the Public Schools Act of 1868 enacts that the assistant-masters 'shall be appointed and hold their offices at the pleasure of the head-master,' it is equally certain that the same section provides that 'the head-master shall be appointed by and hold his office at the pleasure of the governing body. There is, therefore, a controlling and overriding power in the governing body, to which an appeal can be made against any act of the head-master, and it would seem that in the case of an assistant unjustly or unreasonably dismissed, this power might be fairly invoked. Moreover, it would appear that the power of dismissal includes the lesser power of remonstrance and of inquiry into acts which, unless unexplained, might lead to dismissal. It is, therefore, almost unaccountable that the rumour can be true which ascribes to the governing body of Eton the belief that they can only interfere with the head-master by the exercise of their final power of dismissal, and that they could not entertain the appeal made to them by Mr. Browning unless they were prepared, supposing it to prove valid, to adopt the extreme course of dismissing Dr. Hornby.

If, however, such belief did not exist in the minds of the governing body, the course which they adopted with regard to Mr. Browning's appeal bore very hardly upon that gentleman. For, having heard his complaint (in which any attack upon the head-master was studiously avoided, but which as a defence was necessarily incomplete in the absence of any specific charge) they demanded from Dr. Hornby a statement of his reasons for hav-

ing given the notice of dismissal, and, having received that statement, suffered him to enforce the notice without allowing Mr. Browning to see or know the charges which Hornby had made against him, without allowing him any opportunity of meeting and rebutting the charges. If, however, the governing body of Eton honestly believed that they could not interfere with Dr. Hornby and Mr. Browning in any other way than by dismissing the former, it is evidently necessary that those who think that such a state of things is contrary alike to policy and justice should at once seek to secure such an alteration of the Public Schools Act as will remedy the evil, and prevent the possibility of its recurrence.

This brings us at once to the consideration of the position of assistant-masters, relatively to the head-master, at our Public Schools, and to the various points at which they have been brought out during the recent controversy. The dogmata which appear prominently opposed to each other (but which careful consideration may show to be wholly irreconcilable) are these:—1. The authority of the head-master must at all hazards be upheld. 2. The position of assistant-masters must be secured, or good men will not accept service.

The first of these doctrines commends itself to every Public School man, and to no one more than to Mr. Browning himself, when Dr. Hornby first came to Eton, and had to introduce changes unpalatable to many, even upon his authority, and was (to quote words recently addressed to Dr. Hornby by another assistant-master) his 'most loyal supporter; more loyal than many who have always enjoyed a larger share of your confidence.' But the authority to be upheld with advantage, must be authority duly exercised with

reasonable limits, without caprice or prejudice, and in accordance with common fairness and justice. The great Public School of Eton is not Dr. Hornby's private academy for young gentlemen. It has its traditions, its rules, its code of laws; and the authority of the head-master, which all Etonians, past and present, desire to support and uphold, is an authority based upon those laws, rules, and traditions. No one will dispute that Dr. Keate and Dr. Hawtrey amply and ably supported the authority of their position. But neither Dr. Keate nor Dr. Hawtrey ever dismissed an assistant-master at all; much less one of long standing, high reputation, and great ability, and this at three months' notice. These headmasters possessed tact, discretion, ability to understand, and capacity to govern men, and such qualities are indispensable in a position such as they filled.

Unduly to strain authority is a fatal mistake on the part of those who wield it; and in the instance before us, as in every similar instance, the question arises whether or no the authority which we are required to uphold was well and wisely exercised. Even doubt upon such a point is dangerous to the stability of 'authority.' Therefore it is for the interest of headmasters, as well as their assistants, that there should exist some check over such a tremendous power as that of dismissal from house and home, accompanied as it is by depreciation of income and possible professional ruin. Such a punishment, if it can be inflicted without appeal, and without even the necessity on the part of the head-master of stating to the world any reason for his action, is too grave and severe to be left in the uncontrolled hands of any individual. To require the sanction, after full inquiry, of the governing body would have seemed a wise and desirable

check over the exercise of a power, even if we were consider the subject for the first time without our recent experience. A wise head-master would, I rejoice that such a check should be provided, feeling, as he would if he conscientiously believed in the necessity of such strong action, that the dismissal of an assistant-master from a governing body would be a sustaining power behind him to strengthen his hands; while the knowledge that their sanction required would place him upon his guard against yielding to hasty impulse, or being swayed by motives which he could not clearly and amply justify to himself and others. But if such a check would be useful to headmasters, how invaluable would it be to subordinates, to whom the experience of the last few months has shown that their position is one of most precarious and humble character. That position can be better illustrated than by a narration of the late Eton incident which has never yet been understood by the public.

One point, however, should be borne in mind and fully considered by anyone who wishes to form a fair opinion upon the matter in question. People speak of the necessity of a head-master having complete power and control over his assistants without really standing or taking into account what those assistants may readily be conceded to be in an ordinary school, where a master has the whole number of boys more or less under his own intendment, his authority should be absolute over those under whom he appoints to assist him who conduct the education of boys under his eye and according to his directions. But the position of assistant-masters at Eton, especially after they have acquired houses, is something very different.

may not inaptly be compared with that of the heads of the various colleges at Oxford and Cambridge.

Classes in school are indeed divided by boys from every house, as University lectures are attended by students from different colleges, and the rules and regulations of the general school are applicable to all the boys in common. Much of the educational work done in the houses of the several assistant-masters; both work in preparation for, and work independent of the general work of the school.

A house is, in many respects, like the school in itself, and, as a matter of fact, the great majority of Eton boys pass their Public School lives without any personal acquaintance with the head-master.

1. If they stay to be very high in the school, they become members of a special class in school, but otherwise, save in answering to their names when he calls over the roll-book, and in possible visits to the room wherein he inflicts that corporal chastisement which is a part of the school system, the great mass of boys have practically nothing to do with the head-master. The most important personage to them is their own tutor, the master of the house in which they board. The revision of their daily life is in his hands; to him they look for advice, for assistance in work, and extrication from any difficulties which they may encounter in their school career. It is, in reality, far more important to a father sending his son to Eton to see that he is in the house of a good tutor than to be assured that the head-master is an of first-rate ability. Consequently, those assistant-masters

have made a reputation for themselves are invariably beset with applications for admission to their houses than they can retain, and the names of boys often two, three, or four years on a tutor's list before they

can be received into his house.

The houses, moreover, not being under the head-master's control, but for the most part either private property or held upon long lease from the college, the dismissal of the holder of a house from his mastership curtails for a time the already limited accommodation for boarders at Eton, without giving the head-master any means of obviating to parents the enormous inconvenience entailed upon them by such action. At the same time, the consequences of a dismissal of this kind are gravely prejudicial to the boys themselves, some of whom are scattered about in houses which their parents would never have selected for them had they had any alternative; others are compelled to leave from sheer inability to find a house into which they can be received, and all are disturbed and unsettled at a period of their education when such disturbance is much to be deprecated.

It is obvious, therefore, that the dismissal of an assistant-master from a Public School, involving the breaking up of an establishment of thirty-five or forty boys, and the dislocation of the arrangements of the parents of other boys about to enter that establishment, is a step differing entirely from the dismissal of an under-master in an ordinary school, and one which, independently of the severity of the punishment which it inflicts upon the individual dismissed, ought not to be taken by any head-master without the gravest consideration and the most profound conviction of its absolute necessity. Let us, then, consider upon the facts before us whether this can be said of Dr. Hornby's action with regard to Mr. Browning, in so far as the reasons for that action have been disclosed.

It may of course be urged, as has been already done by the advocates of 'absolute authority,' that a head-master ought not to be required to

give any special reasons for his dismissal of a subordinate. Being responsible for the administration of the school, he must and ought to have the right of getting rid of any assistant-master with whom he cannot 'get on' comfortably, and of surrounding himself with those alone in whom he feels that he can repose confidence. But even if it be admitted that the rights and power of a head-master are thus accurately stated, it is not upon such a theory that any justification of the recent transaction can be founded, even though we readily admit that the head-master acted with a conscientious conviction that it was for the interests of the school. If his desire to part company with Mr. Browning arose from an honest belief that incompatibility of disposition and temperament, or even more serious defects of character, prevented him from reposing in his subordinate that confidence which was necessary for their working together harmoniously, such belief must have been of steady and gradual growth, and could hardly have come upon the head-master in a moment. There could, then, have been no difficulty on the part of Dr. Hornby in giving Mr. Browning such ample notice of his wishes and intentions as would have greatly mitigated the severity of the sentence to the individual, and at the same time lessened the enormous and totally unnecessary inconvenience to many boys and their parents.

But the truth is that (as is abundantly proved by the printed papers which have been circulated) Dr. Hornby, up to September 15, 1875, had no intention whatever of giving notice of dismissal to Mr. Browning. Herein lies, indeed, part (though part only) of the extreme hardship of Mr. Browning's case. Up to the reassembling of the school in September he had not only no idea of the coming punish-

ment, but every reason to believe that the head-master was upon amicable and friendly terms with him. There had been differences of opinion between the two during the three previous years, but each of these differences had been settled as they arose, and Mr. Browning had certainly no reason to suppose that they were being accumulated up in order to be brought against him at some future date. Such, however, appears to have been the case; and, strange to say, in a recent correspondence between the two which has been laid before the governing body, the head-master states that the 'most serious' of the charges which he had brought against Mr. Browning was connected with an incident which occurred in January 1874, *thirty months before the notice of dismissal, in which notice it was even mentioned.*

Dr. Hornby declares in the correspondence, 'I have brought no new charges' against Mr. Browning, though at the same time he absolutely refuses to allow that gentleman or his friends to see a statement of such charges as he has submitted, according to his desire, to the governing body, which they have not deemed incumbent upon them to publish.

The result of this secrecy has of course been what might have been expected. Rumours of all kinds have flown abroad, more or less injurious to Mr. Browning, and the wildest speculations have been started as to the crime for which he has been punished. One current among 'present Etonians' was that 'the ladies have had something to do with it,' and that Dr. Hornby's step was mainly prompted by jealousy of the success which attended certain musical performances, in which Mr. Browning was in the habit of giving upon Saturday evenings! Absurd as this may appear,

ly quite as probable as several reports produced by the refusal of the head-master to state charges in a clear and definite

at then, it may be asked, are real reasons for Dr. Hornby's refusal of Mr. Browning? Up to September 15 it was evidently implied by neither party. The order of dismissal, written on the 15th, is our only guide:

ETON COLLEGE,

September 16, 1875.

Browning,—After our conversation as you will, I think, have expected communication from me.

I have purposely put off writing for a day, that I might not, in a very important matter, act hastily or under any influence of irritation.

It will remind you that, in the interview you sought with me yesterday, you reproached me with prejudice, unfairness, and persecution in my dealings with you, and that you tried to justify your recent conduct by the alleged violation of well-known rules, which I am bound to enforce, on the ground that you alleged that some of your colleagues had done so. Such a plea hardly needs an answer; but I must remind you that, in this case, particular attention had been drawn to your violation of the rules last year, and that you had in consequence received a reprimand and very definite instructions in writing as to your future conduct.

I believe that your colleagues will be glad to have kept within the regulations if there has been any violation (and I shall at once proceed to inquire into this); it cannot in any way justify what you have done.

Two or three years hardly a Schoolmaster has passed in which I have not been called upon to undertake the very painful task of calling you to account for neglect or violation of rules. I feel that I have carried forbearance, in your case, to the limit which I ought to have observed in strict duty to the School. I have done so because of the extreme gravity of your position as a Master from Eton, especially your age and standing, and because I indulged the hope that your conduct would yet be such as to make this excuse unnecessary. I feel, however, after recent events, and after our conversation of yesterday, it is not possible for me to feel that confidence in you which is absolutely necessary to our working together, and to my entrusting you with the duties which belong to an Eton

I must therefore give you notice that your Mastership will terminate at the end of this School time.

Yours sincerely,

J. J. HORNBY.

In this letter it will be observed that Dr. Hornby states that 'after recent events, and after our conversation of yesterday,' the necessary confidence between himself and Mr. Browning had become 'impossible,' and he 'therefore' gave the notice of dismissal. As soon as the case had been communicated to the Press, several of the principal organs of public opinion, and no inconsiderable number of 'the public,' seized at once upon the words 'recent events,' above quoted, and naturally read them by the light of a previous sentence, '*your recent breach of well-known rules*,' and at once jumped to the conclusion, deliberately stated by an anonymous writer in the *Times* of November 18: 'It is perfectly clear that Mr. Browning has, in the present instance, acted openly and deliberately in violation of a clearly-defined rule.' Now, not only was this statement utterly without foundation, but, as a matter of fact, Dr. Hornby had himself forwarded to the governing body Mr. Browning's application for a relaxation of the rule in question, telling him at the same time that he thought it was 'too late,' and would not be granted, but making no objection whatever to the subject-matter of the application. And in a letter written upon November 26, Dr. Hornby, in declining to accede to Mr. Browning's repeated and earnest demand that he would state definitely the charges against him, writes as follows:

If you will read my letter of September 16, you will see that the grounds of your dismissal are, *neglect of work and violation of rules during a period of two or three years*, and recent events, by which I intend to notice your language to me on September 15, and *your recent conduct with regard to the number of your pupils and boarders*

The phrase 'recent breach of rules' occurs in my letter only in connection with your attempted justification of such conduct on the ground that others had broken rules.]

It will be seen, then, that Dr. Hornby does not himself now allege that a 'recent breach of rules' was the cause of dismissal, or, indeed, that there was any breach of rules at all. But what was the 'recent conduct' of which he complains? Simply and solely an attempt to obtain, through Dr. Hornby's own hands, as the legitimate channel of communication, and with his concurrence, the assent of the governing body to a temporary continuance of a relaxation which they had themselves deliberately sanctioned up to the time of the renewed application.

But it is right to notice the suggestion that Mr. Browning had 'attempted justification of such conduct on the ground that others had broken rules.' All that Mr. Browning did was to complain that so much stress should in his case be laid upon a rule which, up to a very recent period, had not existed, and at that very moment was not generally and strictly enforced. The rule in question was one which limited the number of pupils to be received by each assistant-master to forty. This, wise or unwise, was an entire change from the old system, and was only gradually brought into operation by the present governing body, and had never been attempted to be enforced until 1875.

The Report of the Public School Commission in 1864 (page 77) states:

Tutors have been known to have 100 pupils. They used not unfrequently to have 80 or 90. Mr. Balston had at one time 72, and commonly from 50 to 60; and he does not see why a man who understands his work should not be able to manage 50 very well. The present Provost, during his head-mastership, fixed the maximum at 40; but this limitation has never been applied to tutors who were already at Eton when it was established, from tenderness

apparently towards what might be regarded as a vested interest.

This quotation is given in order to show that the change which was made, which of necessity was gradual, and that the assistant-masters had no ground for believing that what was made by regulation to be applied into force so lately as January 1875, it would not at once be so applied as to entail dismissal on any man who had not been at once to carry it out to its full extent.

The following letter to Mr. Browning from one of his colleagues, dated October 5, 1875, illustrates the position:

Dear Browning.—When I was told of a circular from the head-master (about a year ago) that the governing body's rule of forty pupils was to be strictly enforced, but that by special leave the number might be extended to forty-three, I wrote a letter to the head-master explaining that I had three or four out-door pupils before I knew that the rule would be strictly enforced, and asking leave to keep them until I got no answer, I took it for granted that no objection was made. I have neither made any further communication on the subject until the beginning of the time, when, in answer to a circular from the head-master, I wrote to say that I understood that the leave had to be given every School time—that I still had four out-door boarders, besides forty boys in the school, but that they were pupils whom I had taken three years or more, and that I did not take any more beyond my forty (or to that effect). I have been very busy on the subject.—Yours very truly

Here, then, was a gentleman who was very closely in Mr. Browning's confidence, and who saved that he had 'taken for granted' that he had the leave which was actually granted to Mr. Browning at Easter 1875, and had continued to 'break' the rule without objection being raised by the head-master, and without asking for the renewal of leave the assistant-master which by Mr. Browning is alleged to have been granted by Dr. Hornby 'recently'—which forms one of the grounds for his dismissal.

able is it, however, that no 'breach of rules' in Mr. Browning's case, has been already shown, by his practically withdrawing the charge, and the anonymous writer in the *Times* already, on having the true state so pointed out to him, fully perceived (though he is candid enough to own it in so many words) that his position was untenable, and in a second letter shifted his ground, and on reasonable and just grounds dismissed:

Between Dr. Hornby and Mr. Browning there had for some time past been a difference of opinion on material questions of discipline; that on many occasions the Head had been compelled to stand to account for conduct considered irregular, foreign to the character of the School; that, in the course of warnings and remonstrances, a difference between the two masters had become more unsatisfactory, until confidence had ceased to exist, and it was clearly impossible that they should any longer work

together. These allegations constitute the substance of 'general incompetence' and 'two observations only'; first, that Dr. Hornby verbally and in his letters stated that this is *not* his ground, and that the question is not one of degree 'personal'; and, that if this were really the case, it would take away all justification of a sudden dismissal.

It is therefore brought to the notice of the public that Dr. Hornby takes his stand mainly upon two charges. First, of work, and violation of discipline during a period of two or three years. 2. Mr. Browning's statement in the interview of September 15. And in the letter of September 26, to which reference has already been made, Dr. Hornby introduces a charge, not mentioned in his letter of dismissal,

but one which goes far to corroborate Mr. Browning's account of the conversation at the interview. 'I was obliged to remind you of a specific instance of want of truthfulness on September 15.'

With regard to the first of these charges comment is almost superfluous. If it be true that Dr. Hornby believed that Mr. Browning's 'offences,' real or fancied, had been accumulating during two or three years, this was as much the case at the end of the summer half as in the beginning of the Michaelmas half. Yet during the interval he was in friendly communication with Mr. Browning as to the future arrangements of his house, and never gave him the slightest intimation that any single 'offence' of the past remained uncondoned or unforgiven. But if, on the contrary, as is much more probable, Dr. Hornby had condoned, and knew that he had condoned, all the past, must we believe that on being irritated by language in a conversation with his assistant he took the strange course of raking up all those past and condoned offences in order to justify himself in inflicting a punishment for which he can otherwise find no justification? Yet surely this is what Dr. Hornby *by his own showing* has done, and in a letter of November 27 he speaks of the 'want of truthfulness,' to which allusion has been made, as the 'most serious' of his charges against Mr. Browning.

Let us for one moment call attention to this, the only specific charge we have before us, premising that, so far as we are aware, no other human being save Dr. Hornby has deemed Mr. Browning guilty of 'want of truthfulness,' or even '*suppressio veri*' in the matter. What are the facts? Without entering into unnecessary and wearisome details, it will suffice to say that in 1873 Mr. Browning, wrongly, as he admits, had neglected to send round to the parents of his boys a certain circular issued by the

head-master relative to an increased charge to the assistant-masters for board and tuition. On arriving at Eton after the Christmas vacation of 1873, Mr. Browning was informed that the Provost had expressed displeasure because these circulars had not been universally sent. He immediately forwarded them, and on the very same evening came round to all the assistant-masters an open paper from the head-master, asking, for the Provost's information, 'Have the circulars been sent? were they sent with the bills?' Mr. Browning replied, 'Yes, but not with the bills;' which was the *exact truth*, and no further explanation could have been given upon the 'open paper.' The matter to which the circulars related had been settled. Mr. Browning had nothing to gain either by suppressing the circular or concealing the fact of his delay in sending them round, and he *had reason to know* that the Provost was aware that he had not sent them before his return to Eton. His explanation of the whole of the circumstances was given immediately upon being demanded, and yet upon these facts Dr. Hornby founds the charge of 'want of truthfulness' which he now states to be the 'most serious charge' of those which have caused Mr. Browning's dismissal.

But if, as must be allowed by every impartial mind, this charge is absolutely untenable, there remain the other two charges to which we have reduced the indictment—i.e., 1. 'Neglect of work, and violation of rules during a period of two or three years.' 2. 'Language' during the interview of September 15. With respect to the first of these it may be observed that no one single instance of either 'neglect of work' or 'violation of rules' has been specified by Dr. Hornby, and therefore Mr. Browning has been unable to give more than a general denial to a general charge. The same observation, moreover, is applicable to

this charge as to that of 'want of truthfulness,' namely, that it related entirely to matters (whatever they may be) disposed of and settled before the Midsummer holidays, and only revived by Dr. Hornby upon the sudden determination to get rid of Mr. Browning, at which he seems to have arrived upon September 15.

As to the 'language' used by Mr. Browning upon that day, as to the circumstances of the interview as they present themselves to Dr. Hornby's mind, we are left entirely to conjecture. We have, indeed, Mr. Browning's own account, written to four personal friends (one of them a member of the governing body) immediately after the interview; and as to one part, unexpectedly corroborated by the recent letter in which the head-master admitted having accused his subordinate of a 'want of truthfulness.' Had the two accounts of the 'interview' been placed side by side, we should have been able to judge of the comparative probability; but Dr. Hornby has told us nothing more than that his recollection 'differs very widely' from that of Mr. Browning on the subject. The manner in which the head-master has spoken of and written to Mr. Browning within the last year may be excused for a somewhat naive belief that his temperament and language upon the occasion in question were neither mild nor conciliatory, and that if Mr. Browning exceeded the limits of discretion in any language which he employed it was in all probability under some provocation. Two points, however, appear to us to be abundantly clear. First, that up to the time of this 'interview' Dr. Hornby had no intention of dismissing Mr. Browning, and, but for the conversation which then took place, would not have revived the charges connected with a previous period; secondly,

nothing which occurred in conversation could have justified sudden and penal dismissal, was it fair to revive the old cases in order to justify the dismissal, for which there was no justification.

We have entered thus minutely into the details of the Eton controversy because they aptly illustrate the present position of assistant-masters. That which has happened to Mr. Browning may happen to other assistant-to-morrow; and the sequel of the narrative is even more instructive. From the time of the notice of dismissal no efforts were spared by mutual friends to bring about a reconciliation between the two gentlemen. There were many wanting men to advise Mr. Browning to make every reasonable concession to his superior officer, and others to point out to Dr. Hornby the difference between a notice with reasonable notice and a connection between himself as an assistant and a penal dismissal, for which he had no grounds whatever.

It is although the assistant-master was easily amenable to persuasion, the head-master was inflexible. It was in vain to urge him to hold out his right hand of reconciliation or accept it if offered.

But there were considerations which should have strongly inclined Dr. Hornby to such a course. Towards the close of the year 1873 he had had the misfortune to fall under the censure of the governing body and was moreover by no means satisfied with the interference of the latter, through the Provost, in the details of school administration. In this hour of trial he looked for support and sympathy from his colleagues, and amongst them Mr. Browning stood manfully forward in his defence. We have before us two documents of interest at this moment; one, the dated draft drawn up by Mr.

Browning for the signature of the assistant-masters; the other, Dr. Hornby's letter of acknowledgment to Mr. Browning on receipt of the same. Both are curious when compared with the letters lately published. The draft expresses the opinion of those who were responsible for it that 'special inconvenience and mischief have been caused by the delegation of the powers of the governing body to a small committee;' and the hope is further uttered that 'your action may in the future be less impeded than it has hitherto been.' But the special words, which Dr. Hornby might well have recalled, are somewhat remarkable:

We wish to express to you a feeling of deep sympathy at the present time. The governing body of Eton have passed upon you, *without hearing you in your defence*, a very severe censure, which has been published in the newspapers. *In so doing they have followed a course which is almost entirely without precedent*, and which, if it were not known to be altogether undeserved, might produce serious mischief to the discipline of the School.

The head-master's letter upon the receipt of this document showed his appreciation of Mr. Browning's action.

Many thanks for your paper, which, I think, is very valuable, and would do great good to us, and perhaps, through us, to many other schools, especially if it comes soon. Two or three blows in quick succession will astonish the governing body a good deal, and fairly arouse the public. It may be necessary, I think, eventually to memorialise the governing body, the special commissioners, and perhaps Parliament on the kind of government to which we are subjected and its inconveniences.

And again,

I wish that the masters would sign the document as it stands; but of course, in so large a body, it is very difficult to get complete agreement. I trust that your draft will not be materially altered, still less suppressed, even though some refuse to sign it.

We believe that the draft in question was ultimately altered, and

that the action of the assistant-masters took another form; one fact, however, is beyond question, that, amidst doubt, timidity, and opposition, Mr. Browning stood forward boldly and honestly in support of the head-master, strongly urging his colleagues to afford him the aid and sympathy which he thought he had a right to expect. All this, however, would seem to have been forgotten by Dr. Hornby at the moment when a timely recollection might have enabled him to do a wise, just, and gracious action. To use the emphatic words of another assistant-master, confessedly the most learned scholar among Eton Masters, whom, by an undeserved and unprecedented supercession, Dr. Hornby has recently driven from Eton—'Unwillingness to admit the fallibility of his own judgment prevailed over every other consideration.' In spite of every argument and every remonstrance, Dr. Hornby determined to enforce his notice of dismissal.

Among those who urged him to reconsider his determination were forty-four out of the forty-six assistant-masters. If report speak truly, the memorial in which these gentlemen addressed the head-master commenced with the words 'we venture to approach you,' so that its language was in all probability respectful as well as courteous. So anxious were they, moreover, to avoid giving offence, that they scrupulously guarded the document from publicity, and when its existence had been alluded to in the Press, the senior assistant hastened to put forth the statement that in the 'letter' which the assistant-masters had addressed to the head-master they had 'carefully disclaimed expressing any opinion upon the merits of the case.' Of course, as a matter of fact the assistant-masters either did or did not know something of the 'merits of the case;' if they did,

their disclaimer of expressing any opinion does not weaken the fact that with such knowledge they requested the head-master to reconsider his decision to dismiss Mr. Browning; whilst, on the other hand, if they did *not*, their course evinces in a still greater degree their esteem for and confidence in Mr. Browning, whom, knowing him to be in collision with the head-master, they could not believe to have done anything worthy of dismissal.

But every effort to move Dr. Hornby proved ineffectual. Then, when all means of conciliation were exhausted, and *not till then*, Mr. Browning addressed the governing body, and claimed an appeal to them from the action of the head-master. Thereupon the governing body came to a resolution that it was 'not competent to them to enter upon the question of the legality of Dr. Hornby's conduct in giving notice of dismissal to Mr. Browning,' but they also 'requested Dr. Hornby to furnish them a statement of the circumstances under which he resolved on taking that step.' Subsequently, at a meeting held four days later, they resolved that 'the governing body, having considered the statements laid before them by Mr. Browning and the Head Master, are of opinion that no action exists for action on their part.'

The precise meaning of this resolution has never been officially explained. No doubt it would be the construction that it was intended to express approval of Dr. Hornby's course of action, as such has been the interpretation placed upon it by a portion of the Press. As, however, has been already stated, the matter has been differently understood by persons likely to be well-informed upon the subject, who believe that the governing body merely intended to convey their opinion that it

was not such as to justify in dismissing Dr. Hornby, they believed to be the only one of 'action' open to them. was that, in the Rugby case, governing body found that had no power to replace the assistant-master (Mr. A. Sidgwick) as Dr. Hayman had dismissed, as Dr. Hayman did not re-him, they dismissed Dr. Hayman, whose successor re-appointed Mr. Sidgwick. In the case, it is said, the governing body simply came to the conclusion there were not sufficient grounds for dismissing Dr. Hornby, therefore that they could do nothing. In support of this view, as at least a conclusive proof they by no means approved or rescinded the charges which the governing body believe Dr. Hornby to have brought against Mr. Browning, it may be mentioned that a *clearity of the governing body* have, in his dismissal, given strong grounds for Mr. Browning in support of his application for an assistant head-mastership. At whatever may have been the intention of the governing body, the result has been that Mr. Browning has been dismissed without opportunity whatever of defending himself against Dr. Hornby's charges, or even of stating what those charges actually were. This, then, is the position of affairs in which any assistant-master may find himself at any moment, and for which a preventive remedy is earnestly desired. It must be remembered that Mr. Browning, in his letter to the governing body, had scrupulously refrained from attacking Dr. Hornby, and only defended himself against such charges as had been brought by the head-master in their conversation and the subsequent order of dismissal. Again and again has he pressed to be permitted to see Dr. Hornby's 'state-

ment,' but this the latter has persistently refused, so that here is an accused person actually condemned and punished without even a sight of the indictment *against him*.

It is scarcely surprising that this Eton proceeding should have aroused the fears of the assistant-masters of other Public Schools, and that a general uneasiness should prevail among this valuable class of men. Read by the light of this recent occurrence, one can understand why more than one assistant-master has retired from Eton during the past year, and why two of the best remaining assistants have lately been candidates for other masterships. It would require a great amount of confidence to feel any degree of security under the absolute power even of a man of well-known tact and tried discretion. Unfortunately, these are not qualities in which the present head-master has shown himself specially pre-eminent. We have already alluded to the year 1873, when he was at variance with the governing body, and published a circular complaining of the 'grave censure' which they had passed upon him with reference to his support of the assistant-masters in making certain additional charges; again, last year we find him committing a lamentable indiscretion in encouraging the visit of the 'American revivalists,' and putting forward the extraordinary defence that the contemplated 'service' for which the sanction of the Eton authorities had been demanded was upon the same footing as the existing institutions of Windsor Fair and Ascot Races, the promoters and patrons of which have certainly never deemed such sanction requisite. More recently still we have had the 'supercession' to which allusion has already been made, and the consequent retirement of

that the action of the assistant-masters took another form; one fact, however, is beyond question, that, amidst doubt, timidity, and opposition, Mr. Browning stood forward boldly and honestly in support of the head-master, strongly urging his colleagues to afford him the aid and sympathy which he thought he had a right to expect. All this, however, would seem to have been forgotten by Dr. Hornby at the moment when a timely recollection might have enabled him to do a wise, just, and gracious action. To use the emphatic words of another assistant-master, confessedly the most learned scholar among Eton Masters, whom, by an undeserved and unprecedented supercession, Dr. Hornby has recently driven from Eton—'Unwillingness to admit the fallibility of his own judgment prevailed over every other consideration.' In spite of every argument and every remonstrance, Dr. Hornby determined to enforce his notice of dismissal.

Among those who urged him to reconsider his determination were forty-four out of the forty-six assistant-masters. If report speak truly, the memorial in which these gentlemen addressed the head-master commenced with the words 'we venture to approach you,' so that its language was in all probability respectful as well as courteous. So anxious were they, moreover, to avoid giving offence, that they scrupulously guarded the document from publicity, and when its existence had been alluded to in the Press, the senior assistant hastened to put forth the statement that in the 'letter' which the assistant-masters had addressed to the head-master they had 'carefully disclaimed expressing any opinion upon the merits of the case.' Of course, as a matter of fact the assistant-masters either did or did not know something of the 'merits of the case;' if they did,

their disclaimer (expressing an opinion does not taken the fact that with such knowledge they requested the head-master to reconsider his decision to dismiss Mr. Browning; whilst, on the other hand, if they did not, their conduct evinces in a still greater degree their esteem for and confidence in Mr. Browning, whom, knowing him to be in collision with the head-master, they could not believe have done anything worthy dismissal.

But every effort to move Dr. Hornby proved ineffectual. The when all means of conciliation were exhausted, and not till then Mr. Browning addressed the governing body, and claimed an appeal to them from the action of the head-master. Thereupon the governing body came to a resolution that it was 'not competent them to enter upon the question of the legality of Dr. Hornby's conduct in giving notice of dismissal to Mr. Browning,' but they also 'requested Dr. Hornby to furnish them a statement of the circumstances under which he resolved on taking that step.' Subsequently, at a meeting held ten days later, they resolved that 'the governing body, having considered the statements laid before them Mr. Browning and the Head Master, are of opinion that no action exists for action on their part.'

The precise meaning of this resolution has never been officially explained. No doubt it would be the construction that it was intended to express approval of Dr. Hornby's course of action, as such has been the interpretation placed upon it by a portion of the Press. As, however, has been already stated, the matter has been differently understood by persons likely to be well-informed upon the subject, who believe that the governing body merely intended to convey their opinion that it

case was not such as to justify them in dismissing Dr. Hornby, which they believed to be the only course of 'action' open to them. So it was that, in the Rugby case, the governing body found that they had no power to replace the assistant-master (Mr. A. Sidgwick) whom Dr. Hayman had dismissed, but as Dr. Hayman did not replace him, they dismissed Dr. Hayman, whose successor re-appointed Mr. Sidgwick. In the Eton case, it is said, the governing body simply came to the conclusion that there were not sufficient grounds for dismissing Dr. Hornby, and therefore that they could do nothing. In support of this view, and as at least a conclusive proof that they by no means approved or endorsed the charges which the public believe Dr. Hornby to have made against Mr. Browning, it may here be mentioned that a *clear majority of the governing body* have, since his dismissal, given strong testimonials to Mr. Browning in support of his application for an important head-mastership.

But whatever may have been the meaning of the governing body, the result has been that Mr. Browning has been dismissed without any opportunity whatever of defending himself against Dr. Hornby's charges, or even of knowing what those charges actually were. This, then, is the position of affairs in which any assistant-master may find himself at any moment, and for which a legislative remedy is earnestly desired. It must be remembered that Mr. Browning, in his letter to the governing body, had scrupulously abstained from attacking Dr. Hornby, and only defended himself against such charges as had been made by the head-master in their conversation and the subsequent letter of dismissal. Again and again has he pressed to be permitted to see Dr. Hornby's 'state-

ment,' but this the latter has persistently refused, so that here an accused person actually condemned and punished without even a sight of the indictment *against him*.

It is scarcely surprising that the Eton proceeding should have aroused the fears of the assistant-masters of other Public Schools and that a general uneasiness should prevail among this valuable class of men. Read by the light of this recent occurrence, one can understand why more than one assistant-master has retired from Eton during the past year, and why two of the best remain. Assistants have lately been candidates for other masterships. They would require a great amount of confidence to feel any degree of security under the absolute power even of a man of well-known talents and tried discretion. Unfortunately these are not qualities in which the present head-master has shown himself specially pre-eminent. We have already alluded to the year 1873, when he was at variance with the governing body, and published a circular complaining of the 'grave censure' which then had passed upon him with reference to his support of the assistant-masters in making certain additional charges; again, last year he found him committing a lamentable indiscretion in encouraging a visit of the 'American revivalists' and putting forward the extraordinary defence that the contemplated 'service' for which sanction of the Eton authorities had been demanded was upon the same footing as the existing institutions of Windsor Fair and Ascot Races, the promoters and patrons of which have certainly never deemed such sanction requisite. More recently still we have had the 'supercession' to which allusion has already been made, and the consequent retirement

an assistant-master of long standing and high reputation, who has stated that 'nothing but the sense of what was due to "my" pupils and their parents would have induced me to put up with such treatment' as that of the head-master 'for a single day;' and as a climax to the whole we have now the unexplained dismissal of another assistant-master at three months' notice.

Such things as these cannot but have a tendency to make men pause before they determine to embark upon a professional career which is liable to be cut short at any moment by the caprice of an individual. No one doubts that the head-master of Eton is a man conscientiously desirous of doing his duty, and that he believes that, in all that he has done, he has acted for the good of the school entrusted to his care. But it is not sufficient that the head-master of a great school should be conscientious; he must have tact, judgment, good temper, and discretion; moreover, if he is to succeed, he must have the art of reading the characters of men, and of knowing how to govern his subordinates and work with them. In a school of more than nine hundred boys, and between forty and fifty masters, it is not possible to bring everything and everybody down to a dull, dead level. There must and will be differences of management, of method, and of capacity among the assistant-masters, and the skill of the head-master should be displayed in directing their various powers so as to secure the best general result.

Well managed, and treated with friendly confidence, the under-masters may be, in reality as well as in name, 'Assistants' of no small value to their chief. But if they are made to feel that the power of the latter is subject to no check or control whatever, and that no length of service can secure

them against the possibility of sudden and arbitrary dismissal, cannot but follow that their energy will be relaxed, their spirits damped, and their power of doing good work seriously impaired. This must be borne in mind, more than that we are not speaking of a class of men over whom it is at all necessary that arbitrary power should be employed in order to secure conformity to rules and loyalty to the system under which they work. The assistant-masters at our Public Schools are, in the main, men who have distinguished themselves at one or other of our Universities, and understand thoroughly the routine of life.

They may of course be other men err, but there appears to be no valid reason why they, among Englishmen, should be subject to a punishment well equivalent to ruin, at the pleasure of one individual, without the opportunity of demanding that the offences which they are charged with should be clearly made known to them, and the opportunity of claiming a fair and impartial trial. No pretence of necessity of supporting authority and enforcing discipline in Public Schools can be justly set up as sufficient to deprive these of the most ordinary rights.

But if it be admitted that the grievance of the assistant-masters is incontestable, and that there can be no legislative remedy clearly laid out, the precise form and nature of that remedy will be an anxious subject for consideration. Upon this point, a glance at the position of persons similarly situated in other countries becomes interesting and instructive. A few years ago Emperor Napoleon sent to England two special commissioners (M. Demageot and Montucci), to inquire into our Public School system, and these gentlemen have since published a work which

is a Continental handbook on the subject.

As to the dismissal of assistant-teachers in France, M. Montucci, under date of December

Minister of Public Instruction alone has the right of dismissal, *subject to a previous opinion of the accused before a special commission*.

Let me add, that such a case has not yet happened, *since it would require a serious offence to arrive at such a result*.

may be mentioned, moreover, in the article in the French Code of Instruction with this subject, after providing for the appointment of the special commission, goes on to say: *l'culpé sera admis à présenter sa défense, selon qu'il le jugera convenable, de vive voix ou par écrit*.

So that in France the conviction of an assistant-master is an opportunity of meeting charges against him, is happily a possibility.

In Germany, the position of assistant-masters is still more jealously guarded. Mr. Matthews, in his well-known work, *Our Schools and Universities in Germany* (page 87), thus writes upon the subject:

In France the Minister (of Public Education) can dismiss any functionary of secondary instruction; in Prussia he can suspend him and stop his salary for a time, but he cannot of his own authority dismiss him. Directors and Upper Masters are under the jurisdiction of the Court of Instruction for the Civil Service (*Disciplinary Court*); this Court is a judicial body of its members belonging to the Ministry of Education; and any complaint requiring the dismissal of a Director or Master must be tried before it. The sentence of this Court there is an appeal to the Minister; but he is bound to refer the case for hearing the appeal, two referees, whom must be a member of the Ministry of Justice: and their decision is final.

Complaints of like gravity against assistant-masters (*ordentliche Lehrer*) are tried by a provincial board, which, like the Court of Discipline, *hears counsel and examines witnesses on oath*; from the sentence of the board there is also an appeal to the Minister, who appoints in this case one

referee, but the referee, before deciding the appeal, has to take the opinion of the Court of Discipline.

From these extracts it will be seen that the 'status' of assistant-masters in Germany is superior to that enjoyed by the same class in France or England, and that even in France they are better protected than in our own country. Various suggestions have been made for the improvement of their position in the latter, and we are given to understand that several head-masters are of opinion that some alteration in this direction has become necessary. Indeed, Dr. Hornby himself has intimated a similar view, for in the published correspondence he writes, under date of October 18:

I should be only too glad if there were an appeal, and if you can get one I shall rejoice. I have often said this of late years, feeling how valuable it would be to a head-master. Indeed, it is almost necessary in such serious cases as this that he should have some superior to whom he can justify his course.

It may be doubted, however, whether a simple appeal from a head-master to a governing body would be the most satisfactory method of solving the present question. When the head-master had once decided upon the dismissal of an assistant, it would be difficult for him to retain his own position after the formal reversal of such a decision upon appeal. It would probably be preferable that the power of dismissal should rest with the governing body, but that they should be set in motion by the action of the head-master, who might complain of the conduct of any subordinate whom he found himself unable to control, leaving it to the governing body to decide whether remonstrance or punishment were necessary, and if the latter, what should be the measure of that punishment. By this method there would be no undue interference with the ordinary dis-

cipline of the school on the part of the governing body, and the head-master would remain as now the channel of communication between them and his assistants. It should also be provided that any assistant, against whom such complaint was made, should have full opportunity of defending himself and of answering any specific charges made against him. Of course Parliament could, if it deemed a further appeal necessary, give one from the decision of the governing body, either to the Home Secretary or President of the Council (as corresponding most nearly to the French Minister of Education), or to one of the Superior Courts. Anything which would improve the status of assistant-masters, recognise their profession, and elevate it before the public, will probably react with advantage upon the educational system of our Public Schools.

Meanwhile, great authority might and should be left to the head-master. In his hands should still remain the appointment of the assistant-masters, and it might be further conceded that he should retain the absolute power of dismissal, say at three months' notice, until an assistant should have gone through a probationary period of two years, by which time his fitness for his office would have been fairly tested. But, after such probation, some better security than he now possesses should be given him, either by the plan already suggested, or by some other alteration in the present law.

By restricting the right of dismissal to cases in which the head-master has made a complaint, there will be less temptation to the governing body to interfere unnecessarily between that functionary and his subordinates. This, indeed, is not to be desired, although it might often happen that the timely intervention of a mutual friend, armed with some official authority,

might prevent such misunderstanding as that which has occurred at Eton. There indeed exist an official at Eton the person of the Provost, who, being on the spot, is expected by the governing body to see their duties duly carried out, and to give judicious and discreet advice in all probability have prevented the mischief which has happened in the present instance. But there are two ways in which a Provost at Eton may discharge the somewhat delicate duties with which he has been entrusted. He may, if he please, without unnecessary annoying interference with the head-master, give him much assistance, and at the same time, by kind and well-timed advice to the assistant-masters, he may render infinite service not only to them but to the general management of the school. On the other hand, if he lack the wisdom and discretion to play such a part as we have ascribed, he may constantly annoy the head-master by irritating interference in matters of detail, aggravate instead of smooth down difficulties, and when called upon as to regulations by the assistant-masters may draw him up, and standing upon his dignity as chairman of the governing body, refuse to give an opinion upon any point with respect to which he has that exalted capacity, he may after he has been called upon to act as he should. It is not for us to decide whether the above descriptions most nearly describe the action of the present Provost, but it is impossible not to regret that, during the course of the recent controversy, we have seen no sign whatever of his having the great influence of his position to moderate acerbities, promote reconciliation, and support the general wish of the assistant-masters that the hasty decision of the head-master should be reconsidered.

are those who believe that course would have not only coming, but was actually not upon the Provost, and only regret that it was not. Moreover, it is known Provost and head-master communication up to the Mr. Browning's dismissal one of the points connected with dismissal, and it has even suggested that for that discharge the Provost is, at least in possible. But even if the only gave advice to the Provost with respect to his removal of Mr. Browning, his decision sitting in judgment as a member of the governing body to dismiss a gentleman's appeal, would not require justification. At the same time, it is certain, that on every day of the dismissal the Provost left Eton for a distant place and remained there until after the meeting of the governing body, alleging that he 'had no power to interfere,' and made no effort whatever to make an attempt to avert the mischief apprehended.

There are, doubtless, several causes in the constitution and management of our Public Schools which may hereafter be considered as a source of disadvantage. To-day we have to deal with one special point only. If the class of men which assistant-masters are at present drawn is not to deteriorate ;

if energy, industry, and the devotion of the best part of a man's life to the education of youth should be sufficient to entitle him to some security in a position which he has obtained by his own hard work ; if, in short, a man who has adopted education as a profession is not to occupy an inferior position to that of similar men in the great Continental nations, and to be worse off than any member of any other profession in our own country ; then alterations in the direction which we have indicated must be accepted by the Legislature. They are the natural sequel of the first legislative interference with our Public Schools ; which, in recognising and dealing with these as national institutions, has made it necessary that everything appertaining to them should be imbued with the spirit which pervades our national legislation, and has rendered it impossible that, in institutions which Parliament has taken under its care and for the government of which it has made provisions, arbitrary and irresponsible power should be allowed to exist, and one especial body of Englishmen, whilst following a useful and honourable career, be singled out and paraded before the eyes of their countrymen as the only class whom the wisdom of the Legislature has seen fit to leave exposed to condemnation without trial, and punishment without appeal.

E. H. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN.



THE PROPOSED BYRON MEMORIAL.

I.

THOSE who happened, like the present writer, to be in Willis's large room in King Street on the afternoon of the 17th of last July, heard a highly characteristic speech from a man of world-wide celebrity. The Premier—political First Man, by election, in the British Empire, and moreover notable in literature—expressed his undoubtedly genuine and strong feeling of admiration for a certain English poet, and urged the duty of raising to his memory a national monument. The speech was not long, but it bore the marks of careful preparation, and was delivered with all that measured solemnity which is characteristic of this orator.

The array of living representatives of literature on the platform could not, considering the occasion, be called imposing; besides the distinguished chairman, it consisted of Lords Houghton and Stanhope, Mr. Matthew Arnold, Mr. Frederick Locker, and Mr. G. A. Sala. According to the *Times*' report the meeting was 'large and influential,' the 'body of the hall was crowded to excess,' and the proceedings were 'very enthusiastic'; but this view of things (like many which appear in the same newspaper) had certainly a large share of subjective colouring. There was plenty of room in the hall from first to last, and the enthusiasm was of a remarkable mild character, befitting the polite atmosphere of 'Almack's.' A gentleman who was on the platform said to us, next day, 'What a failure it was!'—so far may eye-witnesses differ. Let us come at once, however, to the feature of the day—Mr. Disraeli's speech. It is worth recalling, and so we will give

it here, almost *literatim* throughout and in its essential parts entire so. The 'cheers' and 'loud cheers' proceeded mostly from the platform and its vicinity.

After some usual words, Mr. Disraeli, with almost funny gravity, proceeded thus: 'In the 12th year of this century a poet was published by a young man who instantly commanded the sympathies of the nation. There is no instance in literary records of success so sudden and so lasting. To use his own words: "He awoke one morning, and found himself famous." From that time for twelve years he poured out a series of complete inventions, which are unequalled for their number and the consistency of purpose in the literature of any country, ancient or modern. (Cheers.) Admirable for many qualities, for their picturesqueness, their wit, their passion—they are most distinguished by their power of expression and by the sublimity of their imagination. (Cheers.) And then, after these twelve years said the orator, very slowly, and dropping his voice to a still more sepulchral tone, 'he died. He died, say, in the fulness of his fame, having enjoyed in his lifetime a degree of celebrity which has never fallen to the lot of any other literary man, not only admired in his own country, but revered and adored in Europe. (Cheers.) How is it, then, that after half a century has elapsed we are met here for the first time in public meeting to devise some means of a national expression of admiration and gratitude to qualities so transcendent? It has been said as some reason for this strange and dark neglect, that the private character of this poet was not as illustrious as his public one. What

a century has elapsed, private character is scarcely an element in estimate of literary genius. (Cheers.) But of his private character it may be said that it was guineous, and that of it little is known; and there is no in this room—ay, I would even in this country—that upon subject can presume to give a true and precise opinion. (Loud cheers.) But then it was said, as a mere excuse, that his works were deficient in morality, and that he indulged in too free speculation on those subjects which human mind can never penetrate, but which it is organically adapted to reverence. And yet it must be remembered that he was in an age of contracted sympathies and restricted thought, and much which he then questioned has since been surrendered. (Cheers.) He fell, which he undoubtedly led into many erroneous conclusions on divine subjects, it may be urged in him that [with extremely deliberate emphasis] *he was very young*. Lyndhurst, speaking of Canby dying at fifty-six, said, “Why, as a mere boy!” Byron was twenty years younger when he died, in any speculations upon his character and career this element in his wonderful character and marvellous career should never be forgotten. It should always be remembered, I say, that we are talking on the life of one who, those whom the gods love, grow young. (Cheers.) During fifty years that have elapsed, during which no public meeting has ever been called to recognise his merits, a chorus of poetasters has unceasingly worked to decry his abilities, and ultimately even to deny his genius. (Cheers.) No one has ever travelled in Greece for a moment question the value of Byron as a poet of the first class. He has impressed his mind on that country more than

any poet who has existed since Homer. (Cheers.) There is not a cape, a promontory, or a column that he has not touched with the fire or suffused with the sweetness of his song. If you follow him in his Italian residence, you will find that Italy was to him a source of scarcely inferior inspiration. But the last and greatest of his works does not depend upon local interest. It will remain, as it is now recognised, a great and unexampled picture of human nature, and a triumphant effort of the English tongue. (Cheers.) We are met here, then, to-day, at last to do justice to one of the greatest of England’s sons (cheers); what form your feelings should take it will be for you to decide.’ After alluding to his visit more than forty years ago, in company with Byron’s son-in-law (present at the meeting), to ‘that Albania which Byron celebrated,’ Mr. Disraeli concluded—‘For myself, though I presume not to dictate to this assembly what form their feelings should assume in this respect, I will express my individual desire to see in some public place a semblance of this great spirit, so that the English people when they pass shall recognise one of the greatest masters of the English language.’ (Loud cheers.)

II.

Men able to throw their backward gaze to the first quarter of the century can testify of their own experience that during Lord Byron’s too short career no name rivalled his in general notoriety save one—that of Napoleon, and that of all poetry Byron’s was most admired.

Besides the qualities of his writing, there were adventitious circumstances that greatly enhanced this notoriety. His light was by no means under a bushel, but set conspicuous, and aided by numerous multiplying

and magnifying mirrors. His satirical retort on the 'Scotch Reviewers' had no wide effect, though it made his name known in literary circles; but the two cantos of *Childe Harold*, 'written for the most part amidst the scenes which it attempts to describe,' and picturing for the first time in English verse many anciently famous and recently talked-of localities, which in those days were practically as remote from the majority of readers as is now the interior of China, shone out like a comet. The author's title was no small help. The rumours which were even then afloat of his darkly romantic personal character and adventures had their share in heightening public curiosity. Next came in quick succession what may be called the Turkish Tales. People were greatly delighted at the importation direct from the Levant of such splendid novelties as minarets, muzzins, topkaims, calpacs, caftans, capotes, bulbul, ataghans, caloyers, symars, chibouques, tambourgis, tchochodars, camboloios, and a thousand other curiosities. Something new and striking was wanted in narrative poetry. Scott was the only recent minstrel in that sort who had really found the sympathies of the generality, and they had begun to be satiated with border knights, feudal castles, and Gothic windows, and Scott himself to be tired of the business.

Lord Byron after his return to England had been living as a man about town in some of the 'fastest' sets, getting deeply into debt and only saved from prison by his peerage, and continuing to be much talked about for various reasons. Then followed his marriage, his separation, his second and final flight from England. Much outcry rose against him, but even this only sounded his name more loudly in men's ears, and doubtless increased instead of lessening the demand for his poems.

Travelling by Belgium and the Rhine to Switzerland, he wrote more cantos of *Childe Harold* striking while the iron was hot (of the secrets of his power), describing scenery in the freshness of first impressions, and gleaned poetic spoils on the recent field of Waterloo, and in the then unvisited mountain vales of Switzerland and art galleries of Italy. I wrote quickly and published with little delay (though not without careful revision and amplification in the proofs); a method entirely suitable to his genius. His London publisher knew his business, and Byron, too, being noway deficient in worldly shrewdness, took pains after his boyish petulance had subsided, to keep on good terms with several of the most influential critics of the day. To Gifford, editor of the chief English review (also published by Murray), I was 'affectionately yours,' and completely made up his quarrel with Jeffrey, editor of the rival *Edinburgh*.

His passage through Switzerland produced *Manfred* and *The Prisoner of Chillon*. He took up his abode in Italy, living chiefly in Venice, where he resided in a palace on the Grand Canal, and kept what has been called 'a harem' but the phrase is very unjust to that legal Oriental institution, for Byron's inmates were loose as low women, his least scrupulous acquaintances were shocked and disgusted by his manner of living and his subsequent liaisons with Countess Guiccioli was looked upon by those around him as a happy sign. At this period he wrote his five Plays, two 'mysteries' (*Cain* and *Heaven and Earth*), and then sixteen cantos of *Don Juan* which remains a fragment.

He had now grown tired of Italy and tired of writing—he may seem odd enough to say—but *I do not think it was*...

But as Moore tells us, of fame had become necessary to him as the air l, and he was resolved es of the world should d on him.² He used to boy, 'I will some day or troop, the men of which ssed in black, and ride on s. They shall be called lacks,' and you will hear performing prodigies of

rich vacillation, he re- to Greece and join the he insurgents against pression,—albeit of the lways had a most con- opinion—'plausible ras- all the Turkish vices, r courage.'⁴ His health in 'a precarious state,' etter to die doing some- othing.'⁵ He landed in 24, and after a fit of ase, and a subsequent er, died April 18, in his th year.

gh the period of his ation his name had ntly in the ears and he public; in journals , and even pulpits, in s and clubs, literary private conversations, so familiar, the subject h praise and blame rd Byron. Even those es and actions which tured to defend gave natter for discussion to his notoriety. The s of mysterious crimes ; remorse, which hints in tings assisted to keep vays varying in form. er the practical ques- l to present itself— a course of life vicious,

and, in fact, an outrage on social humanity?' the answer was ready: 'Pooh! we all know what gossip and scandal are; how grossly things are exaggerated. Byron is not a puritan, never pretended to be, but he is no worse than a thousand others at home and abroad. His separation from his wife—well, who can venture to say how much of the blame was his? The act after all was *hers*, not his; and we hear she is a frigid, tiresome, didactic woman, who tried to lecture her fiery lord into tameness instead of coaxing him. The "harem" report is the kind of nonsense people always invent and repeat; and as to Childe Harold, and Manfred, and Lara, and the rest of them being adumbrations of their author—who is idiot enough to confuse Macbeth, and Hamlet, and Othello with the personal William Shakspeare?' Thus with ceaseless strokes of pro and con, countless pairs of battle-dores kept the name of Byron, a gleaming shuttlecock, perpetually aloft and in motion. Remoteness and the romantic names of Venice and Genoa aided the glamour, and his death 'in the cause of Greece' was a fortunately heroic finish.

The history of the Poet's life, carefully arranged and coloured to make the most favourable impression, and interspersed with his clever letters and diaries in a modified and expurgated form, was the work of his particular friend Thomas Moore,—the autobiography, which Byron deliberately confided to Moore for the press in due time, being found 'too gross for publication'⁶ [Gifford, consulted thereon by Mr. Murray]—'the second part full of very coarse things,'⁶ Moore himself reports This cunningly manipulated 'Life,' by Moore remains the accepted por-

Moore.

² See chap. 51 in Moore's *Life*.

³ *Life*, &c. c. iv.

⁴ *Letters*, 42.

⁵ *Letters*, 549.

⁶ *Life and Letters of Thomas Moore*. By Lord Russell. May 1824.

trait of Byron; but even there, garbled as it is, the true lineaments could not be concealed. Mr. Disraeli takes upon him to term Byron's character 'ambiguous,' but—whatever doubts may hang over particular circumstances—his general habits of life, the prevailing hues of his thoughts and feelings, are known to us with a very unusual degree of distinctness.

III.

The mode of defending his character which has been just mentioned, is precisely that adopted, in its least scrupulous form, in a certain novel called *Venetia*, in which Lord Byron is avowedly 'shadowed forth,' or rather illuminated, by all the devices of eulogy. *Vivian Grey* and *Contarini Fleming*, by the same author, are full to overflowing of Byronism, both in manner and substance, though it is true that the vehemence and the magniloquence of the original are often caricatured in the imitation.

The fact, indeed, has long been well known to many, that Lord Byron has been the chief object of Mr. Disraeli's literary hero-worship, almost from the cradle, and continues to be down to the present moment. There is nothing in the least surprising in this; nor perhaps even in discovering indications in the recent speech in King Street, that Mr. Disraeli still occupies the line of defence as to Byron's social character and conduct which, as has been said, he took up in *Venetia*.

Mr. Disraeli allows that Lord Byron 'indulged in too free speculations on those subjects which the human mind can never penetrate, but which it is organically formed to reverence,' and that 'he fell into many erroneous conclusions on Divine subjects.' But in making these remarks, Mr. Disraeli does not speak to the purpose (ex-

cept, indeed, the purpose of the moment); he decidedly, to very vulgar phrase, has *the word by the ear*. Byron was not one of those men who feel an urge to promulgate new and daring theories in opposition to those which are accepted in their time and place. He sneered at Christianist doubt, the doctrine of the T. Eternal Punishment, and so as men of the world did as but he neither fell nor rose to any conclusions whatever on these subjects. And on human subjects, in which department he was interested and influential were his 'speculations' and 'conclusions'? These phrases, to a writer of note, suggest something systematic, philosophical, founded—careful researches, convictions. Byron's case was of a clever man of pleasure, whose views of life are engendered by his own moods and casual impressions; his speculations were those which occur to such a man in his cigar: conclusions of the importance he never arrived at, or strove to arrive at, on any matter. Putting 'Divine subjects' out of the question, his attitude towards human subjects was the least that of the enthusiast of new opinions (right or wrong). He sneered at marriage and ties, not because he had formed a speculation, much less any conclusion on the subject, but because he was sensual and self-willed; he had been born and bred in the contagious atmosphere. In truth be told. He had had his fun. He indulged freely in it from his school-days. From his school-days up he mocked on every opportunity at any notion of virtue or conjugal faith.

At a certain time in his life he was advised that it was prudent to marry a well-to-do wife, and he accordingly got married in all the ordi-

(sneering at them all the—his letters to Moore at me are odious). Brigham's doctrines on the relations sexes may not deserve much on, but he has some, or as to have; Byron had none, such as sprung from bodily mental habits of libertinism. It was in partnership with

Wit he undoubtedly possessed but if you were to cut out jests that turn on adultery and innuendo, you would leave but

Disraeli says that, after fifty years 'private character is scarcely present in the estimate of literature,' the truth of which Disraeli is in any case not self-doubting; but when the question is of an whose private character is itself into every pore and of his public writings, and it is proposed to erect a national monument to him in token of admiration and attitude, then the consideration of private character most decidedly cannot be left out. If the sculptors to the monument could show their eyes to it, those who look upon that monument, were with a passing glance, could not. Lord Byron's character and writings are perhaps more valuable than those of any other who ever lived. In fact, the talent and vitality of his verses depend upon their strongly graphic nature. The 'concomitant of purpose' which, according to

Mr. Disraeli, runs through his poems, is to us only recognised in the form of perpetual allusion.

It, then, was the private character of this poet, which is so inextricably mixed up with his poetry and fame? 'Of his private character it may be said that it was obscure, and that of it little is known; and there is no man in this room—ay, I would say, in this country—that upon

that subject can presume to give a definite and precise opinion.'

Now in one sense it is, of course, true of Lord Byron, as of every mortal, that no man can presume to give 'a precise and definite opinion' as to his private character: we never can know *all*. On the other hand, there are certain undeniable facts as to Lord Byron, which are as well established as any facts can possibly be, relating to his parentage, education, temper, and conduct. The pictures on which we rely are drawn most of them by his warmest friends, or by his own hand. If we may not venture to characterise Lord Byron's conduct in life with reference to some of the chief laws which bind civilised human society together, we may as well make a bonfire of our biography books.

But we must pass on quickly to consider the accuracy of Mr. Disraeli's description of Lord Byron as a 'poet of the highest class.'

IV.

The poetry which we read in our youth, and particularly that of the contemporary writers then in vogue, is the poetry which most deeply impresses us. Mr. Disraeli's youth was within the influence of certain London literary circles combining literature with fashion, and lay under the full blaze of the noble poet's (as Moore delights to call him) brilliant celebrity. It is no wonder if, to not a few of the men of that time who are still amongst us, the splendid reputation retains its Hesperian brightness, or has become, if less dazzling, even more lovely and adorable seen through the long vista of memory; and for Mr. Disraeli the charm must be especially powerful. His sympathy with Byron in matters of literary taste (and to these we would for the present confine ourselves) has from the first been manifest. Before the date of Byron's death, Disraeli

trait of Byron; but even there, garbled as it is, the true lineaments could not be concealed. Mr. Disraeli takes upon him to term Byron's character 'ambiguous,' but—whatever doubts may hang over particular circumstances—his general habits of life, the prevailing hues of his thoughts and feelings, are known to us with a very unusual degree of distinctness.

III.

The mode of defending his character which has been just mentioned, is precisely that adopted, in its least scrupulous form, in a certain novel called *Venetia*, in which Lord Byron is avowedly 'shadowed forth,' or rather illuminated, by all the devices of eulogy. *Vivian Grey* and *Contarini Fleming*, by the same author, are full to overflowing of Byronism, both in manner and substance, though it is true that the vehemence and the magniloquence of the original are often caricatured in the imitation.

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the Younger had already, we believe, tried his hand as a public writer, and about two years after that event his novel of *Vivian Grey* was given to the world. Vivian Grey is Byron's favourite melo-dramatic hero over again, transferred to the world of English politics; he is a social and parliamentary Corsair. His opinions and feelings are of the well-known 'Byronic' sort, translated into prose. Several pages of this novel, by the way, are occupied with remarks suggested by the Corsair—'that great work of your illustrious poet.'—'Ah! what a sublime work!—what passion!—what energy!—what knowledge of feminine feeling!—what contrast of character!—what sentiments!—what situations, &c., &c. Mr. Disraeli's taste for Byronism in language—his preference for the high-flown, declamatory, and melo-dramatic—displayed itself in his earliest work, and has continued to adorn his stories, his political essays, and his speeches down to the present day, almost unmodified by time.

Having made politics his profession, and in his own person 'dashed into the very heat and blaze of eloquent faction,'⁷ the clever antagonist of Peel gradually acquired much experience—after a sort—of men and affairs, which of course infused itself into his later fictions, and made them better worth reading; but as to style, his taste has continued unaltered; he adores *tall talk*, and is liable at any moment in his speeches or books to begin swelling and strutting about on tiptoe. There is in short in him, as there was in Byron, a great deal of the actor, and this in one who comes much before the public is far from an unpopular quality, is very likely to 'take;' people in general are often in the mood of a theatrical audience—ready to be stimulated and excited, and not too particular how, while

comfortable at the same time in underlying feeling that, after nothing serious is meant. What however, it be not past a when a man of this kind becomes Head of the Government of England is a question which our sons probably be able to answer distinctly than we can. But must not digress. Our business day is with literary matters.

V.

Mr. Disraeli being himself a Celebrity, any public and formal enunciation of opinion from a man cannot fail to have influence. It is not uninteresting to inquire how far in the present case influence is reasonable and right. Although a Prime Minister make a duke or bishop, he has official authority whatever to establish the literary rank of a man, and we must somewhat jealously estimate the value of his opinion on a question of the latter kind.

We are not here without means of judging. From Mr. Disraeli's writing in its most ambitious form we are able to gather a pretty notion of the sort of diction and style which he most admires. We have something more to guide. Here and there in his clever works he has given specimens of his poetry in various metres; readers may turn to them for themselves. But they may not be so ready to lay their hands so readily on *opus magnum* in verse—*The Revolutionary Epick*, first published in 1834, when the author was twenty-nine years old, and republished in revised form with a dedication to Lord Stanley, in 1864, when he was fifty-nine. It is, therefore, not an immature production. The original preface is reprinted, and so nobly characteristic a piece of writing that we wish there were room here for the whole of it.

⁷ Vivian Grey.

'It was on the plains
I first conceived the
Work. . . Deeming
hance too rashly, in
hour, a Poet, I cursed
that had placed me in
boasted of being anti-
and while my Fancy
d with my Reason, it
s my mind, like the
it was then playing
t in those great poems
he pyramids of poetic
falling and the fading
f less creations, the
er embodied the spirit
e. Thus the most
ent of an heroick age
the Iliad an Heroick
the consolidation of
verb of empires pro-
e Æneid a Political
ival of learning and the
cular genius presented
ivine Comedy with a
k; and the Reformation
equences called from
of Milton a Religious
the spirit of my Time
be uncelebrated?'
'standing upon Asia
pon Europe, with the
ont alone between us,
w of night descending
ntains,' Mr. Disraeli
For me remains the
y Epick.' And 'the
ays, 'first conceived
ay isles of the Egean,
l to mature, and in
mpose, on the shores
a, but not less famous
submits, however, but
ion of [his] creation'
nion, and should that
rable, intends to 'hurl
Limbo;' finishing this
reface in these words:
if it be permitted to
I hope, evolve a moral
ors and the governed
ruse with profit, and
ach wisdom to mon-
multitudes.'

Are we, it is natural to ask, for-
bidden to hope that this great
Work, in its complete form, may
yet be given to mankind? Mean-
while let us look at the three
'Books' which are actually in our
hands:—Book I., *Magros*. Book
II., *Lyridon*. Book III., *The Con-*
quest of Italy. *MAGROS*, who is
neither Scotchman nor Frenchman,
but a 'mighty sprite'—in short,
the *Genius of Feudalism*—appears
at the opening of the poem, along
with *LYRIDON*, the *genius of Federa-*
lism, before the throne of *DEMO-*
GORGON, each to plead his cause in
turn. Section I. is as follows:

Throned on an orb of light, his awful
form
By cloud translucent veiled, as mist conceals
The cataract, the terrors of his mien,
Ineffable subduing; darkly shone
The *DEMOGORGON*. Round his high estate,
Maintained their pride the spirits of his
host
In vast array. Bright beings like to morn,
With amethystine wings and starry crowns,
Rank above rank, in semicircled grace;
The chiefs in front, behind the inferior
sprites,
Till with the dimness of the distant sky
Mingle their blending wings; while broad
and bright
Spanning this solemn company, its arch
An iris spreads.

This does remind one of *Paradise
Lost*—but with a difference.

Demogorgon exclaims, 'Rise,
dread antagonists!' and the two
geniuses spring up together; but
Magros catches the *Speaker's* eye
(so to say), and is allowed to open
the debate. He describes in a highly
figurative manner the *Fall of the*
Roman Empire, *triumph of the Bar-*
barians, *rise of the Papacy*, &c. &c.,
being attended in his wanderings
on the earth by two beautiful youths,
who on their first meeting give him
this particularly clear description
of themselves:

Spirits are we,
And tho' the star-crowned choristers above,
Eternal praises round the Eternal Throne
Chanting, few emanations from the form

Divine, more reverence, than the mighty
sprite
In heaven called Magros, even akin to thee.
Me FAITH they call; my brother FALTY
hight.

Inversion is one of our author's favourite devices for heightening his poetic style, and it is possible that by sorting out these words some meaning might be elicited. The three companions find, in a place of tombs and ruin vast, a motionless and gigantic Old Man sitting on the ground, who has evidently seen better days, and is in fact the Pope—or rather the Catholic Church personified.

And as I watched
With breathless scrutiny that reverend face,
Behold a tear, a solitary tear,
Broke from those ancient eye-balls; down
that wan
Majestic visage rolling; then it sighed,
Not loud, yet strangely thrilling, and that sigh
Repeat unearthly echoes: on each branch
Blasted, their mystic wings the visions flap,
The dragons, in their dens obscene, their
tails
Lash flaming, mid the serpents' gloomy hiss.

This, it will be owned, is sublimely terrible, and the solitary tear remarkably touching. They kindly pick up the Old Man, hand him his sceptre, set his triple crown on his head, and lift him again on his throne; proceeding afterwards to new adventures, in which we regret we are not able to follow them. LYRIDON must in fairness have a word or two, and we will choose a gentler scene, where he 'meets a beautiful maiden on the banks of the Rhine.' Here are sections xix. and xx. of Book II.—

xix.

Heights castellate,
Quaint towns, fair farms, and morn-illuminated sails,
Mid carolling of birds, while through the vale
Of vineyards flows the river. As I gazed,
Than the dawn fresher, singing like the birds,
Came by a maiden. 'Who art thou, this morn
Golden, amid the meads of RUINE?' Slight blush

From pastime task uplooking, on
Of heartsease twining, she with voice:

'Of lovers too long parted, I the
My name OPINION: saintly moth
Long known to few, yet by those few
From my majestic sire by wicked
Long parted but in vain; for in the
By hand of holy man united was
PHYSICAL STRENGTH and MORAL
love

I the true pledge; my infant how
Knowledge and Truth the nursing
And never dying Hope, who by the
From deathlike trance awaking,
With crimson flush.'

xx.

'Long honoured and long
Thy parents, in their cause long
To blend their fates. Ah! can
dream the woe
Withering, their loves have
fawn-like eyes,
Glancing around, unconscious of
Would form a current swift
stream
That rushes at our feet.'

Lyridon, in company with
emigrates to America, where
sumes

'Of stainless Washington the

In Book the third
comes on the scene, pledges
to Lyridon, invades Italy,
his triumphal entry into

He comes! he comes! Amid the
peal
Of bell and cannon, and the
Upon his prancing steed Naples
Upon their awe-struck vision.

Want of space compels
frain; but before closing this
we cannot resist a few lines
most charming of subjects
inspirer of poetic rapture
say Woman?—

A silk

Erst in a tyrant's hall, fair Woman
With step permissive; trifle or
Or bauble flung aside with cold
Of higher deeds man musing
now;
But heaven descending, in celestial
Man inspiration finds: A teen
Of heart-ennobling fancies and
Crystalline. O'er his various life

ying spell. With all his moods
ding ; sigh or smile, she shares
and the philtre of her power
sympathy !

be recollected that the
the Poem, of which these
s form the beginning, en-
he hope,—not in immature
as a passing fancy—be-
t he had a good chance,
ing the peer of Homer,
ante, and Milton. This
in sober seriousness.

diction and style our ex-
e some notion, but none
eariness caused by long-
ge after page—at once
monotonous—of personi-
d artificiality, turgid lan-
wkward verse, pompous
lace in thought, confusing
ion of tawdry imagery.

ever perceives in the *Revo-*
Epick anything to suggest
of the *Iliad*, *Æneid*,
media, and *Paradise Lost*,
reasonably look up to
aeli as an authority on
of Poetry. Many—far too
enture to give judgment
most difficult and delicate
out there are few of these
give us so indubitable a
the value of their opinions.

VI.

is an ungracious and a
pleasant task ; but we
n loyalty to the High
self, and for the honour
great English poets who
mand our reverence and
e believe the fact to be
g from no slight fami-
th his works, and without
atest prejudice against
at—vigorous, copious, and
impressive as he is—no
d poet is so frequently
diction, loose and untruth-
agery, vulgar in versifica-
ren in thought, false in
t, as Lord Byron, none so

narrow and unwise in his life-philosophy, none so unwholesome in general effect.

Childe Harold, a rhymed diary of travels, broken off not concluded, could not in any case take high rank as a poem. But much of it is common-place and poorly written, and it is floated chiefly by a few isolated passages and lyrics—not one of which is really of the first order. In these, as in the *Tales*, we feel the movements of an irrepressible vehement nature, gifted with copious rhetorical eloquence, and some but no large share of that true poetic faculty which vibrates to the harmonies of the world, and communicates them by an unlearned though not uncultivated magic of words.

Let those who would judge of 'Spenserian' stanzas read in Spenser himself—say Mammon's underground realm, the Cave of Despair, or that glorious canto of 'Mutabilitie.' Before we talk of ranging anyone as 'a poet of the highest class,' let us be sure that we have made some serious attempt to estimate (speaking of native poets only) of the wealth bequeathed to us by Chaucer, Spenser, Milton and others, and in imperial profusion by Shakspeare. These great writers have not shrunk from showing us the dark side of human nature, from dealing with passion and crime, pain and death. But they do so with a constant sense of proportion and fitness. French critics used to accuse Shakspeare of making the stage a slaughterhouse, but it is to Byron one must turn to find death in its *physical circumstances* displayed and dwelt upon over and over again. After the horrors of description, he has nothing to say to us but this—always the same reflection—See ! a moment ago this was a human being, full of pain, pleasure, passion, agitation ; now it is a piece of clay, food for worms. Hamlet

is known to have meditated on a skull; and from Hamlet down to Werter we have had no lack of the expression of *tedium vitæ* in literature. It remained for Byron to represent a few morbid figures and call it the picture of life—to set his palette with colours of sensuality, pride, and *ennui*, and deny that nature had others.

The Byron Theatre is impressive (at least in youth) by its scenery, costumes, and decorations,—its pretty actresses, some rather scantily clad, and distinguishable mainly as dark or fair—and its one famous melodramatic actor who plays all the leading parts—the manager himself,—strong of lung, vehement in gesture, and ‘making his points’ with unfailing emphasis; a striking performer in his way. But frequenting this theatre is not good for the taste, nor good for the morals.

To mention Morality in connection with Art is a sure way to produce sneers, open or covert, among the *illuminati*. But, for all that, the question is one that must one of these days have a much fuller and closer examination than it has hitherto received, and be extricated, if possible, from the tangle of confusion in which it lies. As to the stereotyped Byronic hero, of ungovernable passions, diabolical pride and selfwill, and at the same time brave, generous, highsouled, and romantically (though illicitly) in love, it might be thought too unnatural a figure to have any serious effect; but if the ‘Penny Dreadfuls’ do our street boys harm, there can be little doubt, we think, that the companionship of these more magnificent Dick Turpins and Jack Shepherds is also degrading and injurious to the imagination of youthful readers of a higher class.

VII.

But we wish to say something of Byron's latest, and on the whole

most important work—a ‘great unexampled picture of human nature’ Mr. Disraeli calls it—that in which the capacities and tendencies of the author's mind and character are more and brilliantly expressed.

Byron, familiar both with Italian and English *moitié ottava rima*, took up this with a different result to I making it the vehicle of vigorous and pungent satiric people of note, and on many chief phases of human life, bined by means of varied narrative and scene-painting, and at flavoured throughout with cynicism and pruriency. It rambles through sixteen cantos, and ends in a fragment.

It was received, amid praises of its talent, with a loudly universal disapproval on grounds of morality and decency, all the friends and admirers of the author agreeing with the severest critics in lamenting its appearance, and deprecating its continuation. Mr. Murray refused to publish it, and the earlier editions appeared without either an author's name, or a publisher's. The friends and flattered Jeffrey felt bound to speak thus severely in the *Edinburgh Review*:—‘We have an indelicate, very clever, scene of the young man's concealment in the bed of an elderly matron, and of the terrible rattling and audacious eloquence with which she repels the suspicions of her jealous lord; this is merely comic, and is coarse; but, then, the poet endeavours to make this shameless and abandoned woman address to her gallant an epistle breathing the spirit of warm, devoted, pure, unalterable love, thus profane the holiest language of the heart indirectly associating it with the most hateful and degrading sensualism. Thus are our notions of right and wrong at once confounded.’

nce in virtue shaken to
ion, and our reliance on
fidelity at an end for
this it is that we com-

s there any good reason
iversal cry of 'Shame!'
called *Don Juan*? If so,
ason since that time lost
and why? Is it now-
commendable to general
nd admiration? These
ns surely worth asking.

re, perhaps, few readers
literature who have not,
ecretly, read some parts
an, but not nearly so
have gone through it
ming to end; and of
, few could be thought
o sit in judgment upon
s of art. But there are
nts in it, considered in
as to which the major-
mpetent and impartial
o should give due atten-
o piece would, I think,
to agree.

e, generally, is flowing
the language and tone
cultivated man of the
shrewdness, humour and
often by admirably
ic rhymes) are undeni-
is, moreover, an air of
mastery, which now and
nes brag—as indeed a vein
ns all through Byron—
n the whole to be, up to a
it, natural and allowable.
tistic defects, however,
substance and style, are as
y visible. *Donna Julia's*
he odiousness of which,
ffrey most justly animad-
qually wrong in point
it of character for her,
place in general.

pwreck has been much
at, though striking in
it is decidedly unsatis-
ows bad taste, bad feel-
The far too numerous
pieced together out of

extracts from various narratives of
shipwrecks, often hitched word for
word into verse and remaining un-
combined into any poetic whole.
This is not the way in which Shaks-
peare, or even Scott, uses prose mate-
rial or brings scenes and events
before us. There is abundant bad
taste in the attempts at comic effect
by mixing tragic terror and physi-
cal pain with burlesque, sometimes
of a most disgusting kind. Byron,
in a letter to Mr. Murray (August
12, 1819), laughs at somebody who
objects to this 'quick succession of
fun and gravity, as if in that case
the gravity did not (at least in in-
tention) heighten the fun.' The
'fun' in the lengthy description
of the starving sailors driven to
cannibalism is heightened with a
vengeance; it would be hard to find
in all literature anything so vile and
sickening as some of the details.
We might compare Shakspeare's in-
terweaving of tragic and comic—for
instance, in the grave-digging scene
in *Hamlet*, where the humour flows
entirely and naturally from the cha-
racter of the speakers—were it not
at any time the worst kind of pro-
fanation to use Shakspeare's name
in this connection. Those who
speak of him and Lord Byron in a
breath are not profitable to argue
with.

The Siege of Ismail has similar
faults to the Shipwreck, though
it never falls to the same depth
of offensiveness. It is very much
too long, and composed out of
a *cento* of extracts from books.
If along with Byron's copious lan-
guage and vigorous manner (though
always without depth or refine-
ment) he had possessed a stronger
sense of poetic proportion, he might
have done a powerful and valuable
picture of a Shipwreck and another
of a Siege in a tenth part of the
space now occupied. What he has
done are, on the whole, failures. That
sense of proportion (half the battle
in every art) would also have saved

him from expending so many lines on the incidental figure of the country girl in Canto XVI., and from other similar mistakes. The poem is avowedly rambling and desultory; yet it must retain form and proportion, and especially where it presents definite pictures it cannot escape the necessary conditions of poetic art.

Vraisemblance, in the moderate degree requisite in such a work, is often neglected in *Don Juan*. The young Spaniard, leaving his mother's apron-strings for the first time, finds no difficulty in conversing freely in Turkish, Roumanian, English, and we know not how many tongues. When he submits to don other female attire in the harem (an incident on which the plot there depends) no motive is suggested; he is first utterly indignant and defiant, and then yields without the ghost of an argument. His soldiership at Ismail, his courtiership at St. Petersburg, his diplomacy in England, his familiarity with English habits and manners, are all quite extemporary and astonishing; the more so in descriptions professedly realistic and knowing. Such liberties are allowed in farce, not in comedy. But, indeed, 'Donny Johnny' (as his inventor called him) cannot on any terms be accepted as a delineation of human character. He is as much a masquerading character as Childe Harold, and the others.

Don Juan altogether is too long, —we mean accepting the author's aims. It is a fragment in sixteen cantos, and if Byron (as he once thought of doing) had carried his hero, after various English 'affairs,' —among which a *crim. con.* was evidently to be prominent—to Italy, and thence to France, to be cut off at last by the guillotine in the Great Revolution, it is difficult to imagine the com-

pleted work as other than. The jibes at marriage and adultery are already numerous, the clever (which, especially in cantos, often degenerates into slovenliness, and even into slovenly liberties for effect), the sarcasms, the dissertations, the turns, are of a particular kind, and the friendliest reader would say, has had enough of them. There is no true feeling or insight; no but various sympathetic picture of human character. Here where, it is neither prophet (denunciatory satiric) whom we have but an extremely clever sneering, *blasé* Lord Byron. *Don Juan* is 'an unexaggerated picture of human nature' is true that it is a picture there and base.

VIII.

Lord Russell, speaking of Byron (in his preface *Life and Letters*), on the philosophy of life is an exclamation which well be left to answer there, indeed, anything serves to be called *Philosophy of Life* in his poems?

We wither from our youth, we
Sick—sick; unfound the beam
the thirst;
Though to the last, in verge of
Some phantom lures, such as
first—
But all too late,—so are we
Love, fame, ambition, avarice
same;
Each idle—and all ill—and none
For all are meteors with a diff
And death the sable smoke w
the flame."

Is that it? or,

* *Childe Harold*, iv. 124.

Love is vanity,
beginning as its end,
tis a mere insanity.⁹

asonable, must get drunk ;
s is but intoxication.¹⁰

se and similar passages,
l sincere enough, where
aps a Philosophy of Life
ved from a careful study
writings in general—
hat is it likely to do for

aven! think of the wis-
gnity, the humility, the
the variety, the religion,
ity of our true Great
ternal benefactors. Did
nothing of the dark
our life, its pains and
load their pictures with
And compare their men
moping Harolds and
ians, these masquerading
ing Corsairs, Laras, and

long the divinely radiant
hakespeare's women—Mi-
dita, Rosalind, Beatrice,
Juliet, Ophelia, Imogen,
Desdemona; and turn if
without a smile to the
allery of Zuleika, Medora,
'arasina, Myrrha, Donna
dee, Dudu—all in the
and in various degrees
Byron's habitual estimate
in general, by the way,
y closely with that held
f Shakspeare's men—
go. In Aurora Raby he
etch of a pure English-
it there, too, the devil
y jogging his elbow.
rious (we say it in pity,
ame), to consider how
ron's experience of Eng-
really was—of the society
Englishwomen how ex-

tremely limited. The poor lad, it
must be owned, had an exception-
ally unlucky infancy and boyhood.
To have such a father that his
death was no misfortune, was in it-
self the greatest of misfortunes.
With his termagant, vulgar mother
(amusingly sketched in *Venetia*),
he could not live a day without
violent quarrel. His childhood
never knew a home. After leaving
Harrow, he 'passed his time between
the dissipations of Cambridge and
London,'¹¹ although 'the inadequacy
of his means to his station was
early a source of embarrassment
and humiliation to him.'¹² He took
pique against his guardian, Lord
Carlisle; all but refused to shake
hands with the Lord Chancellor
when presented in the House of
Lords; and persisted in standing
aloof from the society natural to
his age and rank. At the very
outset of life, he had, according
to his friend Moore, 'anticipated
the worst experience both of the
voluptuary and the reasoner'¹³ (i.e.
the sceptic); and at the age of
twenty-one, 'chilled and sated'¹⁴
left England, and was absent two
years, visiting Greece, Asia Minor,
&c. After his return, in his twenty-
fourth year (when he published
the first two cantos of *Childe
Harold*, and woke famous one morn-
ing); he lived 'about town,' among
'fast' men of the clubs, with a sea-
soning of the green-room and the
prize-ring, condescending now and
again to a fashionable ball or dinner
party. After some three years of this,
running always deeper into debt,
he married Miss Milbanke, and a
little more than a year after, was
separated from her. Two months
later, at the age of twenty-eight,
he again quitted England—for ever.
He had never been at home in
any decent English circle. So far

⁹ *Don Juan*.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Chronology* in Murray edition of Works; and Moore.

¹² Moore, chap. vii.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Moore.

as appears, he had never been on terms of intimacy with any pure-minded woman except his wife, of whom he tired in a month, if not sooner. Of his sister—his ‘sweet sister’—the less said now and hereafter the better.

Dismal and doleful retrospect! An unhappy character—a most miserable career!

IX.

We deeply regret that this Byron question has been brought forward again. Certain respected names appear on the subscription list, and one is forced to remember that old glamour, laxity mistaken for liberality, unwillingness to seem harsh or churlish, often take effect where more positive motives are wanting. On the other hand, ‘national admiration and gratitude’ are solemn things, and when a formal and permanent declaration of these is claimed through the voice of England’s (though but *pro tem.*) Foremost Man, a word of protest is allowable—is necessary—from those who object. ‘Strange and dark neglect’ is a phrase which only Mr. Disraeli could have had the audacity to use. Fame has shouted herself hoarse with the name of Byron; the

printed copies of his ‘w as the sands of the sea number, and his portrait leaves of the forest.

Yet there are persons—believe neither few nor—who are deeply convinced that Byron, in spite of his abilities, is not one of those who merit a National Monument, in gratitude and admiration, to be raised. His example is not to be followed in particular. He neglected his duties as Englishman, as legislator, and as peer of the realm. Throughout his career he has debased and ridiculed the regulations that make human society possible, worse, defiled the sanctum of the human heart itself. His life is no well-spring of refreshment, but a fountain of healing; his poetry is not a poet of self-will, mockery, or despair.

Perhaps one more word amid the turmoil of London, not matter much one way or the other, but if such things can still be posed to have meaning, we must ask—why this ado about a Byron Memorial? *Implora pace—the epitaph he envied, rest, perturbed spirit!*



THE MOBILISATION OF THE ARMY.

BY A MILITARY OFFICER.

cheme for the Mobilisation of the Army is such a plan in advance, that to analyse its errors, most thankful spirit. Scarcely be expected effort of the Intelligence would give a picture of the chaos of difficulties might have puzzled even Von Roon. But half the force which only exists upon many defects which may still be easily seen and judicious criticism tend to the public

organisation scheme must not be compared with the Report of the Committee on the Organisation of the Field. That committee, headed by Mr. Cardwell, comprising Sir Garnet Wolseley and other distinguished officers, after nearly three years, immense labour laid down a plan of organisation for the 'British Corps,' with the stores, and the requisite for its effective

Of course the Intelligence Department took this as the basis of the scheme now

great advantage of that scheme is the plan that has been proposed, lies in the fact, that it now requires an expert to point out the deficiencies. Whilst it has existed as to what the British Corps, Division, Brigade, and whilst not commanding officer of a new what should be the strength, it was not surprising differences of opinion that Members of Parliament give up in despair

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any attempt to discover the actual condition of the Army.

But all this is now perfectly simple. We know how many Regiments of Cavalry, Batteries, and Battalions of Infantry exist, and the estimates show their strength. We know what should be their strength in case of war, and the reserves should be more than equal to the balance. If they are not so, we can easily detect the deficiency.

That this deficiency is something startling, a glance at the *Army List*, in which the scheme is published, will immediately show.

From this it appears that we have 77 battalions of Infantry in the United Kingdom. Judging from the experience of the autumn manoeuvres, these battalions could not turn out, fit for the field, an average of 500 bayonets each. Now, as the field strength of a battalion in time of war is 1,066, we start with a deficiency of 43,582 men, or more than one-half the force in the infantry alone. At present the reserves, which have never been called up, are supposed to amount to 7,500 men; but if every man answered to the call there would still be wanting 36,082 men out of a total of 82,082.

If we turn to the Militia the case appears nearly equally hopeless. The militia returns prove that the regiments detailed for corps organisation could not, exclusive of their recruits, turn out an average of 600 strong. Thus we have an additional deficiency of 48,464 men in the militia regiments proposed to be mobilised, without including those detailed for garrison duty.

With regard to the Cavalry to act in the field, these 8 Corps would re-

T

quire 48 regiments able to muster 480 mounted men each. We have only 22 regiments, and they could not on an average (for the regiments are of different strength) turn out more than 300 strong. Perhaps the greatest apparent blot in the whole scheme is the supplying this deficiency with Yeomanry. If there is one arm that requires long and special training, it is the Cavalry. After many attempts at a reserve cavalry system, the Continental armies are one and all coming to the same conclusion, viz. to maintain their cavalry at a war strength, and to form a small reserve to supply casualties. Yet it is actually proposed to mix up with regular troops raw cavalry that have had but eight days' training a year as regiments. The result would be not merely useless, but positively dangerous; and it must be remembered that the yeomanry, unlike the militia, can only be embodied when invasion is imminent, and 'a hostile fleet appearing on our coasts.' The experiment of using a small force of yeomanry at autumn manœuvres has been tried, and it has been found utterly impracticable to attempt to manœuvre them to any advantage with regular cavalry. Yet this is the force that it is proposed to employ, in case of sudden emergency, against the highly-trained cavalry of the Continent, always maintained at a war strength.

We now come to the Artillery, and it is in this arm that the deficiencies are the most striking. The new organisation has adopted the Continental system of Reserve Ammunition Columns. The reason is obvious. It was found in all the great battles of the last war, that whereas some batteries expended a very large number of rounds when in action, the average was not considerable, and it was therefore deemed inexpedient to block up the roads with large reserves of ammunition for each bat-

tery, when a more cent
of less amount would su

The 8 Corps which the *Army List* would require, or 120 batteries, is less than 63 batteries, 378 guns, deficient. Even the existing batteries are only two-thirds war strength, and will require complete reserves until none whatever till 1882. It is literally not a single Column existing for the army; and as these Columns carry not only the infantry but the infantry ammunition, the present state of our arms may be imagined.

Let us now turn to the E We find that each Corps 4 Companies and Field-pa toon troop, and $\frac{1}{2}$ a Telegra There are 21 companies v proportion of the field-pa toon troops, and 3 telegrap deficient. It may be urge would be unnecessary that Corps should be complete in toon establishment, but if to the 1st Corps we find t Divisions on one side of the and one on the other; th toons would appear to l requisite, at least in this on we do not possess a suffici toon establishment for me one-fourth of even the regul at home. With raw troop plete proportion of engine panies and field park would especially requisite, and tel communication would be lute importance.

The Military Police, who
 so prominently and
 in the Report of the Com
 the Organisation of the Arm
 Field, are entirely ignored
 Mobilisation scheme.

Having thus discovered deficiencies which are developed in the new Scheme of Mobilisation, we now proceed to review the various points which are most apparent in the scheme itself.

most evident is the want of any regard to regular troops with yeomanry in the same way. The question presents the yeomanry and battalions, with their training, fit to meet troops of the Continent, to be in the field.

If they are, why are troops maintained by the Government when economical arrangements would suffice? The answer is itself, and it states the whole details of mobilisation.

The mix-up of regulars, militia, and yeomanry in different fixed systems is a violation of the whole spirit of the organisation of the Army, and other disadvantages. The mix-up of highly-trained troops in the field is a violation of all the best principles. The fact of the German field army is the fact that all the armies in Europe are short a time as the British takes no untrained troops in the field. Every link in the chain of equal strength. The mix-up of the two descriptions simply reduces the level of the militia. The Government is content on the least count, assume a highly-trained, with great marching power, combined with partially-trained troops cannot march away from the corps. Even the slowest horses and men regulate the pace of the body. A general in such a force must be so impregnated as if all were trained. He cannot select his enemy may attack, it is likely to select his own objective point.

Thus evenness of quality in an army is one of the first principles of military organisation.

If an enemy landed in England its force would certainly consist of highly-trained men. Could we judiciously meet them with mixed troops? and why should we do so, with highly-trained regulars lying idle in our garrisons?

The new scheme has one of two faults, either it ignores the combined offensive action of the whole of our regular forces, or it involves a separate and conflicting plan for this when one would suffice.

If the principle upon which the re-organisation of the Army was framed had been still adhered to, the advantages would have been manifest, namely 4 corps of regulars complete in everything for active service at home or abroad; 4 corps of militia linked to the regulars by corps, divisions, and brigades, and partially provided with artillery, &c.; 4 reserve corps of militia ready to take the places of the first 4 corps of militia in case they should be required in the field. Here is a regular chain of first line, supports and reserves effective for either offence or defence. This was the framework of Mr. Cardwell's scheme upon which all the expenditure on army organisation has been incurred, and it is a pity that it should be departed from. It is not necessary to ignore the spirit of the original plan, merely because, from the exigencies of foreign service and the difficulties of complete localisation, each battalion of militia could not replace in garrison the regular battalion with which it is coupled. If brigades, divisions, and corps were linked to special garrisons, every brigade of militia would know the garrison it should join if the regulars were ordered abroad, and the rendezvous that it should repair to if required for the field in case of invasion.

And the rendezvous for the

militia corps should be a previously-selected and entrenched position.

But this mixing up is not the only error, for we find 12 battalions of regulars left in the garrisons, whilst the dépôt battalions are entirely ignored. That there is a good show of reason in this, whilst no reserves exist to complete the latter, it must be confessed. But if the British Army were a reality, and if the organisation laid down by Mr. Cardwell actually existed, it is evident that the dépôt battalions would be raised to an effective strength by the calling up of the reserves, and could immediately replace the line battalions in their respective garrisons, thus setting the whole regular army free for active service in the field.

Here we again detect how utterly incomplete our present system would prove if it had to stand the test of war.

Of course the stereotyped reply may be given relative to the deficiencies in the regular troops: that the short service system will not be in complete working order for the infantry before 1882, nor for the cavalry until 1886. But it may be pertinently asked whether we can afford to remain with our Army in a perfectly inefficient state for want of reserves for the next ten years? With regard to the militia, no one has ventured to propound how the gaps in its ranks are to be filled by voluntary enlistment: and when His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge alluded to a modified ballot for this branch, as possibly being forced upon us at no distant date, he evidently spoke from the militia returns, which prove the utter impossibility of maintaining this force at its established strength, and that established strength is far below what would be required had these regiments to take the field.

Although England for centuries has not been seriously invaded, still the system proposed was tried

in Ireland when a small hostile force landed there during the great rebellion, and the British Army so constituted was utterly routed by French troops of only about a third strength. And it should be remembered that the militia employed had received a training far less than, considering the suddenness of modern wars, would be available in the present day.

Having thus dealt with the principle of mixing up highly-trained and partially-trained troops, now consider the way in which this has been effected. There is to have been no rule which acted as a guide in this respect; almost every corps differed in its mode of despatch of even one corps sent abroad throws the whole system out of gear. Nominally, the 1st corps has been kept ready for any purpose. But imagine the effect of the Buckinghamshire, Hampshire, and West Kent Yeomanry finding themselves some day suddenly ordered for China. They were withdrawn the moment they would be deficient in its division of cavalry. It will be seen on examination that the sending of 1st corps abroad interferes with 3rd, whilst the despatch of 3rd of regulars (and we could not hope to operate with any effect less in case of a general war) break up the whole organisation.

For example, supposing the 1st corps were ordered abroad, it must be replaced in the garrisons by a mixed corps, and draw another corps for its division of cavalry. But this would leave fresh garrisons, so a part of 3rd corps must be called upon. In 3rd corps of regulars being required, and the utter disorganisation of the whole scheme is at once evident.

Let us now examine the tactical positions occupied by the different supported corps and divisions. The 1st corps, which

presumed would be first for foreign service, has, as before observed, two of its divisions on one side of the Thames and one on the other. It has a division at Gravesend, another at Chelmsford, and a third at Colchester, with the cavalry brigade at Maldon.

Why Aldershot should not form the head-quarters of the 1st corps for embarkation it is impossible to conceive. It is our great camp where the troops are in the habit of moving together in large bodies, and where every convenience exists for collecting and organising the corps. It lies within easy reach of Portsmouth and Southampton, the two most convenient ports for embarkation. All its batteries of artillery are either at Aldershot or near to the southern ports of embarkation, whilst a part of the artillery of the 1st corps is at Sheffield and Newcastle.

Turning to the 2nd corps we find its 1st division at Aldershot, the 2nd at Guildford, and the 3rd at Dorking. Curiously enough, the cavalry brigade for this corps appears at Lewes, east of Brighton, and as the cavalry brigade of the 5th corps, which stands on its right, is away at Yeovil in Somersetshire, there seems a very considerable gap between the two.

The 3rd army corps (Croydon) has its 1st division at Croydon, the 2nd at Red Hill, and the 3rd at Tunbridge Wells, with the cavalry brigade at Ashford.

The 4th is the Irish Corps (Dublin), and has its 1st division at Dublin, the 2nd at the Curragh, and the 3rd at Cork, with its cavalry at the Curragh.

The 5th (Salisbury) has its 1st division at Salisbury, its 2nd at Warminster, and its 3rd at Gloucester, with its cavalry at Yeovil.

The 3rd division appears to be separated by a great distance from the rest of the corps in case of concentration.

The 6th corps (Chester) has 1st division at Chester, the 2nd at Liverpool, and the 3rd at Manchester. The cavalry brigade is at Crewe. Why it should be in rear of the infantry may at first sight appear extraordinary, but as examination it will be found to be composed entirely of yeomanry, this arrangement would seem desirable.

The 7th corps (York) has 1st division at York, its 2nd at Northampton, and the 3rd at Doncaster. Here again there seems to be a great separation of divisions. The cavalry brigade of this corps, curiously enough, for it is composed principally of regulars, turns up at Doncaster.

The 8th corps (Edinburgh) has its 1st division at Edinburgh, the 2nd at Glasgow, and its 3rd at Melrose, with its cavalry brigade all yeomanry, judiciously in rear at Musselburgh.

If we now proceed to examine the composition of the several corps we shall find a curious state of confusion. The 1st corps is composed entirely of regulars, except that it takes in 3 regiments of yeomanry as divisional cavalry. The 2nd has two divisions of regulars, but 3 regiments of yeomanry as divisional cavalry. The 3rd 1 division of regulars, but 2 regiments of yeomanry for its divisional cavalry. The 4th 7 battalions of the line and all its cavalry regulars. The 5th 5 battalions of regulars, but 2 regiments of yeomanry for its divisional cavalry. The 6th 1 brigade (3 battalions) of regulars, and all its cavalry as yeomanry. The 7th 1 brigade of regulars, and yeomanry for divisional cavalry. The 8th 1 brigade of regulars, and all its cavalry yeomanry.

It is difficult to understand up what system these extraordinary differences occur.

If we now turn to the garrison forces we find 12 battalions

regular troops doing garrison duty: whilst Chatham, perhaps the most important strategical position in the kingdom, is left without a garrison at all, and with nothing but a large staff of officers. This is evidently an oversight. The militia and volunteers forming these garrisons have no kind of organisation whatever, either corps, divisional, or brigade, and a further organisation of the artillery would appear desirable; thus, for instance, Tilbury, including only Tilbury, Gravesend, Coalhouse, Shornmeade, and Cliffe Forts, has 3 regular garrison batteries, 3 regiments, militia, artillery, and the whole of the volunteer artillery regiments of Middlesex.

It is very satisfactory to find that, including militia and volunteers, the guns of all the forts and fortified lines of the United Kingdom could be fully manned.

The unnecessary distance which some militia battalions traverse in case of mobilisation requires considerable correction; for instance, the Ayr and Wigtown, the Renfrew, and the Royal Perth militia find themselves at Dorking; whilst the Huntingdon turn up at Darlington, and the Hertford, Bedford, and Cambridge militia appear at Newcastle; thus actually crossing the brigade coming all the way from Scotland to Dorking. At the same time the East and North York are making their way to Melrose. Two regiments from the Tower Hamlets within a march of Dorking appear at Gloucester.

The immense distances travelled by the regular troops is quite as striking; for the 8th and 21st Foot from Fermoy and Buttevant, in Ireland, turn up at Colchester, in the East of England, whilst the 17th, 50th, and 100th from the Curragh, Birr, and Kilkenny, in the heart of Ireland, appear at Chelmsford. The system of moving Irish militia to England and replacing

them by English and Scotch, is doubt dictated by sound principle but here again, many of the battalions go over much unnecessary ground; for instance, the Gah militia appears at Horsham, Surrey, whilst the North and So Down make their way to Ye Erratic movements of the artillery are not so striking, but Battery 1st Brigade from Preston turns up at York, although troops at Preston and Manchester have no artillery.

That such mistakes should creep into this first attempt is by means to be wondered at. The labour of working out such a scheme from a chaotic organisation, and the British, can scarcely be imagined. Most of the regular troops quartered in the South of England whilst the militia regiments are course thickest in the most populous localities, such as Lancashire and Middlesex. This adds to the difficulty. But nearly all these difficulties would have disappeared if the system of forming the regular troops and militia into distinct units had been adopted throughout.

And certainly the volunteers appear to have been slurred over in a way which they scarcely deserve. It is true that certain garrisons are indicated to which detachments may repair in case of emergency but no organisation is vouchsafed to them. Now the volunteer regiments furnish the only battalions whose ranks would certainly be full in case of invasion. What doubts or certainties there may be relative to gaps in the militia and the regulars, there would be none in the volunteers. They are their own reserve by men constantly passing in and passing out of the ranks, and that nearly every man who had ever served in the volunteers would rejoin in case of invasion is beyond question. Their battalions would in consequence be immediately swelled to more than a full

length. Such a mass of new volunteers would flock in that 2nd battalion could easily be raised at their respective head-quarters, and the regiments would be only too ready to march as regiments wherever services might be required, instead of merely furnishing detachments to certain garrisons. It seems a pity that more attention has not been paid to applying corps organisation to this force, of which only one we can rely upon is complete in men.

It would not be necessary to form any volunteer corps with regular artillery or engineers, but once given a corps organisation, and left them in what they were devoted to, and they would soon begin to create those branches in which they would find themselves deficient. England is not a country requiring a large proportion of cavalry, and the volunteer force might increase the number of their light guns of position to an almost unlimited extent.

The present scheme seems at the first time to aim at too much and a little. We have no organisation for our small Regular Army that would enable us to take the field in any part of the world. We have a weak corps, of which one is deficient in artillery, three-fourths of which are deficient in engineers and transport, and the whole are unsupplied with the lately necessary ammunition wagons and the much required military police.

But in the United Kingdom we have 77 battalions of regulars, 130 battalions of militia, and 203 of volunteers; in all 410 battalions.

It would be sufficient for more than 19 corps, and there can be no question that the organisation of volunteers into corps would facilitate concentration; for instance, instead of a mass of volunteer detachments swarming into Portsmouth, and having to be then

formed into battalions, brigades, and divisions, how much simpler it would be to order a particular corps of volunteers to that point.

If the country sits down and believes that because this scheme of mobilisation has been framed, the troops composing it exist, this will only increase a delusion; but if the scheme forms the prelude to a more general and complete embodiment of the great mass of military forces in which this country abounds, and gives them beforehand cohesion, and the organisation into which they must fall if brought together in large bodies, it will be a boon of incalculable value. That it will induce the country to supply the extraordinary deficiencies that have been developed, there can be but little doubt. Those deficiencies lie principally in the want of strength of our cavalry regiments, the absence of complete reserves until 1886, and the paucity of field batteries; the extreme deficiency in the telegraph troops, pontoon troops, and engineer train; the entire absence of ammunition columns and military police; the low establishment of our infantry battalions, whilst the reserves are incomplete and never likely to reach one-half the strength that was contemplated, and on which the re-organisation of the Army was framed; the entire absence of any reserve to complete our militia battalions to a war footing, in case of emergency, and the absence of any plan for so doing. The remedy is not far to seek. We adopted the short-service system on a low peace establishment, and hoped to create an army without first raising it. The price of labour is constantly increasing, and we have not raised the pay of the soldier, present or prospective, in a proportionate degree.

We can hope for no way of completing the militia except by the ballot, which, although the law of the land, is supposed to be unpopular,

and therefore no one takes the trouble to show the country how lightly it would press in completing the present deficiencies if combined with voluntary enlistment, and a system of substitutes.

That something must be done there can be no doubt. The country has elected to hold to the system of voluntary enlistment for the regular forces, and to refuse conscription. It is right, but it must pay the price. To spend nearly fifteen millions a year on the army estimates, and to refuse the last two millions that would keep the whole machine in thorough working order is false economy.

The estimates of Germany, of France, and of Russia have nearly doubled within the last decade. Although the British revenue has been depressed for the past two years, we should remember that it has been progressively increasing at the rate of three millions a year for many years before. The greater part of that increase has been

devoted to a reduction of the army, and the country stands firmer in a more flourishing condition than any power in the world at the same time the horizon is far from clear. We have our interests at stake, and are ready when the emergency comes to spend with a lavish hand. Let us remember that science, steam, and railways have, on the whole, not only conducted to make war sharper, and decisive, and that the careful previous preparation is not the wasteful expenditure too late, that now paves the way to success.

If in the preceding paragraphs defects in the scheme of mobilisation have been freely commented on, give every credit to the department that has produced its first essay, and thus enable us to judge with truth and fairness of our many and various shortcomings, which we have it fully in our power to remedy, if we earnestly set to work.



RASER'S MAGAZINE.

MARCH 1876.

GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES.

By A VICTORIAN.

AND'S colonial empire, the vast commerce which men with it, are in large the product of the last century. There has been no time in which England has aged since the foundation of the Australian, the New Zealand, the South African, and even Canada herself, the close of the first Napoleon, gave little promise of the future of the present day. Therefore, as yet, have Englishmen been brought practically to face with the question, how we are to deal with our empire in the event of another war in which vast armaments are required to be provided for land and sea? Shall we break the connection with any terms? Shall we be able to defend them if attacked? Shall we be able to do so, if we are willing? Will it be at too great a cost, even if we are? No amount of sentiment can answer such questions. They must be dealt with in the 'dry' reason; for they are questions which, when fairly followed up to considerations which, as they are dealt with, may affect, for good or ill, the future of the British Empire. It is not possible to justify the

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policy of the 'peace at any price' party—if such a party now exist—it would be the tremendous magnitude of the issues of war, for the people of this country; for England's very existence as a people is now so complicated and interwoven with every part of the world, through her manufacturing and mercantile interests, that any event which greatly disturbs those interests must strike at her very heart. She is not a country all whose population could be maintained by and from her own soil; or, if it could, only by vast and difficult changes in her system, which would come slowly into operation. A large portion of her food, and the greater part of the material wherewith she is clad, come from other lands, purchased by the products of her innumerable factories and workshops. Any disturbing cause, therefore, affecting her commerce must in turn tell on her manufactures, and even partial paralysis of these would take away the bread of millions of her population. England, therefore, thus spread out over the globe, feels herself under a terrible necessity, by all lawful means—whether by purchase of a right of way through canals at a cost of four millions, or by maintenance of great armaments—to provide at least for self-preservation. Assuming that the means

and the public spirit of our people could be relied on for the providing of these armaments, would prosperity in peace and success in war be more easily secured with or without our colonies remaining portions of the British Empire?

This question may perhaps be almost answered by another—'Would England be stronger, having the command and the free and unrestricted use of all the colonial ports, than she would be were she excluded from them?' Her ships of war being everywhere, everywhere would they require bases of operation not only for refitting, and recruiting, and protecting her commerce, but also as stations whence they might with advantage sally out for the purpose of harassing an enemy. Privateers also, those 'wolves of the sea,' would be fitted out and licensed from every colonial port, and would sweep the Southern Ocean of any hostile merchantmen. The colonies would thus become outlying fortresses of Britain's strength, to an extent undreamt of in this time of peace. An *Alabama* and a *Shenandoah*, as we know, almost cleared the Southern Ocean of the Federal merchantmen; and in like manner our colonial privateers, in scores, might be as valuable an aid to England as armies in the field or fleets at sea. Thus far, it would appear that England must be very materially stronger by the retention than by the abandonment of her colonies.

But those who advocate abandonment say—'If relieved of our dependencies, we should be under no responsibility to defend them; and shaking off this liability, how many risks of misunderstanding with other powers might we not avoid, and, at least, how much money might we not save!' This is an argument which has been very commonly urged, and it is one much believed in by the Sepa-

rationists; but it is an argument which loses much of its probability when we bring it to the test of facts.

As I have already said, England's commerce being everywhere, the protection to her commerce must be equally everywhere. As her cruisers would be in every sea, and almost forming guard over every port, whether on the outside or inside of colonial harbours, England to shake off her colonies, then, she would abandon the advantage she might derive from the free run of their ports, and would save little or nothing by the operation. In every aspect of the case, therefore, it is difficult to see what gain, still less what increase of strength or security, could be to England by ridding herself of the colonies, although the colonies would become separated *their* fortunes from those of the mother-country.

For the colonies—and especially the Australian colonies—being outside the orbit of European politics, and never likely to involve themselves to be involved in European quarrels, may, so far as the affairs of Europe are concerned, remain at peace with all the world, while only war risks they can be to must come from their connection with the mother-country. The truth they are so intimately connected, that a strong party in the Australian colonies demand that they shall be allowed to be involved in the event of England being involved in a European war. Influential portions of the population have repeatedly insisted on this position, and even the Legislature of Victoria, through a select committee called 'The Federation Committee,' some years back, at the same point. Nor can it be denied that their arguments are of great weight. They say that

no voice in England's foreign ; that they have no more over England's differences than they have the movements of the planetary ; that they have no direct ; whatever in these differences and therefore should not be accountable for them. Specious, however, as are these arguments, they cannot prevail whilst the present relations exist; for could the Australians obtain the boon they seek, they might as well be altogether independent of the British crown. The very result itself involves a contradiction in terms, and in effect asks that the Empire, and by foreign nations alike, as an independent entity, which is a supposition never discussed.

It is not surprising, therefore, that those who advocate this form of liability are, after all, a numerical minority in the Empire, and that the great majority of the colonists consider that, if the partnership exists, it should be complete to all intents and purposes.

As to the Imperial connection, those who occasionally expatiate on the advantages of remaining a member of the Empire, as compared with the seriousness of becoming an independent, though separate, nation. They seem to feel that it is not to trust to the prudence of Imperial policy than to be altogether independent of it; and they apparently have cared to consider what is the nature of this connection which they contend, or the probable extent of that protection on which they are accustomed to rely.

Considering this, it behoves those who sympathize with the magnitude of the difficulties which might have before her, to be unhappily committed to the great war. It is probably

because past Ministries have so distinctly foreseen and appreciated these difficulties, that they have at times displayed what, to less responsible and possibly less thoughtful persons, may have appeared to be a spiritless, and even pusillanimous, foreign policy. For whatsoever other consequences may come of a war, there is one consequence which is inevitable—its cost. Great Britain, at the present moment, is uneasy under the interest payable on her seven hundred millions or so of debt. Another war would soon run this amount up to twice, or thrice, the existing amount. And although the principal might in the future, as in the past, be shifted to unborn generations, until they refuse to be buried under mountains of debt not of their own making, the present generation could not equally shuffle off the payment of the immediately accruing interest. New taxes for such interest would have to be raised at any rate; taxes of which all classes must bear their respective shares. But all classes—especially the poorer—are not heroic under exceptional pressure, and large portions of our taxpayers are very slow in perceiving or caring for anything beyond immediate consequences; and so, what with increased taxation, diminished trade, consequent diminished employment, possible bad harvests, a prolonged war might prove a truly heavy and prolonged tribulation to the whole British people—rulers and ruled. What, then, if Britain's power failed even adequately to protect her commerce, dispersed as it is over the earth; and what, if she could not spare sufficient armaments for the protection of her colonies: so much the worse for her, and more particularly so much the worse for them. Relying perhaps on the mother-country, they may not have armed themselves; and, like the ancient Britons, when left to their

own resources by the Romans, the colonists might discover, when too late, how much better is prepared isolation than blind dependence on others, who may fail their dependent friends at their utmost need.

Those, however, who rely on Imperial assistance are always ready to quote Lord Granville's cheering assurance—once given in an after-dinner speech—that England would spend her last ship and her last shilling in defence of her colonies. To which assurance, doubtless as sincere as most similar utterances are, we need only observe that it was an assurance given in a time of profound peace, and under circumstances imposing no particular responsibility on the speaker. Besides, Lord Granville spoke only for himself, and it was matter of notoriety, that at the very time he uttered these cheering words, more than one of his colleagues held very different views. Last ships and last shillings, although, as ornaments to an after-dinner speech, as cheap as the diamonds and pearls in the Vicar of Wakefield's family picture, become very serious, substantial, and costly things, when they are really wanted—i.e. in time of war. It cannot be forgotten that, during the whole of the Crimean war, there was no Imperial naval force of any account on the Australian station; and Melbourne was once almost frightened out of her wits by the arrival of the *Great Britain*, which coming up the port at night, and firing an exultant broadside to celebrate her release from quarantine, the tens of thousands of Melbourne citizens rushed about the streets convinced that their town was about to experience the tender mercies of a Russian man-of-war. The colonists heard nothing of last ships or of last shillings in those days; and even first ships, wherever they might be, were not then to be seen in the golden port of Melbourne.

If 'last ships and last shillings' then, must be accepted as the rhetorical ornaments of a speech, the talk about the great empire being part of a great empire, is much of the same unsubstantial and unmeaning character. In the present arrangement, what part do or can colonists play in the empire, be it what it may, great or otherwise? If, indeed, we judge from the empire's demands towards her colonies, they are regarded by her—we deeply regret to say it—much as butlers and footmen are regarded, namely, as appendages of some great establishment. They are the prestige and state of the household to which they are attached; they exercise no power, they command scant respect, and they are the subjects of a frigid and scarcely affording a decent pretext to contempt. And yet, compared with the little petty Republic of South America, and even with the petty kingdoms, England's leading colonies are really respectable. A Parliamentary Committee the other day elicited the facts—ascertainable before—that the public revenue of Honduras is 100,000*l.* a year. The revenue of the colony of Victoria alone, the creation of which exceeds four millions. The tiny kingdom of Greece is significant and stationary compared with Canada, or any one of the principal Australian colonies, of which Melbourne, Sydney, Melbourne, as Melbourne are the respective capitals. Yet, on the strength of requiring a sovereign State, the tiny little Greece, or of any of these petty and too frequently solvent Republics, is admitted into the diplomatic circle of the world of St. James's on equal terms with the German or French Ambassador. has a seat in the diplomatic circle assigned to him in our House of Commons.

liament; presents his credentials person to the Queen, and is an present and prominent figure ll state ceremonials or great entertainments in which the Mayor delighteth to tread in steps of the Court. See, on other hand, the mode of dealing the accredited representatives of greatest colonies and others of leading men. Only very recently they grudgingly received at t—a small distinction of so dim a acter that it has almost ceased e a distinction, and has quite d to be evidence of any par- ar social standing. An Agent- eral of a colony (only another e for an ambassador), if he de- never so much to hear a par- ar debate in either House of ament (a debate perhaps bear- upon some great colonial inte- , must take advantage of some urable member's good services the chance of a place; for Agent-General's position is guised at the Colonial Office , and only there because busi- must be done. A colonial op, whatsoever his virtues, his urs, or his attainments, is 'only onial.' In but one instance a colonial prelate ever been lated to an English see. Who- heard of a colonial governor *quâ* rnor dining with the Queen? n, on his return from duty, his merits, however great, nised by responsible home e- ment? From vicerealty and he drops down into a pension y sufficient to sustain him gentleman, is shelved, and tten. Sir George Bowen, the nt Governor of Victoria, when unded by past Governors at a t dinner given to him at s's Rooms, described himself 'living dog among dead lions.' leed, indications are not want- which might almost justify a cion that England is rather ned than proud of her colonies.

The Melbourne branch of the Royal Mint in its first dies had the word 'Australia' on one side and, of course, her Majesty's image on the other; a form of coin which at once, to whatever hand it came in any part of the world, showed the vast extent of British rule, and suggested (which was about the only advantage accruing to the colony from the possession of a Mint at all) the importance and attractiveness of Victoria as a dependency of the Crown.

But this distinctive word 'Australia' has been since, under Imperial authority, got rid of, and now the Australian sovereign to ordinary eyes is not distinguishable from those coined on Tower Hill. A few months back Mr. Mackenzie, the present Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada, whilst on a short visit to England, met, it is well known, with but very scant courtesy and respect from our leading men in office, a circumstance which doubtless must be remembered both by himself and by the great colony he represented. Of course, as one of the after-dinner commonplaces of the day, it has come to be considered the correct thing to refer to our 'noble colonies' as 'integral portions of the British Empire'; but everybody knows that, although they are in it, they are not of it, and, whether content with their humble position or not, they may as well plainly recognise it, and not hug the delusion that it is something other than it is.

Puzzling as this Imperial indifference respecting our colonies may be to many persons, the explanation will not, as I think, be found difficult to anyone who looks a little carefully into the origin and history of the relations of the mother-country to her dependencies. These dependencies have come into existence in a very quiet and unsensational manner; they have become by degrees large and profitable customers to

our merchants; they have, as they acquired wealth and importance, afforded governorships to gentlemen with sufficient Parliamentary influence and social position; but there has never been anything about their history or affairs to make them objects of much interest to anyone not immediately connected with them by family or by other personal relations. Consequently, there is next to no public opinion in England respecting our colonies, and even the most intelligent and the best informed of our public men know little or nothing about them. Even Mr. Forster, an ex-Cabinet Minister, naively admitted a short time back, in Edinburgh, that 'at first he did not find it easy to get reliable information as to either the actual or the relative position of these possessions, though geographical books by no means agreeing; but he had been most kindly helped by Mr. Wyld, who had compiled for him the maps they had before them, and had given him some statistics which he thought worth considering.' From Mr. Forster's expressed difficulty in obtaining information as to these possessions, it is evident that he was unaware that the Royal Colonial Institute and its various and abundant means of information were open to him, and that, if these were insufficient, there were no less than five Agents-General, with offices

in London, any one of whom could have supplied at a moment's notice all the information Mr. Forster required. It is plain enough, then, that, except for such special objects as those which set Mr. Forster collecting information, our colonies, even by the educated classes, are merely lazily regarded as a sort of outlying territories pre-appointed by Providence to send us gold, wool, and tallow, and hides, and preserved meats, and receive from us, in return, paupers and our promising sons,¹ whose outlook none of the brightest here. A colony thus regarded by the bulk of the English community is in effect a foreign country, but without commanding, in the mother-country, the respect and deference which the petty states and foreign sovereignties both command and receive. And the reason is pretty obvious. We undervalue what is our own; we especially we undervalue it if it has been obtained without cost. A young heir upon whom an estate has descended can never appreciate the pains by which it was acquired. In something after this fashion England has her colonies in possession, and condescends to retain them. Having nothing to get, or to hope from them, beyond what she is already assured of, she has no special motive for regarding them with any particular

¹ Most startling, as well as amusing, evidences of this truth occasionally crop up in the English press. In *Leigh's Weekly Newspaper*, of the 7th of November, 1873, will be found the following very curious report of a case disposed of, but not tried, before the Middlesex Sessions. The repetition of the name in full is not necessary to the present illustration.

'ROBBING A FATHER.' — 34, who pleaded guilty at the last *Sessions* of stealing from his father's house plate and jewellery to considerable value, was discharged on his father's and brother's bail, arrangements having been made for his emigration to Australia immediately. Transportation having been long since abolished, how, may we be allowed to ask, have the Bench of the Middlesex *Sessions* acquired a jurisdiction which not even her Majesty, or her Majesty's Government, can now exercise? Here was a felon, on his own recorded plea of guilty, allowed to exercise his election to emigrate rather than undergo penal servitude! The case must have been a very bad one, too, for the criminal was a mature one of 34 years of age, and prosecuted by his own father, who would not have been likely to expect his son in this fashion, unless it was 'the best thing that could be done with him,' although likely to be expensive to Australia.

tion. Thus we may observe that whenever a debate takes place in the House of Commons on any colonial subject, it is for almost clearing the air, and the whole discussion is conducted by a few such men as Parnell, whose habits and opinions have led them to estimate the value of the colonies, not by the fugitive intelligence of the moment, but according to their intrinsic importance. Parnells are few and far between.

The men indifferent to colonial interests are the millions. It is unfortunate for those enthusiasts who advocate the 'Permanent Unity of the Empire' that the law of nature, that the subject immediately pressing the sympathies or exciting the passions of the public, will, with the exception of the governors, always receive an amount of attention, and excite an interest which can never under ordinary circumstances be evoked for remote objects, remote from observation.

Advocates for what they call the 'Permanent Unity of the Empire' however, do not appear to be willing to admit, that there is a great deal in the above suggested objections to the realisation of their views. They contend that a yet to be devised, not only of the colonies interesting, but for incorporating them into the Empire; that some as yet of political machine, in the form of a great Federal Parliament may be constituted to give the colonies a share of legislative power in the Empire, so as to bring them to the front, and keep them in the pale, as satisfied as if they were continuous parts of British territory. Such a scheme has been often discussed, but no definite suggestions for its realisation have ever been made. That is the problem before

us? To make different members of an empire—separated from each other by thousands of miles of ocean, and having every variety of interest and objects, and liabilities and prospects—as effectually represented in one central Legislature as are Great Britain and Ireland. The task may not be an impossible one, but we yet wait the advent of the constructive genius who will show us the practical means of performing it.

One favourite plan of the Federalists is the representation of the colonies in the House of Commons, a suggestion which does not seem to promise very satisfactory fruits. Could representatives—we might ask—from our colonies be sent to the House without making it a more unwieldy body than it is at present? Whatever the number of colonial members—in any case, they could not be very numerous—they could hardly have very effectual influence in or over the general machine. Whether influential or not, would not the fact of their being there effectually bind the colonies to everything decided in the Chamber where they had a voice? Would they legislate for the whole empire, or merely on subjects confined to local interests? If for the whole empire, could any other member of the House be refused equal privileges? Surely not; and, then, how draw the line between questions over which a colonial Legislature has and will always claim exclusive control, and questions of a larger character? Again, how, or where, independent of such difficulties as the above, could we hope to get these colonial members of a confederated Parliament at all? From the colonies, or from the mother-country? If from the colonies, they must be either paid or unpaid. If paid, they would suffer disparagement among the unpaid members of the same Chamber; if unpaid, where

are the men to be got, fit or unfit? Most colonists have local business of some kind to attend to; how attend to this, and also attend a Parliament twelve thousand miles from their own business, and from their own constituents? If the members be home Englishmen, how could either the Post Office or the telegraph keep them informed as to the interests or wishes of such distant constituencies? These, and many other, difficulties at once spring up, and upon the mere statement of them, show the futility of any suggestion for what is called 'a confederated Parliament.' In short, such a Parliament, to work at all, calls for conditions which do not, and cannot, exist in such a case. Either the territory to be dealt with by a confederate Parliament must, however extensive, be continuous; or the separated portions must be territorially sufficiently close to each other—as in the instances of Great Britain and Ireland, or of the United States—to admit of Legislature and Executive being able promptly and adequately to represent and deal with all the interests concerned. Such portions of a territory as will not admit of this condition must sooner or later make other and separate legislative provisions for themselves. To attempt to bring the affairs of the Antipodes under a Parliament at St. Stephen's is an attempt to melt distance into proximity, to reconcile the irreconcilable, 'to solder close impossibilities and make them kiss.'

Another plan which has been advanced is the providing of an advising council of some kind, whose function should be to keep colonial interests steadily under Imperial attention. Will this bear criticism better than the other? Of whom, or what, is such a council to consist? What are they to do? What power

or authority are they to have? To whom responsible? What relations are they to have with the mother-country? What of the colonies? The suggestion of such a council would scarcely be worthy of serious criticism, if it is said to have received favourable consideration from so respectable an authority as Mr. Froude; it may be questioned whether Froude has ever applied his mind to this task with the critical care of a draftsman, who has to draw the legislative machinery for the use of the nation, and bring it from theory into action.

What then remains? Is there any alternative between some of the above plans or the continuation of the existing relations? Another alternative has been suggested—save absolute separation from the mother-country, which seems conformably with the expectations of all ages, seems to be inevitable for the younger country, like being sufficiently ripe, and shall fall from the parent's arms.

And possibly we are more such a consummation than we have any idea of. It depends on the mother-country whether it will come at once—in the next great European war there will probably be any meaning in the discussions which appear in the press of all nations, about the Henrys, powerful ordnance, ironclads, coast defences, Eastern questions, &c. therefore, to many worthy as is this idea of separation, let us look at it a little more closely and at the chances of its passing.

For this purpose the reader may consult with advantage two deliverances, one from Mr. M.P., and another from the public given to the public within a few days of each other. The prod-

* We understand, on good authority, that our contributor is mistaken in his view to Mr. Froude.

ster—generous, sanguine, savouring of ‘a cry,’ and shrinking from the practical—ertheless please colonists all world; the *Times*’ article—outspoken, and cynical, but calm in its way as Mr. Forster everse—will have different on different classes of colonies. It will disgust some and delight others. The sentiment under the *sprete injuria* weakness in all communities and especially in youthful will feel disposed to resent empty tone of the article, the less sensitive and more I will applaud the blunt mistakable frankness which knocks on the head the lip and last shilling’ delusion. then look at these two de-ces a little more closely, for represent diametrically opinions and policies touching nial question. Forster believes in a future federation of the parent colonies; he rises into ice as he contemplates ‘the possibilities of their future;’ recates and corrects the ex-tions respecting their cost, he shows to be trifling, even ose which cost anything; he and justly, that if the con-tinue, the colonies ought or jointly with the parent y the burden of their defen-they be defended at all; and s, ‘I believe that our union r colonies will not be severed, e I believe that we and they ore and more prize this union, come convinced that it can served only by looking for-association upon equal terms; er words, I believe that our d empire will last, because, ger striving to rule our colo-s dependencies, when they e strong enough to be inde-at, we shall welcome them as rs in a common and mighty . But if this be all I have to

say, why, I may be asked, come here at all? Who talks now of casting off the colonies? What more popular cry at present than the preservation of our colonial empire?’ After much more in the same strain, Mr. Forster discusses the possibilities of a federation; and at the end of his observations, on this point he says, ‘And now, if any of you has followed me thus far in the line of thought I have taken, he will, I think, be ready with the question—“If you think this future association possible, if you see no insuperable physical or moral bar to prevent it, in what way do you expect it to be formed; what kind of federation do you propose?” My reply is, “I am ready with no proposition. I believe any precise proposition would be premature.”’

Now this abrupt dropping down, from so eloquent a flight, into so impotent a conclusion, is certainly somewhat disconcerting, and begets a suspicion that, after all, the difficulties he feels about the federation scheme may not be very unlike those I have just indicated, and therefore such as he would rather not deal with, regularly, until ‘called in’ to do so. And, further, when he demands, ‘Who talks now of casting off our colonies?’ we may answer that many respectable authorities talk of it; that, besides Mr. Goldwin Smith, Sir George Campbell talks of it, and the *Times* talks of it, in the very article just referred to. ‘The idea of a Confederation,’ says the *Times*, ‘finds favour with some, perhaps, because it reduces to the lowest the British supremacy. We have rather inclined to the only idea actually justified by facts,—an independence so complete as to render union a voluntary act of the purest loyalty. But whether the colonies be dependent or independent, there comes the contingency of war, and it is with regard to this that we have often reminded the colonies they will have to look after themselves. They certainly

can, they must, and they will. We may do our best, but *the issue* may depend on the strength of the colonial defences. It is our duty to dispel any remaining delusion that England can cover all the earth with her wings. She is sorely taxed with what she has to do as it is, without being expected to guard the many thousand miles of coasts which Mr. Forster says have fallen to the lot of our race. Mr. Forster calls this mean and cowardly. He might as well call it cowardly in a father if he told his full-grown son to take care of himself, or of his own honour, inasmuch as nobody could do it for him. There is nothing so discreditable as a lusty, boisterous, and self-willed dependence. We cannot cover the whole earth with our wings, and it is fit that the truth should be told.'

Now, although it is true that the colonies are not here specially requested 'to walk out,' no other interpretation can reasonably be placed on the above passage. Like Voltaire, in his château at Ferney, playfully telling a visitor who stayed too long that he laboured under a delusion the opposite of Don Quixote's, in mistaking castles for inns, instead of inns for castles, the *Times*, as obliquely, but as unmistakably, shows the colonists the door.

Doubtless, as the *Times* says, 'England is sorely taxed with what she has to do as it is;' but whether England for defence purposes would be less sorely taxed without the colonies is a question of a very different kind, and certainly one to be answered until we endeavor to ascertain what are the resources proper to England herself, and diligently enquire how they are, are likely to be, affected by the colonial connection, or by a colonial divorce.

For this purpose, a recent writer in the *Economist*,³ in a very ingenious and interesting article addresses himself to this question, and he draws a comparison between the resources of Great Britain and those of other European States. Contending that, relatively to the nations of the Continent, we are much stronger now than we were at any time during the last great French war, he says, 'The change in the relative numbers of the population of the chief European States since those days have been of singular magnitude, and that it would not be possible to understand the politics of modern Europe without a clear conception of them. He proceeds to show the respective populations of Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, and Russia in Europe, as follows:

	Numbers 1811	Per cent. Total	Numbers 1871-5	Per cent. Total
Great Britain	12,000,000	8.7	27,500,000	12.8
France	29,000,000	20.8	36,000,000	16.8
1816				
Germany	21,000,000	14.8	41,000,000	19.0
Austria	28,000,000	20.0	36,000,000	16.8
Russia in Europe	48,000,000	35.7	71,000,000	34.6

and having set forth these numbers, he then proceeds:

Great Britain thus contained at the end of the Great War about 9 per cent. of the population of the Great Powers which entered into the contest, and at present it contains about 13 per cent., a very material difference indeed. Though still the smallest in numbers also, the disparity between it and any other

single State is much less. It was then less than half any of its neighbours, if we except perhaps Germany, which ought to be strictly speaking, to be reckoned a Great Power at all, at that time, in consequence of its disunion. Now, the population of Great Britain is about three-fourths that of each of its three neighbours, France, Germany, and Austria, and more than a third of Russia in Europe, whereas in 1811

³ *Economist*, June 19, 1875.

less than a fourth of that immense

the writer, however, conscious of population alone does not conceive the power of a State, says, in other passage of his essay :

the growth of resources has been at proportion—and it has been quickest in England—the change in relative force of the two countries (England and France) is immense, and may give some notion of what the relative power of England must now be towards France, of the numbers which France seduced during the Great War.

There are other passages of the writer bearing on the same points, the above are sufficient to show the drift and bearing of the writer's argument. Now, it is assuredly pertinent to the argument to enquire whether it does not omit several important considerations which demand our attention in discussing the main question. What is the composition of the millions whom he counts. Ireland, once fruitful a recruiting ground, has for years found it wiser to starve.

Turning to England and Scotland, we have but thousands of the fighting wealthy; the millions the unpropertied, who would require greatly care, perhaps, to fight for the defence of wealth for a single day, and loss of liberty, an excellent chance of being killed. Again, the position of England, with a National Debt of between seven and eight hundred millions hanging round her neck, is very different one from that comparatively unindebted position she was at the time of the outbreak of the last great war. As already observed, another great war would inevitably vastly add to the burden of a people who consider they are about taxed to the limit of their strength already. Great additional taxation would of necessity operate to drive many thousands of the population on which the *Economist*

writer counts to other shores; and it must not be forgotten that, as distinguishing our position from that we held in the year 1811, there are now many inviting countries, easily and, without cost, accessible to all classes of men; countries which, as places for British settlement, had no existence in the earlier period. Together with this great fact, people have changed the habits of their lives with the increased means of locomotion afforded by steam and rail. Neither must it be left out of account that the working classes, to whom alone we must look for our soldiers and sailors—the classes who make the wealth on which the *Economist* writer relies—have come to discover that their thews and sinews are worth something more to their owners than the price we offer (or can offer) for them as food for powder; and that only men who are not eligible for any more profitable pursuit will 'go for soldiers.' Even in these piping times of peace we find (a not unnatural result, having regard to Archdeacon Wright's recent and very important, as well as startling disclosures) that the class from which our soldiers are drawn show about as strong an appetite for desertion as for enlistment; and how can we expect a keener affection for so poorly requited a service in time of war than in time of peace? Very recently the Agent-General of New Zealand's emigration officers were required to quit Germany, because the natives of that country, anxious to escape military conscription, were getting off to our own colonies faster than was agreeable to the German authorities. Is it reasonable to expect a different spirit among our own population? To the lazy and the morally worthless, then, you must look for your soldiers; but to talk about patriotism, and defence of their country, to honest and industrious men, whose only properties are their strong

bodies (which it is not only their right, but their duty to their families, to carry, as the merchant does his goods, to the best market), is to talk a sort of recruiting sergeant's stuff, which all who reflect at all must feel to be an insult to their understandings. Here are the Agents-General of Queensland, South Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, one and all bidding against each other for able-bodied men and their families, and offering them free passages to these different colonies. Is it reasonable to suppose that a sane man, fit for any other human pursuit, would surrender his liberty and serve as a target for a few pence a day, when he may, as a free man, receive as many shillings a day, with a promising future before him in Australia or New Zealand? The question is answered every day in the increasing difficulties of enlistment, and the still more rapidly increasing emigration from these shores.

Having thus shortly, with the assistance of the *Economist*, taken stock of the present social and political situation of the mother-country (which scarcely seems to be in a condition to afford to despise the aid her colonies could bring), let us endeavour to prefigure her position, whether in peace or war, when relieved of her colonies. Even in peace, very considerable disturbance of our commerce would, of course, be inevitable. All hope of a common commercial policy between the mother-country and her colonies would be gone. That commerce which, as we are so often told—and with truth—has hitherto, under the influence of habit and a common nationality, 'followed the flag,' would henceforth have no particular flag to follow. It would gradually, under new and intruding influences, in a community so largely recruited

from so many various countries come broken up and distributed as was the commerce of the American Colonies after the American Declaration of Independence. The possible extent of this action we may gather from a part of the recent speech of Mr. F. already alluded to. The people of the United States are (as I mind his hearers) our customers to the extent of 17s. head only; the people of America consume our goods to the amount of 10l. a head. The commerce once destroyed, the main reason for observing friendly business relations would cease to operate; differential duties would be availed to the colonists, and might be resorted to at pleasure. The discontinuance of colonial appeals to the Privy Council, as a necessary consequence of the severance of political connection, would, of course, complete the work of driving these colonies to all intents and purposes foreign powers relative to Great Britain. Would this result which, when achieved, the parent State could be expected to regard with equanimity? In our country are growing up, from year to year, thousands of young men who, for different reasons, cannot go into, or are not fit for, professions, and are unable to find in our country other positions satisfactory to themselves or their friends who might go forth, as so many of them have already done, to achieve an honourable independence in any of these colonies; and our fair young English girls of education, now hopelessly on the shelf of single-blessedness, (as in the Canterbury Settlement at the present moment), as I wives, cheer such settlers' husbands. The dream in which some have indulged, to the effect that much of our future colonies

* An accomplished fact in Canada.

to take the shape of that of the
at Greeks—where, as Arch-
p Whately says, a colony was
yer' of the old country, a
on of the parent tree, with
twigs, and leaves embedded
sh soil—would be at an end.
'fresh soil' would for ever
to be distinctively English,
or ever would England, as a
er of deliberate policy, have
loned these (as Bacon calls
) 'ancient, primitive, and
cal works.'

But if these are unpleasant
ges to contemplate in time of
, they afford a still less agree-
prospect in the event of a war.
ould be a new and startling
tion to the readers of the
to be informed, as some
ing they would be informed,
her Majesty's ships had no
right in the harbours of Mon-
Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide,
din, or Brisbane, than the
ls of Russia, France, America,
rmany. Would such a piece
ws be likely to influence the
ict and issues of the struggle?
must suppose that an enemy
l go to work in the fashion
likely to expedite and insure a
success. Whether the shores
gland would be attempted or
perhaps in the days of circ-
onclads they would be—it is
bly certain that all the dan-
possible would be everywhere
ed on English commerce.
gold or a wool ship would
Australia or New Zealand
ould not be an object of
st attention to hostile ships of

The carrying trade of Eng-
might be thus destroyed at a

As much injury could be
ed on this country by attack-
er merchantmen as by attack-
er shores. Australian gold
ustralian wool would probably
it to San Francisco, to Ant-
or anywhere else, rather
to London; mercantile inge-

nuity would be exerted to the
utmost to avoid the risks attendant
on identification with any bel-
ligerent, and it would tax far higher
genius than that presiding at our
Admiralty to bring our Navy—
whether a phantom, or a solid
reality (for Mr. Ward Hunt has
described it both ways)—with credit
through such a strife. As to land
forces capable of keeping Russia
out of India, it would, of course, be
ludicrous to discuss them in the
face of the vast armaments of Con-
tinental powers. Even in the past,
England has frequently found it
necessary to raise large portions of
her land forces with English money on
foreign soil; an expensive operation,
which would not perhaps be possible
at all, unless in the future, as in the
past, we had cordial and powerful
allies on the Continent. Yet this
is the condition of things in which
many English public men, under
the leadership of their principal
journal, think it wise to cast off
our Colonies, and especially the
wealthier colonies, which cost Eng-
land nothing.

Something here—*non obstante* Mr.
Goldwin Smith—might perhaps be
said about 'the prestige,' as the
phrase goes, which England would
lose with the loss of her colonies.
'What is prestige,' Mr. Goldwin
Smith has demanded, 'but delu-
sion?' But '*Qui hæret in literâ*'
—as lawyers say—'*hæret in*
cortice.' If we are to call it delu-
sion, the same sort of delusion
underlies many of the powers and
principalities of the world; which
world, as we are frequently told, is
governed by ideas. Doubtless, if
sons would not fight for a parent,
or colonies for the mother-country,
the parent in either case is not, for
mere defensive purposes, much the
stronger in war, with such children.
But if these children are ready for
such defence, with purse and person,
they assuredly bring to the parent
something much more substantial

than Mr. Goldwin Smith's notion of prestige. It is probably because French and German writers habitually count on the active aid which could be afforded by colonists to the parent country in time of war, that they have said of England that, deprived of her colonies, she would be reduced to a second or a third rate power. And whether she were so reduced or not, it would be no small evil in itself if surrounding nations should come to think so. To seem weak, if it tends to provoke aggression, is *to be* weak to the extent of all the additional dangers it may involve. A stalwart old farmer, with half-a-dozen stout sons about him, in a disturbed Irish neighbourhood, might be the securer from the prestige he would have from such a formidable-looking family; although it is just conceivable that, in a faction fight, these sons would leave the old gentleman to look after himself; yet until this happened, his reputation for strength might be as serviceable for the preservation of peace as if these sons were as valiant and faithful as the case might require. Prestige, in short, is not the proper word here, if we are to be restricted to its merely etymological meaning, as Mr. Goldwin Smith proposes. Presumptive evidence of power is the idea we associate with the possession of our colonies. Such power may be, of course, very real and substantial, or merely as illusory as Mr. Goldwin Smith suggests, just as the colonies may or may not cordially co-operate with the mother-country, in a common policy. At the time of the Crimean war, a wealthy Australian colonist subscribed a sum of 10,000*l.* towards the prosecution of the contest, and promised a further thousand a year as long as it might last. Had he not approved of the object of the

war, it may be that he would have subscribed nothing. If it is challenged as a very uncertain support, it is at least as certain as the support of the people of the mother-country, which may or may not ultimately rest on the same opinion.

Shortly to recapitulate what has been submitted that the following propositions rest on fact and reason:—Great Britain would almost certainly lose, and certainly would not gain, either power, or influence, or prosperity, by disengaging herself from her colonies; that, in ridding herself of them, she could not do anything, even in money, which would be unwise, even in money, which would be unwise to depend too much on the protection of Great Britain; that the disposition of the colonies to remain within the empire is not interested to the point of being gratuitously sentimental, so that their safety as well as the safety of Great Britain would apparently be best secured by their cutting the colonies off from Great Britain; that Great Britain under the present treatment of them, has no alternative but separation that will one day or another result in that a confederated empire is illusory; that the present course, although depending merely on sentiment, may nevertheless last for a very long period, or may be abruptly brought to an end by the conduct of the parties, or may be determined by a very distant and imprudent Minister; that precipitate separation; a separation of Ministers possessing the like qualities might retard the progress of generations. But let us come when it may, it is certain as any deduction from human nature and experience that England will only be distinctly conscious of the loss of the colonies when they cease to be hers.

ARMENIAN FOLK SONGS.

ONLY library might be already formed of the literature with 'folk lore' and kindred songs, and their value from as well as from a popular view can hardly be too rated; for the springs of legend and poesy issue from the currents of national life. Every heart of a people is laid in its songs and says. Obscure origin, and for the most part it first had no such auxiliary record to aid their present, the single fact of the existence of folk songs may in general proclaim them the true voice of some sentiment common to the large bulk of the people whence they emanate. In that the fittest only can sing only such as are truly to those who say or sing. The herdsman or tiller of the fields together a few verses sing some simple thought come into his head whilst he is in the green fields or the meadows, or it may be as he sings in a humble way as village poet. One or two friends sing by heart, and possibly meet at the fair in the next week if they hit, others catch it, and so the song travels for many miles, and may live out many years. If not, the effusion of the poetical cowherd dies away silently—not much to his sorrow had its fate been more so, as its author would probably have been very little the wiser and would certainly have no remembrance of his production for two centuries receiving the praise of an English reviewer. A celebrated poet, and we think a good one, has in our own times his career in like manner.

III.—NO. LXXV. NEW SERIES.

with the unknown folk-singer. The songs of Sandor Petöfi were popular over the breadth of the Hungarian Puszta before ever they appeared in print; and those who know him, know how faithfully he breathes forth the soul of the Magyar race. In a certain sense it is true that every real poet is the spokesman of his people. No two works, for instance, are so characteristic of their respective countries as the *Divina Commedia* and *Faust*. Still, the hands of genius idealise what they touch; the great poet personifies rather than reflects his people, and if he serves them as representative, it is in an august, imperial fashion within the Senate-House of Fame, outside whose doors the multitude hustles and seethes. When we want to see this multitude as in a mirror, to judge its common instincts and impulses that go very far to cast the nation in the type which makes it what it is, it is a safer and surer plan to search out its own spontaneous and untutored songs than to consult the master works attached to immortal names.

How far the individuality of a race is decided or modified by the natural phenomena in which it is placed is a nice point for discussion, and one not to be disposed of by off-hand generalities. In what consists the sympathetic link, sometimes weak and scarcely perceptible, at others visibly strong, between man and nature? Why does the emigrated mountaineer, settled in comfort, ease, and prosperity in some great metropolis, wake up one day with the knowledge that he must begone to the wooden chalet with the threat of the avalanche above and the menace of the flood below—or he

must die? Is it force of early association, habit, or fancy? Why is the wearied town-tied brain-worker sensible of a nostalgia hardly less poignant when he calls to mind how the fires of day kindled across some scene of snow or sea with which his eyes were once familiar? Is it nothing more than the return of a long ago experienced admiration? We believe that neither physicist nor psychologist—and both have a right to be heard in the matter—would answer that the cause of these sensations was to be thus shortly defined. Again, ask the artist what the Athenian owed to the purity and proportion of the lines of Grecian landscape, what the Italian stole from the glow and glory of meridional light and colour—what the Teuton learnt from the ascending spires of Alpine ice? Was it that they saw and copied? Or rather, that Nature's spirit, vibrating through the pulses of their being, moulded into form the half-divine visions of master-sculptor, painter, architect?

It does not, however, require to go deeper than the surface of things in order to understand that a peoples' songs must be largely influenced by the accidents of natural phenomena, and especially where climate and physical conformation are such as must perforce stir and stimulate the imaginative faculties of the masses. We have an instance to the point in the ballads of the 'mountainous island' bounded by seas and plains, which the natives call Hayasdan and we Armenia. The wondering emotion aroused by a first descent from the Alps into Italy is well known; to not a few of the mightiest of northern poets this journey has acted like a charm, a revelation, an awakening to fuller consciousness. In Armenia, the incantation of a like natural anti-

thesis every returning spring gard of a season that soundly till near midsun comes forth at last full in the gorgeous raiment of In days gone by the spring was dedicated to the Anahid, and as it broke land the whole people joyful celebration of the Varthavar or 'Rose-day' which since Christian times has been transformed into the 'days' festival of the Transfiguration. Beautiful is the face of the sun when the tardy sun makes up for lost time, and his very life depended on him as he lay ing down his beams with the through the rarefied ether away the snows, and ripen at once the grain and give wild fig, apricot and olive berry and pomegranate wonder that the Armenians the revivifying lamp of the he turns the dying man to and will not willingly con- dead to the earth if some rays do not fall into the grave! At the sun's reve is a general resurrection of buried winter population— and children, cows and sheep eyed lemmings, black-eye gus, and little kangaroo jerboas. Out, too, from their lairs come wolf and bear, and tiger, leopard and wild The stork returns to his nest broad chimney-pot, and what the peasant tells him that has happened in his life

Welcome, Stork!

Thou Stork, welcome:

Thou hast brought us the sign

Thou hast made our heart gay.

Descend, O Stork!

Descend, O Stork, upon our roof

Make thy nest upon our ash-tree

I will tell thee my thousand sor-

The sorrows of my heart, the

sorrows.

Stork, when thou didst go away,

When thou didst go away from

Winds did blow,
 By our smiling flowers.
 Day was obscured,
 The sky was cloudy:
 They were breaking the snow

Touched, the destroyer of

the rock of Varac,
 From that rock of Varac,
 Descended and covered all;
 In meadow it was cold.

Garden,
 Eden was surrounded with

so trees
 In the snow and the cold.

the rose trees in the
 green again, and out
 flowers enamel the
 n pour the torrents of
 v off Mount Ararat,
 the avalanches of ice
 let loose by the sun's
 ever an inch of soil or
 covered it becomes a
 blossom. High up, even
 et above the sea-level,
 violet aster, the saxi-
 focus, and ranunculus,
 d alpine acquaintances,
 y morsel for the teeth,
 for the foot, of swift
 e not less agile wild
 little lower, amidst
 yet frozen snow, hya-
 the air, yellow squills
 anemones peep out,
 golden iris cluster be-
 rocks. There, too, is
 n's Blood,' or 'Blood
 en Brothers,' as the
 say, with its crimson
 : and lily-like bloom,
 of all red flowers.
 rees comes the sweet
 , a kind of manna
 ed by the inhabitants.
 : grass grow the Stars
 m, to remind us, as
 it, that hard by on
 ond question the great
 aldean Star-worship—
 en were appointed to
 e appearance of a sign
 ens, and that thence

they started in quest of the place
 'where the young child lay.'
 Tulips also abound; if we may
 credit the legend, they had their
 origin in the Armenian town of
 Erzerroom, springing from the life-
 blood of Ferdad when he threw
 himself from the rocks in despair
 at a false alarm of the death of his
 beloved Shireen.

Erzerroom is by common con-
 sent in these parts the very site
 of the Garden of Eden. For many
 centuries, affirms the Moslem, the
 flowers of Paradise might yet be
 seen blossoming round the source
 of the Euphrates not far from
 the town. But, alas! when the
 great Persian King Khosref Pur-
 veez, the rival of the above-men-
 tioned Ferdad, was encamped in
 that neighbourhood, he was rash
 enough to spurn a message from
 the young Prophet Mohammed,
 offering him protection if he would
 embrace the faith of Islâm. What
 bootied the protection of an insig-
 nificant sectary to him? thought
 the Shah-in-Shah, and tossed the
 letter into the Euphrates. But
 Nature, horrified at the sacrilegious
 deed, dried up her flowers and
 fruits, and even parched the sources
 of the river itself; the last relic of
 Eden became a waste. There is a
 plaintive Armenian elegy com-
 posed in the person of Adam sitting
 at the gate of Paradise, and be-
 holding Cherubim and Seraphim
 entering the Garden of which he
 once was king, 'yea, like unto a
 powerful king!' The poet puts
 into Adam's mouth a new line of
 defence; he did not eat of the fruit,
 he says, until after he had wit-
 nessed its fatal effects upon Eve,
 when, seeing her despoiled of all
 her glory, he was touched with
 pity, and tasted the immortal fruit
 in the hope that the Creator con-
 templating them both in the same
 wretched plight might with paternal
 love take compassion on both.
 But vain was the hope; 'the Lord

cursed the serpent and Eve, and I was enslaved between them.' 'O Seraphim!' cries the exiled father of mankind:

When ye enter Eden, shut not the gate of Paradise; place me standing at the gate; I will look in a moment, and then bring me back.

Ah! I remember ye, O flowers and sweet-smelling fountains. Ah! I remember ye O birds, sweet-singing—and ye, O beasts:

Ye who enjoy Paradise, come and weep over your king; ye who are in Paradise planted by God, elected from the earth of every kind and sort.

High above the hardest saxifrage tower the three thousand feet of everlasting snows that crown Mount Ararat. The Armenians call it Massis or 'Mother of the World,' and old geographers held that it was the centre of the earth, an hypothesis supported by various ingenious calculations. The Persians have their own set of legends about it; they say that Ararat was the cradle of the human race, and that at one time it afforded pasture up to the apex of its dome; but upon man's expulsion from Eden, Ahriman the serpent doomed the whole country to a ten months' winter. As to the semi-scriptural traditions gathered round the mountain, there is no end to them. 'And the ark rested in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat,' so says the Bible, and it is an article of faith with the Armenian peasant that it is still somewhere up at the top, only not visible. He is extremely loth to believe that anybody has actually attained the summit. Parrot's famous ascent was long regarded as the merest fable. At the foot of Ararat was a village named Argoory, or 'he planted the vine,' where Noah's vineyard is pointed out to this day, though the village itself was destroyed in 1840, when the mountain woke up from its long slumbers and rolled down

its side a stream of boiling lava, but we are told that, owing to the sins of the world, the volcano no longer bears fruit. Close to the mountain is Manard, 'the mother lie alluding to the burial-place of Noah's wife, and yonder is the mountain of 'Visible,' the first of which Noah perceived as the ark receded. Armenian chronicles relate that when after leaving the ark the descendants of Noah dispersed to different quarters amongst them, by name Haig, great-grandson of Japhet, with his family in Mesopotamia where he probably took part in the building of the Tower of Babel. Later, however, upon Belus acquiring dominion over the country, Haig found his rule so irksome to himself and his clan that they migrated back in a body to Armenia, much to the displeasure of Belus, who summoned them to return, and when they refused despatched a large army to coerce them into obedience. He collected his men on the plain of Van, and thus sagaciously anticipated them:

When we meet with the army let us attempt to draw near when surrounded by his warriors; either we be killed, and our camp equipment and baggage will fall into his hands, or, as a show of the strength of our arms, we defeat his army, and victory will be

These tactics proved completely successful, and Belus fell wounded by an arrow from Haig's bow. Having in this way disposed of his enemies, the patriarch returned to Armenia, and was able before he died to convert Hayasdan into a goodly king, which he left to the authority of his son Armenag.

After the reign of Haig the thread of Armenian annals continues without break, and his must be admitted that not even the Jews, boast a history which 'begins with the beginning in a more thorough way, as

f any chronicler proceed methodical and circum-
 mner than that of Moses
 the Herodotus of Ar-
 s is well known, Moses,
 the fifth century, founded
 le upon a work under-
 at five hundred years
 one Marabas Cattina, a
 the request of the great
 monarch Vagshaishag.
 ated that his record was
 a manuscript he had dis-
 the archives of Nineveh
 the indorsement, 'This
 aining the annals of an-
 y, was translated from
 in into Greek, by order
 r the Great.' Whatever
 precise amount of cre-
 which the Chronicle of
 titled, all will agree that
 e story of a high-spirited
 gent people whom the
 domination of Greek
 i could not cower into
 g the substance of their
 id whose efforts, in the
 ssful, on behalf of their
 ependence, were never
 ous than at times when
 ph seemed farthest off.
 a thousand years after
 Moses of Khoren, his
 tained their autonomy,
 er we look before or
 ght of the last Armenian
 e the soldiers of the
 e must acknowledge that
 have fought more va-
 their political rights,
 iver have suffered more
 their fidelity to their
 the pride of the Arme-
 neirs was the first coun-
 adopted the Christian
 may well be their pride.
 hey kept their Christi-
 e teeth of persecutions
 only find a parallel in
 gone by the Hebrew
 s naturally rich in early
 gends, of which the

most curious is perhaps that of
 the correspondence alleged to have
 occurred between Our Lord and
 Abgar, king of Hayasdan. The
 latter, it is said, having sent mes-
 sengers to transact some business
 with the Roman generals quartered
 in Palestine, received on their re-
 turn such accounts of the miracles
 performed by Jesus of Nazareth as
 convinced him either that Christ
 was God come down upon the earth,
 or that he was the Son of God.
 Suffering from a grave malady, and
 hearing, moreover, that the Jews
 had set their hearts on doing des-
 pite to the Prophet who had risen
 in their midst, Abgar wrote a
 letter beseeching Christ to come to
 his capital and cure him of his
 sickness. 'My city is indeed small,'
 this letter naïvely concludes, 'but
 it is sufficient to contain us both.'
 The king also sent a painter to Je-
 rusalem, so that if Our Lord could
 not come to Edessa he might at
 least possess his portrait. The
 painter was one day endeavouring
 to fulfil his mission when he was
 observed by Christ, who passing a
 handkerchief over his face, gave it
 to the Armenian impressed with the
 likeness of his features. The re-
 sponse to Abgar's letter was written
 by St. Thomas, who said, on behalf
 of his Divine Master, that his work
 lay elsewhere than in Armenia, but
 that after his Ascension he would
 send an Apostle to enlighten the
 people of that country. This cor-
 respondence, though now not gene-
 rally accepted as authentic out of
 Armenia, was mentioned by the
 earliest Church historians, and it is
 asserted that one of the letters was
 found written on papyrus in an
 ancient Egyptian tomb.

Christianity seems to have made
 some way in Armenia in the second
 century, but to what extent is un-
 known. What is certain is that
 in the third century St. Gregory
 the Illuminator, after having been
 tortured in twelve different ways

by King Tiridates for refusing to worship the goddess Anahid, and kept at the bottom of a well for fourteen years, was taken out of it in consequence of a vision of the king's sister, and converted that monarch and all his subjects along with him. St. Gregory is held in boundless reverence by the Armenians; he is almost looked upon as a divine viceroy, as will be seen from the following canzonette which Armenian children are taught to sing:

The light appears, the light appears!
The light is good:
The sparrow is on the tree,
The hen is on the perch,
The sleep of lazy men is a year,
—Workman, rise and begin thy work!

The gates of heaven are opened,
The throne of gold is erected,
Christ is sitting on it;
The illuminator is standing,
He has taken the golden pen
He has written great and small.
Sinners are weeping,
The just are rejoicing.

The poet of the people nowhere occupies himself with casting about for a fine subject; he writes of what he feels and of what he sees. The Armenian peasant sees the snow in winter; in summer he sees the flowers and the birds—only birds and flowers are to him the pleasanter sight, so he sings more about them. He rarely composes any verse without a flower or a bird being mentioned in it; all his similes are ornithological or botanical, and by them he expresses the tenderest emotions of his heart. There is a pathos and simplicity really exquisite in the conception of some of these little bird-and-flower pieces, as, for example, in the subjoined 'Lament of a Mother' over her dead babe:

I gaze and weep, mother of my boy,
I say alas and woe is me wretched!
What will become of wretched me,
I have seen my golden son dead!
They seized that fragrant rose
Of my breast, and my soul fainted away;
They let my beautiful golden dove

Fly away, and my heart was won
That falcon Death seized
My dear and sweet-voiced turtle and
wounded me.

They took my sweet-toned little I
And flew away through the skies
Before my eyes they sent the hail
On my flowering green pomagran
My rosy apple on the tree,
Which gave fragrance among the
They shook my flourishing beautiful
tree

And left me without fruit;
Beating it they threw it on the ground
And trod it under foot into the
the grave.

What will become of wretched me
Many sorrows surrounded me,
O, my God, receive the soul of
one
And place him at rest in the
heaven!

The birds of Armenia are less in their number and variety from vulture to wren; there many of them that a man said poetically) may ride for and miles and never at ground, which they entirely except over the small space which they fly up with a ening whizz to make a pass his horse. At times the plain the appearance of being dyed colour through the swarms gorgeous red geese which e gate upon them, whilst he there a whitish spot is forms troop of his grey-coated rel It seems that the Armenians found out why it was the wild and the tame one separated each other. Once upon a when all were wild and free goose said to another on the a journey, 'Mind you are real friend, for, Inshallah (please I set out to-morrow me 'And so will I,' he professedly, 'whether it pleases (not.' Sure enough next m both geese were up betime the religious one spread e wings and sailed off lightly t the distant land. But, lo! the impious goose tried to d wise, he flap ed and flapp

ld not stir from the ground.
a countryman caught him, and
nd his children for ever fell into
cry.

he partridge is a great favourite
he Armenian, who does not tire
nventing lyrics in its honour.
e is a specimen :

sun beats from the mountain's top
etty, pretty :
e partridge comes from her nest ;
e was saluted by the flowers,
e flew and came from the mountain's
top.
Ah! pretty, pretty,
Ah! dear little partridge!

n I hear the voice of the partridge
reak my fast on the house-top :
e partridge comes chirping
nd swinging from the mountain's side.
Ah! pretty, pretty,
Ah! dear little partridge!

nest is enamelled with flowers,
ith vasilico, narcissus, and water-lily :
y place is full of dew,
ou delightest in the fragrant odour.
Ah! pretty, pretty,
Ah! dear little partridge!

feathers are soft,
y neck is long, thy beak little,
e colour of thy wing is variegated :
ou art sweeter than the dove.
Ah! pretty, pretty,
Ah! dear little partridge!

a the little partridge descends from the
tree,
d with his sweet voice chirps,
e cheers all the world,
e draws the heart from the sea of blood.
Ah! pretty, pretty,
Ah! dear little partridge.

he birds call thee blessed,
ey come with thee in flocks,
ey come around thee chirping :
truth there is not one like thee.
Ah! pretty, pretty,
Ah! beautiful little partridge!

ther song gives the piteous
it of an unhappy partridge who
snared and eaten. 'Like St.
gory, they let me down into a
well; then they took me up
sat round a table, and they cut
nto little pieces, like St. James
Interceised.' The crane, who,
the stork, brings the promise

of summer on his wing, receives a
warm welcome, and when the
Armenian sees a crane in some
foreign country he will say to
him :

Crane, whence dost thou come? I am the
servant of thy voice. Crane, hast thou not
news from our country? Hasten not to thy
flock; thou wilt arrive soon enough! Crane,
hast thou not news from our country?

I have left my possessions and vineyard
and come hither. How often do I sigh; it
seems that my soul is taken from me.
Crane, stay a little, thy voice is in my soul.
Crane, hast thou not news from our country?

My God, I ask of thee grace and favour,
the heart of the pilgrim is wounded, his
lungs are consumed; the bread he eats is
bitter, the water he drinks is tasteless.
Crane, hast thou not news from our country?

Thou comest from Bagdad, and goest to
the frontiers. I will write a little letter and
give it to thee. God will be the witness
over thee; thou wilt carry it and give it to
my dear ones.

I have put in my letter that I am here,
that I have never even for a single day
been happy. O, my dear ones, I am
always anxious for you! Crane, hast thou
not news from our country?

The autumn is near, and thou art ready
to go: thou hast joined a large flock: thou
hast not answered me, and thou art flown!
Crane, go from our country and fly far
away!

The nameless author of these lines
has had Dante's thought:

 Tu proverai sì come sa di sale
 Lo pane altrui

It is strange that the Armenians
should be at once one of the most
scattered peoples on the face of the
earth, and one of the most passion-
ately devoted to their fatherland.

It should not be forgotten, when
reading these Armenian bird-lays,
that an old belief yet survives in
that country that the souls of the
blessed dead fly down from heaven,
in the shape of beautiful birds, and
perching in the branches of the
trees, look fondly at their dear ones
on earth as they pass beneath.
When the peasant sees the birds
fluttering about overhead in the
wood he will on no account molest
them, but says to his boy, 'That is

your dear mother, your little brother, your sister—be a good child, or it will fly away and never look at you again with its sweet little eyes.'

The clear cool streams and vast treacherous salt lakes of Armenia are not without their laureates. Thus sings the bard of a mountain rivulet:

Down from yon distant mountain
The water flows through the village, Ha!
A dark boy comes forth,
And washing his hands and face,
Washing, yes washing.
And turning to the water, asked, Ha!
Water, from what mountain dost thou
come?
O my cool and sweet water! Ha!
I came from that mountain,
Where the old and new snow lie one on
the other.
Water, to what river dost thou go?
O my cool and sweet water! Ha!
I go to that river
Where the bunches of violets abound. Ha!
Water to what vineyard dost thou go?
O my cool and sweet water! Ha!
I go to that vineyard
Where the vine-dresser is within! Ha!
Water, what plant dost thou water?
O my cool and sweet water! Ha!
I water that plant
Whose roots give food to the lamb,
The roots give food to the lamb,
Where there are the apple tree and the
anemone.
Water, to what garden dost thou go?
O my cool and sweet water! Ha!
I go into that garden
Where there is the sweet song of the
nightingale! Ha!
Water, into what fountain dost thou go?
O my cool and sweet little water!
I go to that fountain
Where thy love comes and drinks.
I go to meet her and kiss her chin,
And satiate myself with her love.

The dwellers on the shores of Van—the largest lake in Armenia, which is situated between 5,000 and 6,000 feet above the sea, and covers more than a thousand square miles—are celebrated for possessing the poetic gift in a pre-eminent degree. Their district is fertile and picturesque, so picturesque that when Semiramis passed that way she employed 12,000 workmen

and 600 architects to build her city on the banks of the lake, which was named Aghthu ar, and which she thereafter made her summer residence. The business she brought Semiramis into Armenia was a strange romance. Ara, eighth patriarch of Hayasdan, was famous through all the East for his surpassing beauty, and the Assyrian queen hearing that he was the fairest to look upon of all mortals, sent him a proposal of marriage; but he, staunch to the faith in the one true God, which he believed had been transmitted to him from Noah, would have nothing to say to the offer of the idolatrous ruler. Semiramis, greatly incensed, advanced with her army into the heart of Armenia, and defeated the forces of the Patriarch; but bitter were the fruits of the victory, for Ara, instead of being taken alive as she had commanded, was strangled down at the head of his men, and his beautiful form, stiffened by death, was laid at the queen's feet. Semiramis was plunged in the wildest despair; she endeavoured to bring him to life by magic; the failing, she had his body embalm and placed in a golden coffin, which was set in her chamber; no one was allowed to call him dead, and she spoke of him as her beloved ever after. A spot is pointed out to the traveller bearing the name of *As Seni*, 'Ara is sacrificed.'

The favourite theme of the men of Van is, of course, the treacherous element on which the lot of most of them is cast. One of their songs gives the legend of the 'Old Man and the Ship.' Our Lord, as an old man with a white beard, came sweetly to the sailors to take him into the ship. The sailors answered that the ship is freighted by a manchant, and the passage-money is great. 'Go away, white-bearded old man,' they say. But Our Lord pays the money, and comes into the ship. Presently a gale blows:

ailors are exceeding wrath,
imagine the strange pas-
s brought them ill-luck.
k, 'Whence didst thou
sinful man? Thou art
thou hast lost us!' 'I a
replies the Lord, 'give
ship, and go you to sweet
He made the sign of the
h his right hand, with his
teered the helm. It was
id-day when the ship safely
he shore.

, arise from your sweet sleep,
sweet sleep and your sad dreams.
feet of Jesus; here is our Lord,
ship.

: sleep and sad dreams'—
have been a true poet who
tallised the sense of poor
's unrest, even in its pro-
repose. The whole little
kes us as full of delicate
eness.

ore sample of the style of
enian 'Lake-school.'

HO WAS SHIPWRECKED ON THE
LAKE OF VAN.

in the ship from Aghthamar,
sted our ship towards Avan;
e arrived before Voadan
the dark sun of the dark day.

s covered the sky,
g at once stars and moon;
ls blew fiercely,
e from my eyes land and shore.

the heaven, thundered the earth,
ers of the blue sea arose;
side the heavens shot forth fire;
ror invaded my heart.

ne sky, but the earth is not seen,
the earth, but the sun is not seen;
es come like mountains
n before me a deep abyss.

ou lovest thy God,
y on me, forlorn and wretched;
t from me my sweet sun,
ay me not to flinty-hearted Death.

u, O terrible sea!
not up to the cold winds;
e implore thee
thousand sorrows of my heart. . .

: sea has no pity!
not the plaintive voice of my
cen heart;

l freezes in my veins,
ght descends upon my eyes. . . .

Go tell to my mother

To sit and weep for her darkened son;
That John was the prey of the sea,
The sun of the young man is set!

Summer, with its flowers, and
warmth, and wealth, never stays
long enough in Armenia for it to
become a common ordinary thing.
It is a beautiful wonder-time, a
brief, splendid nature-fair, which
vanishes like a dream before the
first astonishment and delight are
worn into indifference. The season
when 'the nightingale sings to the
rose at dewy dawn' departs
swiftly, and envious winter strangles
autumn in its birth.

What a winter, too! a winter
which despotically governs the com-
plete economy of the people's system
of life. Let us take a peep into an
Armenian interior on a December
evening. Three months the snow
has been in possession of mountain
and valley; for more than four
months more it will remain. Abroad
it is light enough, though night
has fallen; for the moon shines
down in wonderful brightness upon
the ice-bound earth. On the hill-
slope various little unevennesses are
discernible, jutting out from the
snow like mushrooms. In one part
the ground is cut away perpen-
dicularly for a few feet; this is
the front of the homestead, the body
of which lies burrowed in the slope
of the hill. When the house was
made the floor was dug out some
five feet underground, while the
ceiling beams rose three or four feet
above it; but all the dug-out soil
was thrown about the roof and back
and side walls, and thus the whole
is now embedded in the hillock.
The roof was neatly turfed over
when the house was finished, so
that in summer the lambs and chil-
dren play upon it, and not unfre-
quently, in the great heats, the
family sleep there—'at the moon's
inn.' What look like mushrooms
are in reality the broad-topped
chimneys, on which the summer

storks build their nests. The homestead has but one entrance; a large front door which leads through a long dark passage to a second door that swings to after you, and is hung with a rough red-dyed sheepskin. This door opens upon the entrance-hall, from whence you mount half-a-dozen steps to a raised platform, under which the house-dogs are located. On two sides this platform is bounded by solid stone walls, from which are suspended saddles, guns, pistols, and one or two pictures representing the deeds of some Persian hero, and bought of Persian hawkers. On the other two sides an open woodwork fence divides the platform from a vast stable. Nearest the grating are fastened the favourite horses of the clan-chief; next are the donkeys, then the cows; sheep and chickens find places where they can. The breath of these animals materially contributes to the warmth of the house, which is at times almost like an oven, even in the coldest weather. A clear hot fire burns on the hearth; the fuel used is *tezek*, a preparation of cow-dung pressed into a substance resembling peat turf. By day the habitation is obscurely lighted through a small aperture in the roof glazed with oiled silk, and supplemented by a sort of funnel, the wide opening downwards. Now, in the evening, the oil burning in a simple iron lamp over the hearth, affords a dim illumination.

This platform is the *salemlik*, or hall of reception. It contains no chairs, but divans richly draped with Koordish stuffs; the floor is carpeted with *tekeke*, a kind of grey felt. To the right of the hearth sits the head of the family, a venerable old man, whose word is incontrovertible law to every member of his house. He is also *Al Sakal*, or 'white beard' of the village, a dignity conferred on him by the unanimous voice of his neighbours, and constituting him inter-

mediary in all transaction with the government. When matters are at stake, the elders of the sub-hamlets, who, resolved *mittee*, form the Commune, ancient usage bears witness essentially patriarchal and autocratic basis of Armenian

Our family party consists of a dozen persons, the representative of four generations. The married women come in from directing the preparation of the supper. Nothing is to be seen of their faces except their eyes (Armenian eyes are for their brilliancy), a tight veil enclosing the rest of their features. Without this they do not by any chance appear even in the house; it is only worn at night. One is a bride; her dress is very striking—a close-fitting, fastening at the neck with clasps, full trousers of rose-silk gathered in at the ankles, fillet of silver, the feet bare, girdle of curious work loosely encircling the waist, a long padded garment over the front which hangs to the shoulders. Poor little bride has not uttered a single word when alone with her husband; she pronounced the marriage. She may not hope to do so at the birth of her first-born child; she will talk to her nannies a while to her mother-in-law; time later she may converse with her own mother, and by and by, in a subdued whisper, with the girls of the house. During the first year of her married life she may not go out of the house twice to church. Her domestic education will not be complete until six years, after which she has comparative liberty, but her life must she open her person of the stronger related to her. Turn from

to that bevy of young
y and playful as the
y are fondling—silky-
balls, of a breed peculiar
bourhood of Van, their
nk with henna like the
lah's steed. The girls
; and chatting together
traint—most probably
ove affairs, for they are
ose of their hands as

And they may walk
led, and show off their
and long raven plaits
; advantage.

a knocking is heard
dogs yell from under
m; the Whitebeard
er be the wanderer
ave bed and board,
ers fresh tezek to be
he fire; for to-night it
l out abroad—were a
l still five minutes, he
in his shoes. One of
ends the steps, pushes
ep-skin, and leads tho

This one says he is
What joy in the fa-
blind minstrel, who will
it exciting ballads and
marvellous tales. Ho
by all; only the young
out of the room—she
ain in a stranger's pre-
vely girls want to hear
nce; but the White-
the guest must first
nd refreshment. But
e waiting for the meal
, the blind minstrel re-
ng of his recent travels,
lf is almost as good as

He has just arrived
whither he will soon
ie has only come back
of Armenia to breathe
me for a little. Did
eheran? No; to say
e deemed it wiser to
liscreet distance from

Such a thing had
f ere now as the Shah
r requisition any skil-

ful musicians who came in his way
to teach their art to the fair ones of
the harem; so that occasionally it
was unpleasantly difficult to get out
of Teheran when once you were in
it. Still he was by no means with-
out interesting news. In a certain
part of Persia he had met another
blind master-singer, with whom he
strove for the prize of minstrelsy.
Both were entertained by a great
Persian prince. When the day
came they were led out upon an
open grass-plot and seated one
facing the other. The prince took
up his position, and five thousand
people made a circle round the
competitors. Then the grand brain-
fight began; the rivals contended in
song and verse, riddle and repartee.
Now one starts an acrostic on the
prince's name, in which each side
takes alternate letters; then the
other versifies some sacred passage,
which his opponent must catch up
when he breaks off. The ball is
kept flying to and fro with un-
flagging zeal; the crowd is raptur-
ous in its plaudits. But at length
our minstrel's adversary pauses,
hesitates, fails to seize the drift of
his rival's latest sally, and answers
at random. A shout proclaims him
beaten. The triumphant bard is
led to where he stands, and taking
his lyre from him breaks it into
atoms. The vanquished retires
discomfited to the obscurity of his
native village, where haply his
humble talents will not be despised.
The victor is robed in the prince's
mantle, and taken to the highest
seat in the banqueting-hall.

This is what the minstrel has to
tell as he warms his hands over the
fire while the young married women
serve the supper. A rush-mat is
placed upon the low round board,
over that the table-cloth; then a
large tray is set in the middle, with
the viands arranged on it in metal
dishes: onion soup, salted salmon-
trout from the blue Gokschai, hard-
boiled eggs shelled and sliced, oil

made from Kunjut seeds, which does instead of butter; pilau, a dish resembling porridge; mutton stewed with quinces, leeks, and various raw and preserved roots, cream cheese, sour milk, dried apricots, and stoned raisins, form the bill of fare. A can of golden wine is set out; there is plenty more in the goatskins should it be wanted. The provisions are completed by an item more important in Armenia than with us—bread. The flour-cake or *losh*, a yard long and thin as paper, which is placed before each guest, answers for plate, knives, forks, napkin, all of which are absent. The Whitebeard says grace and the Lord's Prayer, everyone crossing himself. The company wipe their mouths with a *losh*, and proceed to help themselves with it to anything that tempts their fancy on the middle tray. Some make a promiscuous sandwich of fish, mutton, and leeks wrapped up in a piece of *losh*; others twist the *losh* into the shape of a spoon and ladle out the sour milk, swallowing both together. The members of the family watch the minstrel's least gesture, so as to anticipate his wishes; one after the other they claim the privilege of waiting on him. When the meal is done, a young housewife gently washes the guest's head and feet, and the whole party adjourn to the chimney-corner. The evening flies mirthfully away, listening to the minstrel's tales and ballads, these latter being mostly in Tartar, the Provençal of the eastern troubadour. Finally, the honoured visitor is conducted to his room, the 'minstrel's chamber,' which, in every well-ordered Armenian household, is always kept ready.

Our little picture may be taken as the faithful reproduction of no very extraordinary scene. Of ballad-singers such as the one we have introduced there are numbers in Armenia, where that 'sixth sense,' music, is the recognised vocation of

the blind. Those who are travel within a very wide area are everywhere received with the highest consideration. In regard to the unique marriages of Armenia, we ought that they are asserted to be the happiest unions. The idea upon which they rest is derived from a series of notions logical enough if you take the premisses—indeed, more like some pen and ink scheme evolved out of the consciousness of a Gernsheim professor than a working sketch of actual life. The prevailing custom in the East, as it is or was in Armenia, is for the young girl to have nothing whatever of her own choice in her husband; only in the one case is followed by total seclusion after marriage, and in the other by complete emancipation. In Armenia, on the contrary, the young man makes her own choice, and matches are not uncommonly the choice once made and by the priest, the order of the marriage is so arranged as to cause her to become the woman's alms-giver, his society her sole pleasure, the whole business of her life. For the rest she is left with much solicitude; even a peasant will not let his daughter do out-door work.

Armenian nuptial songs, like other folk-epithalamiums, as we are aware, appear to be of earlier times. The girl was simply carried off by a marauding lover by right of conquest or force. Exulting in his triumph, he relates to the bridegroom his favourite song on this subject, profoundly melancholy as compared with the bride. The mother was provided with a pack of linen, the bride with a cup of wine, the bridegroom with a pair of boots, the little girl with a finger of antimony—she sings the dismal ditty of the bride. There is great pathos

in which she begs her mother weep the sand off the little so that the slight trace of her footsteps may not be

very long ago, although it confidently surmised that Armenian folk songs must exist, not a specimen had been placed in the reach of the public. The monks have taken the same as in every other branch of Armenian research; and our sources are quoted from a small number issued by their press at

We are not sure that we have chosen those that are intrinsically best, but we think those which figure in these pages are the most characteristic of the forms and origin. The larger number of these songs are printed in manuscripts in the library of San Lazzaro; the date of their composition is thought to vary from the end of the thirteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century. The language in which they are written is the vulgar tongue of the country, but in several it attains a close approximation to the literary Armenian.

It cannot be amiss if we conclude our paper by a brief sketch of the venerable order of the Mekhitarists, which is so intimately related to the subject that bears on the subject of Armenian literature. Those who are well acquainted with its history will object to hear the history of the order recapitulated; while those who are that many who have visited the Convent of San Lazzaro will have but vague notions regarding its work and aims of its

It is to be conjectured that it is a matter of fact, the visit of Englishmen to San Lazzaro rather in the spirit of a pilgrimage than from any special interest in the convent; without doubt were its only interest its association with the poet it would still be worth

a visit. Byron's connection with San Lazzaro was not one of the least interesting episodes of his life; and it is pleasant to remember the tranquil hours he spent in the society of the learned monks, and the fascination exercised over him by their sterling and unpretentious merit. 'The neatness, the comfort, the gentleness, the unaffected devotion of the brethren of the order,' he wrote, 'are well fitted to strike the man of the world with the conviction that there is "Another and a better even in this life."' The desire to present himself with an excuse for frequent intercourse with the brothers was probably at the bottom of Byron's sudden discovery that his mind 'wanted something craggy to break upon, and that Armenian was just the thing to torture it into attention.' He says it was the most difficult thing to be found in Venice by way of an amusement, and describes the Armenian character as a very 'Waterloo of an alphabet.' The origin of this character is exceedingly curious, it being the only alphabet known to have been the work of a single man, with the exception of the Georgian and now obsolete Caucasian Albanian. St. Mesrop, an Armenian, invented all the three about A.D. 406. Byron informs Moore, with some exaggeration, of the fate that befel a French professorship of Armenian, which had then been recently instituted: 'Twenty pupils presented themselves on Monday morning, full of noble ardour, ingenuous youth, and impregnable industry. They persevered with a courage worthy of the nation, and of universal conquest till Thursday, then fifteen out of the twenty succumbed to the six-and-twentieth letter of the alphabet.' The poet himself mastered all thirty-three letters, and a good deal more besides, under the superintendence of the librarian, Padre Paschal Aucher, a

man who combined great learning with much knowledge of the world. As the result of these studies we have a translation into Scriptural English of two apocryphal epistles of St. Paul, and an Anglo-Armenian grammar, of which, with characteristic liberality, Byron defrayed the cost of publication.

The order was founded by Vartanabed Mekhitar, who was born at Sebaste, in Asia Minor, in 1676. Mekhitar was one of those men to whom it comes quite naturally to go forth with David's sling and stone against the Philistine and his host. He could have been scarcely more than twenty years of age when fearlessly and steadfastly he set himself to the gigantic task of raising his country out of the stagnant slough of ignorance in which he saw it sunk. He was then a candidate for holy orders, studying in an Armenian convent. The monks he found no less ignorant than the rest of the population, and those to whom he broached his ideas greeted them with derision, which did not fail to shortly turn into cruel persecution. Mekhitar now went to Constantinople, where he set on foot a small Monastic Society; and at about this time he embraced the Roman Catholic religion, the authorities of which appeared more favourable to his patriotic designs than the Greek clergy, who were irreconcilably opposed to them. He left Constantinople for Modon in the Morea, then under the rule of Venice; but before he had been there long the place was seized by the Turks, who sold Mekhitar and his monks into slavery. A few, including their head, managed to escape, and repaired to Venice, where in 1717, the Signory made over to them in perpetuity a small barren island in the Lagoon, once tenanted by the Benedictines, who had there established a hospital for lepers, but which, since the disappearance of

that disease, had been uninhabited. Mekhitar immediately organised a printing press, began making translations of standard works which were distributed wherever Armenians could be found, that is to say, all over the East. When he died, in 1774, the work of the Society was placed on a solid foundation; it received considerable development and extension from the efforts of the third Abbé-General, Stephen Aconzkover, the Hur Archbishop of Sinnaia, who, one of the very few foreigners admitted into the order, and while in the retirement of San Lazzaro for sixty-seven years. He was a poet, a scholar of no mean attainments, and the author of a unique geography in twelve volumes. The Society is now self-supporting; the numbers of its publications sold in Persia, and India, and Constantinople. These publications consist of numerous translations and of reproductions of the best part of Armenian literature. Many works have been printed in MSS. which are collected by series sent out from San Lazzaro on travel over the plains and valleys of Armenia for the purpose of rescuing the literary relics which are widely scattered and in constant danger of loss or destruction, and at the same time to tribute Armenian versions of the Bible. Another of the undertakings of the convent is a school exclusively for the education of Armenian boys. What this order has effected both towards the enlightenment of their country and in keeping alive the sentiment of Armenian nationality, is simply incalculable; and nobly carried out the precept of the Armenian folk-poet:

Forget not our Armenian nation,
And always assist and protect it.
Always keep in thy mind
To be useful to thy fatherland.

The Italian Government has had good sense to completely suppress the Mekhitarists from the sequences of the decree suppressing monastic institutions; in those who are most severe in condemnation of the general excesses of conventual life must be only the most ready in their sympathy with the establishment in Lazzaro.

One day last summer we passed a morning in examining all points of interest about the monastery—the house and printing press, the library with its beautiful papyrus of the Buddhist Mission Service, and its illuminated manuscripts of inestimable value, the minaretted chapel and the little Campo Santo—under the direction of the most courteous and accomplished of cicerones, Don Giacomo, Dr. Issaverdenz (signifying 'Jesus-given'). We saw the bright intelligent band of scholars. 'Of these,' said our lecturer, 'five or six will remain with us.' We were shown the pages of the visitors' book containing Byron's signature in English and an Armenian, as well as those of several of his friends, J. Cambray, among others. The sketches of many notable visitors reserved in frames. 'Here is Prince of Wales,' remarked the guide; 'he stayed chatting with more than an hour.' 'There,' added, 'is poor Maximilian's.' Names of the Imperial Crown Prince and Princess of Germany among the latest illustrious ones. During our tour of inspection we discussed various topics, tendencies of modern thought, future of the Church, the probabilities of the next con-

clave, with other matters of a more personal nature—and upon each our guide's observations displayed a singularly intellectual and tolerant attitude of mind, together with a way of looking at things and speaking of people in which 'sweetness and light' were felicitously apparent. It was difficult to tear oneself away from the open window in Byron's little study. The day was one of those matchless Venetian days, when the heat is tempered by a breeze just fresh enough to agitate the awning of your gondola; and the Molo and Riva, and Fortune's golden ball on the Dogana, the white San Giorgio Maggiore, the ships eastward bound, the billowy line of the mountains of Vicenza against the horizon, lie steeped in a bath of sunshine. But the outlook from the convent window is not upon these. Beneath are the green berceaux of a small vineyard, a little garden gay in its tangle of purple convolvulus, a pomegranate lifting its laden boughs towards us—to remind the Armenians of the 'flowering pomegranates' of their beloved country. Beyond the vineyard stretches the aquamarine surface of the lagoon—then the interminable reach of Lido—after that the ethereal blue of the Adriatic melting away into the sky. Such is the scene which till they die the good monks will have under their eyes. Perhaps they are rather to be envied than compassionated; for it is manifest that for them, duty—to use the eloquent expression of an English divine—has become transfigured into happiness. 'I shall stay here whilst I live,' Dr. Issaverdenz said to us, 'and I am happy—quite happy!'

E. C.



SAINTE PERINE, OR THE CITY OF THE GENI
(‘VILLA DE LA REUNION.’)

BY THE AUTHOR OF ‘GHEEL, THE CITY OF THE SIMPLE.’

NINE-TENTHS of our readers will, we feel pretty sure, be as unconscious as we ourselves, till recently, were of the existence close to Paris of an institution as peculiar in its object as valuable in its results, which has been unobtrusively carrying on its beneficent work during the greater part of a century, within the reach of thousands of our countrymen whose footsteps must have passed its gates.

The building is extensive and imposing, at the same time that it is elegant in external elevation, and commodious in internal construction and arrangements. It stands within its own pleasure-grounds of seven or eight acres in extent, tastefully laid out around the house in gravel walks, gay flower-borders, and soft lawns; while the various gradients it offers are taken advantage of to form sloping turf-banks down to a beautiful bit of forest-land intersected by well-kept paths and winding streamlets; arbours and summer-houses and shaded seats, tempting retreats, whether during noonday heat, or the cool of of summer evenings.

The house consists of a double semi-quadrangle, one side of each square garden thus formed being open to the sun, but sheltered from the road by a thick plantation. All round these gardens runs a verandahed terrace, the roof supported by light columns, up which luxuriant creepers are trained and festooned. Wide, light, and well-ventilated corridors paved with tiles, and—like every part of the institution—shining with cleanliness, give access to the ground-floor rooms. One side is appropriated to the refectory, a handsome hall fitted with

five-and-twenty tables, each commodate ten guests; another to the *salon de conversation* or drawing-room. There is a library and reading-room, a two infirmaries, hot and cold a dispensary, and an admiral of household offices. On the above are more private rooms, a house being constructed to accommodate 250 inhabitants. These rooms are contrived with much thought and taste, and are arranged as follows:—one for the sick, one for the form bed-room and sitting-room, the bed and washing-up being shut off within an al folding-doors.

The originator, or rather the Empress Josephine, who devoted a fund for the purpose of subsidising a house which provide an honourable and quiet retreat for persons of the higher class fallen into comparative poverty—*paucres honnêtes*, are untranslatable terms principally those who had held pensioned offices in the civil of the country, comprising before, members of the *bourgeoisie* and of the *noblesse*.

The *entrée* was to be for persons (of either sex) who attained sixty years, and who resided during two consecutive years in Paris. To soften as possible the idea of support, the inmates are to prove themselves in a pecuniary meet the stipulated annuity, which was originally at 750 francs, but has now increased to 950. The cost of this united expenditure is to be borne in a sensible manner, as it would be quite possible for the individuals to contribute to a common fund.

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at they need care, after
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 n from the petty vexa-
 —NO. LXXV. NEW SERIES.

tions which weigh down the spirits,
 crush the energies, spoil the temper,
 and poison the peace of mind of
 'the free and independent' house-
 holder.

They are gently roused in the
 morning by the chirping of birds
 and the scent of summer flowers.
 They are not tormented for or-
 ders; every detail of life has its
 established time and place. The
 fragrant cup of early coffee awaits
 their waking moments; at twelve,
 the more substantial *déjeuner*; at
 seven the well-served dinner is
 announced in the elegantly-ap-
 pointed dining-room; flowers de-
 corate the table and the damask
 is snowy white. The guests, born
 and bred amid the refinements
 of their class, and faithful to the
 prestige of their traditions, are by
 no means neglectful either of their
 appearance or their manners; and
 their regard for their antecedents
 bespeaks itself in their toilette as
 well as in the reciprocation of *petits*
soins which marks their intercourse.

Liberty complete and unrestricted
 is of course the order of the day;
 and they can not only receive their
 friends, whether during the day or
 in the evening, but can, and often
 do, absent themselves on visits
 during any period they please,
 though, if they return home at
 night, it must of course be within a
 given hour.

In the summer evenings it is the
 wont of the little world of Sainte
 Perine to spend the time between
 dinner and bed on the lawns and
 in the *bosquets* of the beautiful
 grounds at their disposal. In the
 winter the social meetings in their
 common *salon* recall the *soirées* of
 the best society in the larger world.

As the inmates are composed of
 single persons of either sex, as well
 as of married couples, our readers
 must not be surprised to learn that
 the interchange of good offices
 between them often soars beyond
 the limits of friendship, and that
 marriages are the frequent result.

At the same time it is scarcely possible that the little world of Sainte Perine, like the larger one outside, should not find itself broken up into parties and even cliques; but although this diversity of feeling keeps the mind from stagnating and imparts a certain amount of vitality and spirit to the association, it also, unhappily, leads to differences and coolnesses which are only kept from disturbing the common peace by the forbearance and self-control of gentle breeding.

As, however, among this great variety of dispositions and characters, meeting daily under circumstances in which all have a common sympathy, there are many persons not merely of rank and social position, but also of distinguished ability and moral value, the general tone of feeling which animates the little community is genial and enlivening. There is, however, one inevitable circumstance acting to a certain extent as a damper to the spirits of the inmates—we allude to the frequency with which Death asserts his inexorable claims, and comes to summon away first one and then another from the place they had assumed and the friends they had made. Among a community of 250 souls, all more or less over sixty—most of them rather more than less—these calls can be neither few nor far between. At the same time, if there are some losers by their recurrence there are as many gainers, for, as may be supposed, there is always a long list of candidates aspiring to the places thus left vacant; though, let us try to think, without any malicious hopes that the slender thread of life on which their own brief future hangs may be snapped at an early moment. Alas! they must have their own lurking misgivings that the place they now covet must at no very distant period become the object of another's longing. On the day of our visit Death was at his grim work; the corpse of the

Comtesse de — lay in the chapel, while the Baron who had been insensible was not expected to pass.

We were told that a lady was an admitted member of the 'Réunion,' and that to her small means by giving in her own language, attending and receiving in her room. Among them are several *ci-devant* in the literary world, writers of press and *feuilletonistes*, and musicians. Very delightful *soirées* are often periodic by such gifted and cultivated persons, and to these the outer world are invited. The literary ladies succeeded in organising a society, in which all who can obtain it consider it a privilege to be admitted.

The appointment of the superior and subordinate officers to conduct the establishment of Sainte Perine rests with the *Bureau de l'Administration de l'Asile Public*; but the inmates of the institution are so far concerned with appointments that a large hall is open to receive their observations on any matter of management, such as question of diet, &c., to which they may think fit to take exception.

Our readers may be curious to know whence was derived the name by which this institution is called since its foundation. At recent date, when it received a more appropriate nomenclature, 'Villa de la Réunion.' To consult no etymological dictionary nor yet examine the *Cronique des Saints*, to discover why Sainte Perine has been selected as the patroness of the institution, is simply that the house was adapted to this use at Chateaufort, formerly been a convent as dedicated; and, when the Pensioners removed to the new building at Auteuil, the name followed them thither.

A TOUR IN LAPLAND (1875).

THE LULE.

navian peninsula has yet been overrun by rough more frequently years, the billows of still deter that large use benefit *Bessemer* are designed, and ination a two or three conjures up a vision ted sea-sickness. In reacherous character, , during the summer netimes as smooth as en though storms are it, a run across to or Christiania is one leasant of the shorter

on landing that you ifferent world from usurps the name of ent.' There is no stle, and, more than d of familiar faces. assengers which the brought are speedily d leave the foreign towns unaffected. In f the crowd lies part 1 of Northern travel, far preferable to the ound. In Switzerland wonder whether there ves who are neither otel-keepers, and you se in meeting a friend s of a lake or by the vasse. It is otherwise and still more so in board of the coasting anal boats occasionally an, or even a stray to be met, but they are the stream of travel-lways and steamboats to exist if dependent onage. Not that the

Englishman, proud of knowing no language but his own, need be condemned to a gloomy silence, for he is sure to be rescued from the difficulties in which his ignorance of the language lands him by some courteous English-speaking Swede or long-resident Scot. Still a slight knowledge of Swedish or Norse adds very much to the ease as well as pleasure of travelling, for there are many districts, seldom visited by foreigners, where one cannot reckon upon such assistance, and these districts are sometimes among the most attractive, from the beauty of the scenery and the peculiarities of the inhabitants.

The fjords of Norway, the lakes and valleys of Sweden, are rich in varied landscapes, but with them the river, lake, and mountain scenery of Lapland competes for the pre-eminence, and in some respects undoubtedly surpasses the more easily reached portions of the peninsula. The wildness and remoteness of this country have kept it almost sacred from intrusion, but its inaccessibility has been much exaggerated, or rather the facility with which it can be reached is little known. The trouble and fatigue of penetrating even so far into the interior are little when one considers how far Lapland lies from the centre of civilisation, and how much the traveller has to depend upon his own resources. Few of the ordinary Continental tours combine so much pleasure with so little fatigue. There are, it is true, few roads, and the inns are small as well as few, but, on the other hand, there is no dust and no long drawn out *table d'hôte*, and the traveller returns from the North invigorated by the strong air of the fjells, and with no unpleasant memories of

weary railway journeys, or still more weary tramps through hot streets and across shadeless squares. Lapland, indeed, can be reached from England without the traveller once setting foot in a railway carriage. From Gothenburg to Stockholm runs the well-known Gotha Canal, which connects the great Swedish lakes and winds through picturesque and well-wooded landscapes. The canal-boats are comfortable, with well-aired cabins, the beds in which are turned into sofas by day. A notice suspended in the cabins warns the passengers that they must not occupy the beds after six in the morning; but this rule did not seem to be particularly well obeyed, at least on the *Wadstena*, by which in July last we travelled to Stockholm. Although the journey from Gothenburg by the canal occupies nearly three days, the repeated alternation of lake, river, and canal, and the occasional opportunities for a stroll along the banks, while the steamer is passing through some of the numerous locks, makes the time pass pleasantly, until Lake Mälär is reached, and Stockholm is seen rising out of the sparkling waters.

It was in the afternoon of a bright July day, last summer, that we entered the Mälär at Södertelge, and steamed through the thousand islands of that most beautiful of Swedish lakes towards the capital. On either side wooded hills and islets hemmed in the view, and we seemed to be passing from one lake to another; each successive expanse of water was shut in by green margins, and had an individuality of its own. At last we reached the end of the lake and saw the graceful spire of the Riddarholmskyrka towering above the closely-built houses of the older part of the city. Beyond lay the palace, a solid and massive structure, and to the right and left tall and variously painted buildings covered the adjacent

islands. A nearer approach shows the wharves full of life of which our steamer soon takes place among the many small boats which ply on the lakes and

Stockholm is one of the few in which there are few 'licences' seen, but which in the beautiful situation possesses a charm as museums, picture galleries, churches cannot give. But seven islands, and lying between the sea and the Mälär, the city of Sweden combines the beautiful life of a seaport with the repose of an inland town and the gaiety of a great city. Yet with little interval from the wharves to the fine park Djurgården, the evening recreation of the citizens, or through the winding channels of the city or the sea to retired nooks of rural pleasure. Little steamers dart here and there, and many flying bridges between the islands. It is a pretty sight to look on the city from Mossa, a terraced garden on the northern malm, as the shades of evening begin to fall, and to watch the coloured lights flitting to and fro while the line of lamps on the shores casts a steady reflection on the waters. The view, too, from the Norrbrö, the bridge which connects the Norrmalm and the city is striking. The stately, somewhat sombre, palace stands down upon it on one side, the other lies Gustaf Adolfs Square, with the Royal Theatre. The bridge rests midway on a small island, which has been partly converted into a garden, called Strömparterre, where in the summer evenings the Swedes take punch or coffee and listen to strains of music. Standing on the bridge and looking over the parterre, you see the hall of the National Museum and the pile of the new Grand Hotel, and, in short, wherever you

When you find new views to the eye, though it must be admitted that more is due to the situation than to the architectural excellence of the public buildings.

Notwithstanding the many attractions of Stockholm we eagerly seized the opportunity of pursuing our journey northwards. There were several lines of steamers by which towns on the western coast of the Gulf of Bothnia may be reached.

One of these touches every town from Gefle to Umeå, a second goes directly to the northern ports, while the third touches only at the more important towns, beginning with Luleå.

The latter is said to be the best line, and both going and returning we went by it. The steamer in which we sailed was the *Luleå*, after the town of our destination, and the voyage spent on board of her has been more pleasant. A large crowd had assembled to see the departure of the steamer, and the waving of hats and handkerchiefs the *Luleå* unmoored and slipped off into mid-channel.

She was soon lost to view, and before the glimpse of its spires and lofty buildings faded from our memories the scenes the harmonised water which cannot be forced through the green islands through the narrow channel. The steamer now threaded the narrow half-revealed, half-concealed-looking villas with their happy idlers on the shore. We waved an adieu to the land on board, or carelessly glanced with their eyes the rapidly passing vessel. Now and again we passed between two islands a narrow stretch of calm blue water, or bright-painted islands surrounded by green water.

Then we passed the narrow strait of Waxholm, which we approached to Stockholm,

and entering a wider channel met first a sloop, and now a brig, deeply laden with firewood, tacking slowly towards the city. On the right we caught an occasional glimpse of the open sea, into which we at last steamed about three hours after leaving Stockholm. In the distance we saw the Åland Islands, bounding the horizon to the east, while before us the Gulf of Bothnia was dotted with the white sails of vessels, sailing northwards for cargoes of wood. Later in the day we lost sight of land, but the blue heavens flecked by a few fleecy clouds, the gentle breeze, that ruffled without disturbing the quiet sea, and the bright sun declining almost in the north made us linger on deck till night—it could not be called darkness—had set in. Next morning the steamer stopped for an hour at Sundsvall, a large, well-built town at the head of a deep bay, round the sides of which were numerous sawmills busily at work, and a few picturesque villas belonging to prosperous wood merchants. The business of the town seemed extensive; several large steamers lay at the wharves, and sailing-vessels of all sizes were moored in the bay. The inhabitants were not, however, so occupied with business as to have no time for amusement. Large public gardens covered a promontory near the town, and were gaily decorated with flags in anticipation of the day's festivities, and parties of holiday-makers were filling the small screws which, as everywhere on the Swedish coasts, seemed the popular mode of conveyance. The course of the steamer now lay northwards, outside groups of islands between which is the broad channel that leads up to Hernösand, the town at the entrance of the Ångerman, one of the grand rivers of the North. The scenery of its banks has called forth the admiration even of Rhine-enamoured Germans, and

is never spoken of without enthusiasm by the Swedes. The coast gradually became finer. A range of hills with varied and well-marked outline formed a pleasing change from the low islands and forest-covered shores that we had been passing. In the evening we approached, by a narrow and winding passage, Holmoe, a landing-place for the passengers and goods going to Umeå, the church of which we could see inland behind a bend of the river, which concealed the town from us. Holmoe itself is an uninteresting rocky islet, with no sign of life except a sawmill; but, from a roughly-made open wooden turret, on an elevated point, we obtained a fine view of the river, the surrounding country, and the ragged coastline, indented with numerous bays.

The following morning we arrived at Ursvik, a busy little place, the port of Skellefteå, which lies seven or eight miles up the river from which the town takes its name. As the steamer was to lie at Ursvik for nearly four hours, discharging cargo and laying in a stock of firewood, most of the passengers went up to Skellefteå in a small screw, which was half-filled with goods, and in which we had little more than standing-room. The boat puffed away briskly, struggling against the swift and eddying current, which was eating away the high sandy bank, and overthrowing the firs which stood above it, almost in act to fall. At some places the banks were not so high, and there, on either side of the river, lay fields of rye and barley, interspersed with meadow land, beyond which rose wooded hills, sheltered by which stood the large, red-painted houses of the peasants, while in many of the fields rough, unpainted barns were ready for the reception of the harvest. The broad stream of the Skellefteå was littered with logs, coming down from the interior, which, as they floated past the yards

of their owners, were boatmen out of the current collected into rafts. By the side of the stream everywhere lay stranded, which it did not become anyone's business or interest to recover; and, indeed, after we have once floated past the destination the trouble and expense of recovering them must be more than their value in a country so thickly wooded as the north of Sweden is. Skellefteå, a regularly-built town, on a high ground, overlooking the river, with a club-house, containing a ballroom, a stone church, the handsomest in the North, and a public square, which the inhabitants are trying to coax into the semblance of a garden. The houses are all of wood, and again placed a long ladder, and smaller ones laid on either side of the roof. This precaution against fire, and a very wise one it is, considering the frequency with which fires occur in these towns, and their destruction when not speedily checked. Permanent ladders afford of readily bringing buckets of water to bear on the fire, and the absence of fire-engines otherwise gain an easy and visible presence of the ladders in the town—which, notwithstanding its size, had little stir—except the appearance, as if the boats were all gone for dinner and were not to return to complete their work. Another peculiarity of Skellefteå was the complete absence by its inhabitants of a winter of the town, comprising four hundred huts, laid out in regular rows, but all empty. These huts belong partly to the men, who in summer are employed in the forests, partly to the women, who only visit Skellefteå at the festivals or the annual fair, and leave the huts unoccupied the rest of the year.

return to Ursvik occupied the time that had been come up, and the little steamer merrily past the banks, going now to this side, now to avoid a collision with the logs. After but a short time the *Luleå* was again under steam, steaming through narrow channels to the open sea, which was as peaceful as on the preceding day. A fresh breeze was beginning to blow, and the sky showed a change of weather, which caused a hesitancy among the passengers in the matter of dinner. The next town at which the steamer stopped was Piteå, picturesquely situated on a peninsula at the mouth of the Pite, and presenting nothing of interest except the church, with detached buildings at one end of the town. Here, as at other places, the steamer stayed any time, and the townspeople flocked on board to dine, or sup, or, at any rate, to drink punch. The deck was crowded with little groups, and we made the most of the opportunity, by ringing of the steamer's bell, to attract them to the quiet and comfortable life of a Northern town. The arrival of the next week's steamer would give them another opportunity of more varied fare than could be obtained on shore. The food on board Swedish steamers is generally excellent, and all the passengers are so good that one is surprised that the residents are so eager to taste of the food of a dinner on shipboard. The dining-saloon in the *Luleå* was forward, and quite apart from the cabins, and this is usually the case in Swedish steamers. No fresh air can penetrate to the saloon, while the dining-saloon is always well aired, with that sickly, greasy smell which an English steamer repels. A stranger who is not very sure of his equilibrium. At one end of the

saloon a table was spread, with numerous little dishes containing anchovies, tongue, salmon, radishes, &c., flanked by two bottles of spirits and a large array of glasses. This *bräuvinsbord*, as it is called, is the initial stage of a Swedish dinner, and is supposed to give an appetite; and although the fresh sea-air might have been supposed a sufficient preparative, the orthodox commencement was never omitted, and seemed efficacious. After the guests have helped themselves to a selection of morsels, which they eat standing, the regular dinner begins, and often proceeds without regard to what we consider the established order of things. Blåberrysoup was sometimes the first course, followed by meat, which in its turn was succeeded by fish. Breakfast and supper were equally substantial meals, and at the former beer was generally taken, sometimes even by ladies. One morning on board of a Swedish steamer, when our numbers had been thinned by a suggestive swell, we watched with wonder and awe a delicate-looking young lady breakfasting. She began with buttered ryebread covered with raw salmon, smoked reindeer tongue and cucumber, accompanied by a good glass of beer; she then called for a cup of coffee, but as it came her feelings proved too much for her and she hastily quitted the cabin. In the summer months, however, rough weather is seldom met with in the Gulf of Bothnia, and the course of the steamers is so much under shelter of the land that the enjoyment of the voyage is rarely spoiled by seasickness, and the stranger may pursue his experiments in Swedish dietary without fear of consequences.

Leaving Piteå, the steamer again threaded its way through narrow channels among long, low islands. The wind had now risen, and, as the night was unusually dark, with

black clouds covering the heavens, the captain, after peering through his glass, ordered the anchor to be let go, and waited for the early dawn. When morning came, and we saw the low, bare islands, scarcely rising above the waves, we saw how necessary the stoppage was, and understood the cause of the frequent delays of these coasting steamers. There are very few lights along the coasts, and the navigation must perforce be stopped whenever a dark night obscures the landmarks. The channels, too, leading even to important places, such as Sundsvall, were marked by floating poles with a bunch of heather or withered twigs on one end, and kept upright by the other end being anchored to the bottom. The distance at which these rude signal-posts could be seen is much greater than one would have supposed, but of course they were quickly concealed by the gloom of a dark night, which fortunately during the summer months in these northern latitudes is never of longer duration than two or three hours. On the morning of the third day from leaving Stockholm we landed at Luleå, from which town we proposed making an excursion into Lule Lapmark.

Luleå is an important place, for, besides its large wood trade and numerous sawmills, it is the residence of the Governor of Norrbotten's Län, which province comprehends the greater portion of Swedish Lapland. It is also the centre of the administration of justice for the same province, several *härads-hofdingar*, or judges of first instance, residing in the town, of whom one holds courts in Luleå itself, while the others itinerate through the country. More than all, Luleå is the head-quarters of the Gellivara Company, the greatness of which is dinned into the ears of every traveller; and great undoubtedly it is, except perhaps in the matter

of dividends, for it owns 100,000 acres, not to speak of the copper-iron-mountain at Gellivara, the richness of which is equal to any other in the country. In order to render the mountain, as well as the general resources of the country, the old Gellivara Company projected canals to connect the valuable portions of the Luleå with the sea. The Government obtained subsidies from the Government; but the work was more expensive than was expected, and the canals are not yet finished. It was also proposed to form a railway, but this has been abandoned after a trifling commencement had been made. The difficulty of transporting the undoubtedly great treasures of the iron-mountain has not yet been overcome by the new Gellivara Company, which is now in session.

The situation of Luleå is very different from that of Piteå. The town is situated upon a peninsula; the bay is so narrow, that on either side of which being locked, a safe anchorage is afforded to the vessels engaged in the trade. In the centre of the town stands a large, ugly, white church, from the tower of which there is a fine view. Looking inland, we saw undulating and wooded hills stretching in the distance. At our feet lay the bay, at the mouth of the swift Luleå, with pleasure boats with white sails tacking backwards and forwards. Close at hand the colours of the houses relieved the dullness of the long and deserted streets, and light wafted smoke betokened the activity of some sawmill. The view is bounded by the islands which fringe the coast, but between the islands and the town stretches a sheet of water, and the tall mountains which rise above the lower islands point out the bay by which Luleå is approached. One or two building-yard

surprise of the inhabitants, sense of life is diffused over the scene by the movements of a host of small steamers. On the whole, this town is a very dull place to spend a few days at, and the excitement seemed to be over with the arrival or departure of the small steamers. On these occasions quite a large crowd of gaily-dressed people assembles at the wharves, and the joyous greetings and touching farewells amuse the onlookers, who cannot but admire the grace with which the gentlemen raise their hats, bring their arms together, and double back up, while the ladies embrace their friends with affectionate and curtsies till you think they are going to sink into the

water. We remained at Luleå for two days, and then proceeded up the river in a small steamer belonging to the Svenska Sjöfart Company, which left Luleå after eight in the morning. Across the bay, the steamer crossed the river and passed between great lines of salmon-nets. The river is a comparatively narrow channel, where a strong current, swift and surging, retarded its progress. The Lule then widened out into a broad expanse, at least a mile across, with low and apparently uncultivated land on either side. In the distance on the right the spire of the church at Umeå, for, as in so many other parts of the Gulf of Bothnia, the town is formerly situated some distance up the river, but has been obliged to migrate lower down to the convenience of an increasing trade. The channel again contracted at a ferry where the coast from Stockholm was divided by the river, and, until we reached Umeå, varied in breadth from a few to seven hundred to a thousand and fifty yards. The hills became higher and more wooded, and both here and

in the upper portion of the Lule the strong current extended from bank to bank. In three hours we reached Røbacken, from which a short drive of five miles through a forest brought us to Hedenfors. Part of this forest had been burned down a few years ago, and the contrast between the fresh verdure of the young trees and the charred stumps among which they were growing was very striking. The views of forest-covered hills were grand, reminding us of the Black Forest, in spite of the size of the trees being less. Indeed, in one respect the North had the advantage, for the Black Forest has no river flowing through it comparable to the Lule, which sometimes widens almost into the proportions of a lake. Beyond the ranges of wooded hills bare fells rose in the distance, and with their tops shrouded in mist looked not unlike the ranges of Highland mountains. No sign of habitation, or indeed of the presence of man, was to be seen, save the few scattered cottages at Hedenfors and the group of people standing on the wooden pier, at which a little screw called the *Hedenfors* lay puffing, as it waited the arrival of the passengers from Røbacken. Quite different was the impression produced on our minds by Hedenfors a few weeks afterwards on our return from the interior. Accustomed, as we had become, to find a single cottage at the interval of many miles, the sole representative of a big name on our map, Hedenfors seemed to have swollen into the dimensions of a populous village; and we were ready to hail Luleå as a city. Although the number of passengers was less than on board the other steamer, the *Hedenfors* was so small that there was little room for moving about, and the only shelter from the rain, which began to fall, was an uncomfortable cabin about seven feet square. The wood

for the engine fires was piled on deck, but rapidly diminished as we steamed up against the strong current. The scenery now became richer. Extensive woods alternated with well-cultivated fields and red-painted villages. Beside each house was a draw-well with the long pole balanced on an upright post, rising high into the air. About four in the afternoon we reached Svartlå, near which the late King, Carl XV., established a model farm to encourage agriculture in the North. Here the steamboat remained an hour, partly to allow the passengers, six in number, including ourselves, who were going farther, to dine, partly to lay in a fresh stock of wood. A bright-faced, neatly-dressed little girl brought in the dinner, of which we partook standing in a small bedroom opening into the kitchen, the only large room of the house. Here for the last time for some weeks we saw spirits, the sale of which in Lapland is strictly forbidden. As in the case of prohibitory laws elsewhere spirits are, however, said to be imported and sold secretly at Jokkmokk; but as we carried our own supplies with us, we did not require to seek for the forbidden article.

The sail from Svartlå to Nedra Edefors, our resting-place for the night, was the most interesting part of the day's journey. The Lule flows in long reaches—one of them at least six miles long—while in one place its breadth could not be much less than a mile. The richly-wooded banks were reflected in the smooth surface of the stream so perfectly that it was difficult to say where the water and the bank met. After passing on the right the large village of Harads, where, as we found on our return, there is one of the most comfortable inns on the route, and a large sawmill on the left, at the embouchure of one of the few tributaries of the

Lule, we approached our destination. Between high banks, either side of a green island, stood some rude salmon-huts, the waters of the Lule down from the lower end of great rapids. A large house, belonging to the G. Company, stood on a corner overlooking the river, and to promise abundant accommodation for the night, till we found that it was not yet complete, that the only place where we could pass the night was a cottage consisting of a room where the family lived, a house occupied by a forester, and a to which the captain of the boat had right. This was a difficulty. The huts of the fishermen were out of the question. The crew of the *Hedenfors* took its cabin, and we at once rejected the proposal to send us ten miles up the river in an open boat to an inn, which we might or might not find occupied. At last, after negotiation, the forester, a naturally good-natured man, gave us his house. An Irish gentleman and his wife, the only passengers, obtained the garret, and the remaining passenger, a Swede, put up in the kitchen. This was the only place on the journey where we found any accommodation, though even had our party been larger, we encountered other travellers might once or twice have been to inconvenience. On our return from the interior we avoided the discomfort of Edefors by a four hours' row down the river to a comfortable inn at Harads, the large, well-furnished house were a great contrast to the mosquito-haunted forester's room. To give the people credit, they did everything in their power to make us comfortable, and supper was soon served while we enjoyed our own the river,

ed, however, somewhat sombre in the dull evening light, as the sun was set behind heavy clouds. Once again, however, light showers swept across the landscape. The salmon-fishermen finished their day's work, a solitary boat was rowed across the river, and all was quiet save for the constant roar of the rapids. These rapids are about a mile and a quarter in length, and are a continuous rush of foam and broken water. The whole fall is a little over seventy feet.

In the following morning, after settling our bill, seven kronor, or quite eight shillings, for bed, board, and breakfast for three persons, we walked across to Öfverfors, at the head of the rapids, where a fair is held twice a year, and there embarked for Storbacken for another screw, which was too small to have a cabin, but was provided with a permanent awning from stem to stern. The head of the rapids was encumbered with masses of wood, which had been carried by the eddy out of the main current and stranded in shallow water. To guard as much as possible against this, a line of boats is moored in the stream, so as to force the floating timber to take proper direction.

The scenery was much the same as on the preceding day. A succession of lake-like reaches of water, of great beauty, but somewhat too uniform in their character, led up to the prettily-situated inn, or farm-house, of Storbacken, the first station in Luleå Lapmark, as the division of Lapland we now entered is called. The red-painted inn, surrounded by outhouses, stands on a peninsula of alluvial soil, which has evidently only recently ceased to be an island, and is really much more of a farmhouse than an inn. Indeed, travellers are so few that the profits of innkeeping in Lapland cannot but be small, and if the landlords had not their farms

to fall back on, they could not maintain themselves. The difference between a farmer, or settler, and an innkeeper is very slight. The settler receives travellers and supplies them with horses, or boats, as the case may be, and the innkeeper occupies himself as much as possible with his fields, and treats the inn as a secondary consideration—except so far as he has the fear of Governmental supervision before his eyes. To each inn is issued from time to time a sheet of paper, mentioning the charges which may be made for horses and gigs to the stations on either side, and the traveller has to inscribe his name and the number of horses he requires upon this *dug-bok*, which is regularly transmitted to the governor's bureau at Luleå.

Storbacken is the best point from which to visit the Porsj Falls, the third of the three great falls of the Stor Lule, and situated near its junction with the Little Lule. We spent the afternoon in walking to these falls by a winding and romantic path through the woods on the opposite side of the river. The path led at first through the clearing, which the old Gellivara Company made a few years ago for their projected railway. A hundred men were employed for a summer in felling the trees in a broad belt, nearly two miles long, after which the work was abandoned; and in a few years the forest will have reasserted its dominion, as young trees are growing up quickly to supply the places of those cut down. We had to cross a good deal of boggy and marshy ground, and the afternoon turning out wet, in spite of deceitful glimpses of sunshine, which lured us on with the promise of better weather, the path, where there was one, was soon a mixture of mud and water. Add to this that the mosquitoes sought the shelter of our umbrellas, and repaid the protection by a series

of irritating bites, under which we lost both blood and patience, and it may be imagined that the walk was not altogether pleasurable.

The Porsi Falls, though inferior in grandeur to the great falls of Njommelsaska, which we afterwards visited, are specially fine from the contrast between the large, lake-like expanse of the Lule above and the sudden leap of the water to meet the rapid, which by a hundred little falls pours down the farther side of a pine-covered island. We caught glimpses of the rapids below the fall as we came through the forest, and the increasing noise warned us of its proximity, but we did not see the fall itself until we stood on the very brink of the river. The life of the river was startling after the deadness of the forest. On the one side the hurry and confusion of the rapids met our eyes, on the other the steady and resistless sweep of the water over the fall, while far off storm-clouds were gathering round the crests of forest-clad mountains, and threatening to descend into the valleys. Then the rain cleared off for a little time, and as the sun shone out brightly the blue skies were reflected in the Lule, the smooth surface of which above the fall was unruffled by the slightest breath of wind. Thoughts of dinner at Storbacken at last drew us away, and not too soon, for the weather again changed. Cold winds swept through the trees, and we were glad to reach the shelter of our little inn, and to eat a substantial though simple meal, in which salmon raw was followed by salmon broiled, and that by salmon boiled.

At last the rain ceased, and we sat long at the window watching

The little breezes dash and shiver
On the stream that runneth ever.

Light wreaths of mist rose in fantastic forms from the water, and passed gracefully away, as if realis-

ing the painter's fancy. There were gently floating procreants, half-invisible elves, hasted to hide their charms in the sky. The charmed sunset lingered in the sky, and the clock than the shades of evening told us that bedtime had come. It ended our first day in Lapland.

II. LULE LAPMARI

SWEDISH LAPLAND comprises within its limits an eighth of the kingdom of Sweden, though unable, either in a political or in a commercial point of view, to compare with the rich more populous provinces, it possesses a special interest of its own in the wandering tribes by which it is inhabited and the varied grandeur of its scenery. In this extent renders it important notwithstanding the poverty of its inhabitants, Lapland has received a great amount of attention from successive Swedish Administrations — attention which has always been judicious in its nature but which has generally been inspired with a real desire for the improvement of the country. The climate has, of course, proved a mean obstacle to all such plans; further, Swedish legislators have experienced the difficulty which always occurs when the improvement of a territory inhabited by wandering tribes is attempted, that the introduction of agriculture and the arts of civilisation can only be effected by means of a people whose interests are antagonistic to those of the natives among whom they live. The progress of culture, too, deprives the natives of the free forest in which they have been accustomed to find their living, and they naturally regard the presence of every stranger as a destroyer of their property. The distance of Lapland from the capital and its inaccessibility for a

year, have combined to effectual many schemes of improvement, and though much has been done, it still remains in a great measure a barbarous country. The boundaries of Sweden is the long tract of low and upland country to the east of the Norr-tier, and stretches from the Cape to the 63rd parallel, as is sometimes supposed the shores of the Gulf.

Whatever may have been formerly, the Lapland at present day is separated from a broad belt of low-land, though it is still matter where its natural boundary can be drawn. On the one hand it is said that the line ought to be drawn at a distance varying from 10 to 190 miles from the coast, as this line passes through five points where the waters of Lapland, which rush down to the sea, and then descend more nearly to the sea, and then moderated currents flow through the upland of Bothnia. Such a boundary can be drawn through the waters of the Lule, and the waters of the Pite, but it does not seem so natural a boundary as is formed by the low line of water more than four or five miles high, behind which lie in all the great bogs of Lapland which runs nearer the coast. In Lule Lapmark this range of hills crosses the country at intervals and gives a more precise boundary than the former. The boundary, however, has been either of these, but has been somewhat between the two. Probably maps out with accuracy the limits within which the Laps wander in their migrations.

Lule is divided into several Lapmarks, the three most important of which, Pite,

Lule, and Tornio Lapmarks, form part of Norrbotten's Län, and are inhabited by upwards of 4,500 Laps, or more than two-thirds of the whole Laps in Sweden. Of these, Tornio Lapmark lies farthest north, extending to the Russian frontier, and next to it comes Lule Lapmark, where we had planned to spend a few weeks. Lule Lapmark is of nearly the same size as the kingdom of Würtemberg. It is divided into two parishes, Gellivara and Jokkmokk, the latter of which has a chapel of ease about ninety miles farther inland at Quikkjokk. Lapland has been aptly termed a water-sick country, and to Lule Lapmark more than to any other portion the description applies. It is intersected by great rivers, which draw their waters from chains of lakes, while the intermediate country is divided between lofty fjells and impassable bogs. From Sulitelma, the highest mountain in Sweden, the two branches of the Lule take their rise. The stream, which is afterwards called the Great Lule, flows at first northwards through Lakes Virihaure and Vasten, and then turning eastwards through Sitisjaur, Satisjaur, and Stnorlulejaur, after a short course of forty miles, in which it descends seven hundred feet, unites near Porsi Falls with the Little Lule, which has come by a more direct route through another series of lakes lying more to the south. Between these two chains of lakes lie the Kabbla fjells, surrounded on all sides by lakes and rivers. The whole country between the Great and the Little Lule is either bog or forest, both equally trackless. Behind the range of hills to the north of the Stnor Lulejaur runs another chain of lakes, the collected waters of which find their way by a short river into the last-named lake. In the same way in the south of Lule Lapmark a second chain of lakes, separated by a range of fjells,

runs parallel to that from which the Little Lule flows. Turning to the north again, we find the Kaitom, another large river, flowing eastwards to join the Kalix; and there are many other rivers, all large and rapid, which, however, fail to drain the country of its superfluous waters.

The next feature that strikes the traveller in Lule Lapmark is the extent of forest. The clearings which industrious settlers have made round their rude houses are too few, and at too great intervals from one another, to have any effect on the general character of the scenery. In the forests near the great rivers the cutting of timber goes steadily on without producing any apparent impression on the denseness of the wood, and round the borders of the lakes the woodman's axe is never heard except when some new settler is cutting firewood for the winter, or a few logs for the repair of his outhouses. On the margin of the lakes, and on the lower slopes of the fjells, pine has the predominance until the height of 1,300 feet is reached, when it gives way to the birch, which clothes the sides of the fjells for 300 feet higher. The birches, however, become smaller and smaller as the higher limit is approached, and at last are little more than bushes. Above the region in which the birch flourishes lie the bare fjells, the scanty herbage of which forms the food of the reindeer in summer. The ground is covered, too, with juniper bushes, willows, and low creeping plants, which the Laps use instead of firewood. During the summer months the fjells are gay with Alpine plants, except in situations much exposed to the cold winds which sweep across them, and denude them in some places of all trace of vegetation. Above these fjells rises the region of perpetual snow, which in Lule Lapmark is about 4,000 feet over the sea-level,

and the numerous peaks give part of the country all the tions of its scenery, the inferior altitude of the Laplands prevents them rival imposing panoramas of Chamonix and Zermatt.

Notwithstanding the cold which blow over the fjells, in summer, the nine months' with its bitter and icy cold, long nights, enlivened only by the brilliance of the aurora borealis, Lapland enjoys an exceedingly healthy climate. Good weather, and simple food seem sufficient to balance all the hardships to which the natives are exposed, and which appear intolerable to those accustomed to the milder climates and more luxurious habits of the rest of the world. No doctor resides in Lule Lapmark, and before one could be fetched from the coast most diseases would have run their course. Sicknes is ever, rare, and even the traveller who spends only a few weeks in summer there finds the exhilarating effect of the clear, strong air. It must be admitted that the long winters, and the silence and solitude of the vast forests, have a depressing effect upon the minds of the natives, which they cannot shake off even in the long bright summer. Again and again we were struck by the frequency with which the natives whom we met in the course of our journey sighed as if some weight were pressing on their hearts. Long, deep-drawn sighs greeted them after they had been cheerful to us, and when they evidently had nothing to accuse their doing so.

The inhabitants of Lule Lapmark are divided into two distinct classes, the characteristics and habits of which are as distinct as their names. The Lule, who are mostly of the Sami race, though long in the country, live a quiet, uneventful life, making a small

from the clearings which their fathers have slowly made in the forest. Hay, barley, potatoes are their chief, in fact their only, crops, for the climate is such as to preclude agriculture within narrow limits. They always have a few cows and make butter and cheeses at the spring fairs. They sometimes, but more rarely, keep one or two sheep. They endeavour to supplement their little produce by going down the rivers to trade for the Gellivara Combs. The other owners of forest land. The wages for this sort of work of late years risen much, a solitary woodman receiving now, for four shillings and sixpence, a day, while a man with a horse and sledge could earn as much as fifteen kronor. The nature of this has been to raise the value of living generally, and till both living and travelling are comparatively little in Luleå; prices are dearer than elsewhere. The ordinary price for a boat is one krone for a man per Swedish mile, or six and three-quarters shillings; but during the hay harvest when the men are busy, they demand more. Three kronor for breakfast, dinner, and the usual charge, though more is asked, but they ought not to pay more than half a day, or a little more shillings. The settlers pay a small land-tax proportional to the size of their clearings, which is at a low rate in order to encourage immigration. The policy of the Government of Sweden was to give as many facilities as possible to settling; but this resulted in so many disputes with the natives, that they complained that the passages for their reindeer were blocked, that a line has been drawn within which no new clearings are allowed to be made. The settlers within this line are,

however, allowed to continue adding to the size of their clearings, upon condition of paying a proportional increase to their taxes.

Many of the clearings afford their occupants merely a bare subsistence. Others are more fertile or larger, and, especially in the case of those near the lakes, showed more indications of comfort than might have been expected in so wild a region. Their only pleasures are the annual fairs, the church festivals at Christmas and Midsummer Day—often the only occasions when they are at church during the whole year—and now and then a visit to the towns on the coast. The opportunity for indulgence in excessive drinking on these visits is freely taken advantage of, as a compensation for the enforced temperance of the rest of the year. The number of intoxicated persons that one sees in the small Northern towns is matter of surprise till the reason is explained. The sailors whose ships are waiting for cargo are also fairly chargeable with part at least of the drunkenness, which cannot escape observation; but it is said that the Laps in Luleå Lapmark have so thoroughly renounced their former love of drinking that they refuse brandy even when offered to them.

The Laps certainly form in a traveller's eyes the more interesting part of the population. In the parish of Gellivara, according to the last census, there are 1,285 Laps, and in that of Jokkmokk 648; but the numbers vary from time to time, owing to occasional migration of some of them across the Norwegian frontier. Statistics do not seem to show that there is any steady decrease, but we were told that of late years the Laps had become fewer. It was, however, explained that this falling off was due not to the severity of the climate, or to any increased hardships in their lot, but to a partial absorption of the younger Laps into the agricultural population. Children

are often taken into service by the settlers, and after a time abandon their peculiar dress and cease to be considered Laps. So long as they retain their Lap dress intermarriage with the Swedes rarely takes place, but after they have fairly broken with their old nomad life Lap girls are now and then married by Swedes. It is more rare for a Swedish girl to marry a Lap, as the settlers look down upon the Laps as an inferior race, and, besides, the young men more rarely leave the wandering life to which they have been accustomed. Now and then a Lap settles down as a farmer, and though not so successful at first as the Swedish settlers are, in time becomes reconciled to a stationary life. The descendants of such Laps, after one or two generations, are quite separated in feelings and habits, and by marriage and otherwise become thoroughly identified with the other settlers. The settlers round the village of Jokkmokk are said to have a large infusion of Lap blood, and at some of the houses where we halted for the night the inhabitants were evidently of Lap origin.

The natives do not call themselves Laps, but Same, and their country Samelads — names apparently connected with that of the Samojeds, the tribes which inhabit the northern coasts of Russia. The derivation of the word 'Lap' is probably Finnish, and is supposed to be connected with a number of words signifying the end or extreme. If this be so the name conferred on the Laps by their neighbours must have had its origin in their being looked on as dwelling in the extremities of the earth.

The Laps are divided into three distinct classes, viz. the Fjell Laps, the Forest Laps, and the Fisher Laps, following a somewhat different manner of life, but agreeing in the use of the Lap dress and language and in their distaste for steady agricultural work. The

Fisher Laps are not numerous in Swedish Lapland, but in Norway many of them are to be seen earning a precarious livelihood on the shores of the Northern Sea. Besides their boats and nets they have little property, and are sometimes reduced to great extremities. Some of them possess a few reindeer, but more generally they depend almost entirely on the produce of their fishing in the lakes on the shores they live in. The Forest Laps come next in order of importance. Their wealth consists principally in herds of deer, with which in summer they wander through the forests. Each family has the right of pasturing over a large tract of forest for which a small tax is paid to the Government. Within this tract the Forest Lap hunts with his reindeer from one forest to another in search of the moss and lichen upon which the reindeer feed. In summer grass and lichen form the food of the reindeer, and in the winter reindeer graze on a white lichen which grows on the ground in the forests. To reach this moss the reindeer must first clear away the snow with their feet. When the snow is deep the reindeer find it difficult to clear away the snow, and are obliged to content themselves with the lichen which has been left untouched by the larger animals in the herd. Now and again, particularly trying winters, when the snow having partially melted and then frozen from ice having formed on the ground, it is impossible for the reindeer to break through the moss. This is one of the greatest calamities which can befall the Laps, who sometimes in such cases lose half their herds. The deer become wild, and cannot be restrained from wandering great distances in search of food. Some of them die of hunger, while others relapse into a state of nature.

ors of the herd are in-
 heir long-continued pri-
 The only resource of the
 tigate this disaster is to
 any trees which may be
 th moss, so that the rein-
 get at it; and it is with
 that the trees which the
 ads cut down in remote
 ie forest, and left to rot,
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 wn a sufficient number of
 ed trees is a great addi-
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 ts object. The huts in
 Forest Laps live are made
 ogs, and are built at in-
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 er. In winter they live
 better constructed huts
 hbourhood of the church
 sh to which they belong.
 roach of spring, or rather
 —for there is little inter-
 en winter and summer—
 their herds to the pas-
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 e they occupy themselves
 or shooting. After six
 weeks, i.e. towards the
 e, the Forest Lap collects
 nd keeps them together
 id of July, during which
 makes cheese for use in
 r. In August he again
 go till the end of October,
 g the winter he endea-
 eep them near to his hut.
 in collecting their herds
 , are aided by a curious in-
 he reindeer. About Mid-
 osquitoes appear in great
 nd torment the reindeer,
 s exposed places in the
 ere high winds prevail
 away the mosquitoes.
 places the Lap betakes
 nd selecting a reindeer
 to himself, hangs a bell
 nd drives the rest of the
 e him. The other rein-
 the tinkling of the bell,
 to join the herd, for it is
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said that the mosquitoes annoy
 them less when they are closely
 packed together. Of course in this
 way each Lap collects a herd, com-
 posed partly of his own, partly of
 his neighbours' reindeer, and great
 confusion might naturally be ex-
 pected to arise from such a pro-
 ceeding. This, however, does not
 happen. A Lap goes to the herd
 which his neighbour, whose pas-
 ture land lies to the north of his,
 has collected. He picks out not
 merely his own, but also all those
 belonging to Laps living to the
 south of him, which are easily
 recognised by the special mark on
 their skins. These he drives south,
 and hands over all except his own
 to his neighbour, who treats them
 in the same way. The head of the
 family is occupied in collecting the
 reindeer in this manner, while his
 children or servants take charge
 of those that have been already
 gathered, and keep them from wan-
 dering. Sometimes, however, if
 the summer be cool and free from
 mosquitoes, the reindeer become
 wild, and it is only with difficulty
 that the Laps bring them together.
 The life of the Forest Lap is on
 the whole a happy one, though not
 free from care and anxiety. Their
 wants are few, and are generally
 easily supplied. A well-to-do Forest
 Lap, with a good herd of reindeer,
 passes his life without being ex-
 posed to great hardships. The
 climate is severe, but healthy; his
 food is simple, but abundant. Milk,
 cheese, and bread form the staple,
 but he has also reindeer meat, fish,
 and birds, while his chief luxury is
 coffee. Of this beverage all Laps
 are very fond, and expend upon it
 so large a portion of their income
 that it is said to be one of the chief
 causes of the growing poverty of
 a large number. Their life too,
 though circumscribed within nar-
 row limits, has the charm of variety,
 and is seldom harassed by long-
 continued labour; fishing, shooting,

and bird-snaring alternate with the more important business of looking after the reindeer. In the winter they have leisure to visit one another, and the recurrence of the annual fairs is always an object of interest. Occasionally, too, they make longer journeys to the coast, or to the south, where they sell reindeer skins and horns. Of the three classes of Laps the Forest Laps are the most civilised; they have better clothes, wash themselves and comb their hair more regularly than the others, and are besides possessed of what is to them considerable wealth in the shape of copper kettles and other household articles.

The Fjell Laps are not so well off, though they have often larger herds, numbering occasionally a thousand head of reindeer. They wander over a greater extent of country, and are more exposed to the inclemency of the weather. They spend the summer upon the boundless fjells, living in rudely constructed tents made of skins hung on a few poles. In the centre of the tent is an opening, below which the kettle is hung over the fire, the smoke from which circulates through the tent and finds its way out at the top. As a consequence of this smoky atmosphere the Laps suffer a good deal from affections of the eye, and the exposure to the chill blasts and soaking rains of the fjells renders them liable to rheumatic fever. With these exceptions sickness is rare among them, and after the dangers of childhood are once passed they seldom are ill until in old age death creeps upon them. It is even said that instances are not uncommon of Laps who have attained the age of a hundred or upwards. In the end of September or beginning of October snow begins to fall in the uplands, and the Laps, leaving the higher fjells, come down to the neighbourhood of the great lakes, where they

remain till the winter has frozen the water, and they become sufficiently strong to travel on their sledges. They then come down to the villages nearer the confines of Lapland, the neighbourhood of which they remain for the winter. Sometimes they visit the towns on the coast to sell smoked reindeer meat for which they get from five to ten kronor apiece; glue from the horns, and cheese. Reindeer cheeses have an insipid taste but are esteemed a delicacy by the settlers. These visits to the towns are, however, only occasional, but the fairs, which in Lapmark are held in spring, are largely frequented by the Laps, where they purchase the few necessaries which in richer countries counted the bare necessities of life. These fairs were formerly scenes of dissipation, but in Lapmark a great change has taken place for the better, and order generally prevails. At the beginning of this century no business could be entered on until a preliminary 'sup' of brandy had been concluded without payment of price of the skins or horns, the trader being paid for his trouble or instantly expended in chase. The trader, after giving the Lap a glass of brandy as a token of his joy in seeing him next, when the Lap was a customer, to give him some presents, such as scissors, knives, or hooks. The Lap then presented the trader with reindeer meat, and the trader had to entertain him and his friends, whom he brought with him as witnesses of gain. The traders, however, to regulate their supply according to the quantity and quality of the meat which had been received, and to resist the importations of the Laps for more by giving them of their present of

Laps would often reply
ult lay with the trader
o few hooks or thimbles.
se preliminaries had been
gone through busi-
mmenced, but the Laps
all their skins at once,
a piece of business was
ith a 'sup' of brandy.

a Lap would bring his
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they go round the
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they may happen to
arter is unknown.

spring fairs are over the
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the lakes has rendered
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o the fjells, and so from
r their life is spent in
r migrations.

the Laps are generally
the men very rarely
et in height, while the
ess. Their hair is dark,
raight; but what strikes
most in their appearance

is the aged look which they have.
Even children of eleven and twelve
have old-looking faces and a some-
what melancholy cast of counte-
nance. We rarely saw a smile,
and the children, although wild and
spirited, had not a happy expression,
which was perhaps in part owing to
their deepset eyes.

The dress of the Laps is peculiar,
but seems specially adapted to the
necessities of their climate and mode
of life. The boots which they wear
look rough and uncomfortable, but
are notwithstanding more suited
to a country like Lapland than the
ordinary European boot. The Lap
boots consist of two parts; the under,
which is made of ox-leather, is quite
thin, and is, in fact, simply a piece
of leather, sewn together at the
heel and toe, and is consequently
peaked in front. There is neither
heel nor sole beyond the leather,
which accommodates itself to the
shape of the foot, and through which
you feel each particular stone you
chance to step on. The upper part
of the boot is usually made of rein-
deer leather, which is softer than
the other. It is sewed on to the
under part with thread made of
sinews, and is wide and loose about
the ankles, round which it is tightly
fastened by a long band. The
colour of these boots when new is
a bright yellowish brown, but in
time becomes almost black, partly
from dirt, partly from the oil with
which the boots are smeared to
make them easy to the foot. In
winter the Laps use boots covered
with fur, but we did not see any of
them. These boots are used not
only by the Laps, but also by the
settlers, who find them useful in
crossing morasses and other places,
where ordinary boots would not
keep out the water. The Lap boots,
on the contrary, are almost water-
proof when well smeared and tied
carefully at the ankles. Our boat-
men never hesitated to step into the
water with them, and sat with their

feet in water in the boats, without any apprehension of getting wet. Until, indeed, they get old and begin to crack these boots require a good deal of soaking before the water comes through, and even then the wearer is not much incommoded, because, instead of wearing stockings, the Laps stuff their boots with hay, which both makes them more comfortable for walking in and soaks up any water which may come through. In Lule Lapmark some of the Laps now wear stockings, and the settlers, excepting the very poorest, always do, but they also continue to use the hay. The only hay harvest with which the Lap concerns himself is the gathering of a sufficient quantity of grass to serve him through the winter. This grass he dries in the sun, and, after picking out all foreign substances, carefully combs and heckles it, so as to make the hay soft for the foot. When the Lap comes home in the evening he takes the hay out, and dries it at the fire in his hut, and, with the occasional addition of a little new hay, the same stuffing will last for one or two weeks.

Both men and women wear trousers reaching down to their ankles, and their lower end is tucked into the boots, so as to prevent the water making its way through. The trousers are made either of skin or of rough homespun, the latter of which the richer Laps prefer in summer. The skin trousers, when old, acquire the same blackish look which the boots have, but at first they are brownish in colour. The women are fond of having trousers ornamented with red and green.

The Laps rarely wear linen shirts, or indeed any linen; but some of the Forest Laps wear in summer a sort of shirt made of homespun under the tunic, which is the most important article of their dress. This tunic, which is worn alike by men and women, is open at the

neck and halfway down the knee, and is made of skin or homespun. The difference between the tunic the men and that worn by women is that the former is high, standing-up, stiff collared, and the women are spec of a variety of colour. furs are worn by all, and are to keep out the intense cold. The tunics are fastened round by a belt, which is often ornamented, and depend which the women generally have a bunch of scissors and holders. The women also wear a bright-coloured band round their necks. The hats of men and women are the same, a tall sugar-loaf-shaped cap of blue cloth, sewed with sometimes other colours. Such is a general description of the Lap dress, but there are differences in material and ornamentation, arising out of the wealth of the wearers. That in Lule Lapmark coats are not so common as elsewhere, and that the Laps have the money which they obtain from their sale in maintaining a

The religion which now prevails in Lule Lapmark, as well as the rest of Lapland, is Lutheran. To the time of the Reformation nothing had been done towards the conversion of the Laps, who still continued to worship in a very simple manner, after the manner of their ancestors; and the efforts of the Roman Catholic missionaries are the signs of the progress of the religion. The signs of the Virgin Mary, and of the saints which are four old Lap drums, which are used for divining and other superstitious purposes. Gustavus Vasa was the first who took measures for the conversion of the Laps; churches were built by Charles IX., who also end

the people by bringing them to be educated; and Adolphus ordered the of prayer-books into all as the planting of the instruction of the Lapps and Laps were teachers and priests, among the Laps. The Lapland became Christian, down to the beginning of the 17th century, some of their heathen gods. For long after they had become Christians they retained so much of their old religion, that a child was baptised it was lately taken to an old Lapp who worked spells to counteract the effect of Christian baptism, dedicating the child to the ancient deities. Now, the old beliefs have almost entirely faded. Lap drums are still used, and the Laps are a religiously well-behaved people, and receive the careful instruction of the Lutheran Church. When they are present in the churches it is partly in Lap, for it, and all clergymen visiting in Lapland require to preach in the Lap language. The Laps in Luleå are said to be more religious than farther south, and when they frequently hold religious meetings on themselves. In the Lap they are near the few they attend with regular church services, and on every day they come from all places to be present at the church is then held. Lapmark is a country rather more than the gun. There are no bears, wolves, and as well as wild reindeer, but the forests are so thick with these animals so rarely seen, the more inhabited districts, that it is difficult

to discover their whereabouts, though the traveller might chance to fall in with them. Winter is the time when the natives hunt the bears and other large game, as they can then track them in the snow. We saw comparatively few birds during our visit to Luleå Lapmark, and were told that of late years they had become much scarcer, partly owing to the great numbers which were caught in traps. Still, ptarmigan and capercaillie are to be found, but generally in the thickest parts of the forest, through which it is difficult to penetrate.

The fishing is better, and indeed offers many attractions to the angler who likes both large fish and many of them. There is good salmon-fishing in the Luleå, and the lakes abound with salmon trout, gwyniad, and pike; but it is often difficult to find out the best places, as the natives do not fish much with the fly. They are, however, anxious to imitate the success of the few anglers who have visited this remote country, and no present pleases them more than a few flies. Frequently, indeed, they came offering to buy flies, and the happiest expression we ever saw on their faces was when we gave them one or two of ours, with which they instantly rushed off to try a cast.

In the course of our few weeks' wanderings in Luleå Lapmark the freshness of the country and the simplicity of the people gave us more pleasure than we had anticipated. The peculiarities of the natives were of course always interesting, and the scenery through which we passed was so unique in its character that every fresh view came upon us as a surprise and made us congratulate ourselves on the excellence of the plans which had led us so far north to spend a vacation in Luleå Lapmark.

W. D. T.

(To be continued.)

THE EDUCATION OF BARRISTERS.

A SESSION of Parliament now seldom passes without public attention being called to schemes for the higher education of the English bar, that of 1876 will probably be no exception to this rule. But neither lawyers as a body nor the public as a body take any real and deep interest in this question. They read an article on the previous night's debate, or rather conversation, in the House of Commons, in the morning paper, and forthwith dismiss the matter from their mind. At the same time this subject is one of great importance to the public directly or indirectly, both as those who are served by the lawyers and as the body which is indirectly interested in the members of the legal profession by some sort of relationship. It is worth while, therefore, to consider what is the actual state of this question, and before doing so, a very brief sketch of legal education, and consequently of the Inns of Court in the past, will not be out of place. In the years subsequent to the Norman Conquest the abbey and the monastery alone afforded quiet spots where books were collected, and where they could be studied with the least interruption from the violence of kings and barons. Accordingly, from the reign of William the Norman to the middle of that of Henry III., the clergy and the lawyers may be considered as belonging to one profession. But in the second year of this king's reign the clergy were expressly forbidden to practise in the secular Courts.¹ This prohibition was caused by the Constitutions of Richard Poer, Bishop of Salisbury; but in spite of this order it would

seem that the clergy for at least six years more continued to perform the duties of advocates in the Courts, till they were forbidden to practise any longer by the canon of the Synod of Totenham. But some schools for the study of the Common Law had from time been established in the remote village of Old Bourn, in the now crowded part of London known as Holborn. Gradually after the clergy had been forbidden to take upon themselves the duties of lawyers, these schools acquired greater vigour, and lawyers became more and more a separate body located in a place outside the City of London. These were called Inns of Chancery at last, in the reign of Edward I. the home of the Knights of the Temple.

Where whilom went the Templers
to bide,

became at once the homes of the lawyers. During the same reign the Bishop of Ely leased Lincoln's Inn to lawyers, and others again were admitted by that ancient Inn the Grays of Wilton, to establish themselves in Gray's Inn.²

The growth of these elements was very gradual, but Henry VI. ruled England the Inns of Chancery as large and well-ordered bodies. The former of these the preparatory school which it was necessary for one to pass who wished to be admitted a member of the Court. Of the course of this period which a law

¹ Dugdale, *Origines Juridicales*, p. 21.

² Pearce's *Inns of Court*, p. 213.

ment, a graphic picture is given by Sir John Fortescue's *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*.³ A glib dialogue is being carried on between himself and Edward of Wales. He thus describes the life of the London lawyer in the fifteenth century: 'I will proceed to describe to you in the best I can. There belong to it the Inns, and sometimes more, which are called the Inns of Chancery, each of which there are a great number of students at the least, and of them a far greater number though not constantly resident. The students are, for the most part, young men; here they receive the nature of the original legal writs, and the very principles of the law; afterwards they make some progress here, and are more advanced in years, and are admitted into the Inns of Court, properly so called; of these there are four in number. In that which is the least frequented there are about two hundred students. In the greater Inns students will be maintained under about twenty pounds a year, and have a servant to wait on them; for the most part, they at great expense; probably more; for reason, the students are persons of quality, those of inferior rank not being able to bear the expenses of maintaining their children in this; as to the merchants, they are to lessen their stock by being at such large expenses. So that there is to be found throughout the land an eminent lawyer who is a gentleman by birth and consequently they have a regard for their character and who are bred in another

way. There is in both the Inns of Court and Chancery a sort of an academy or gymnasium fit for persons of this station, where they have singing and all kinds of music, dancing, and such other accomplishments and diversions, which are called revels, as are suitable to their quality, and such as are usually practised at Court. At other times out of term the greater part apply themselves to the study of the law. Upon festival days, and after the offices of the Church are over, they employ themselves in the study of sacred and profane history; here everything which is good and virtuous is to be learned; all vice is discouraged and banished. So that knights, barons, and the greatest nobility of the kingdom often place their children in these Inns of Court, not so much to make the laws their study, much less to live by the profession, having large patrimonies of their own, but to form their manner and to preserve them from the contagion of vice.'

Such is a sketch of the Inns of Court in their most flourishing condition in mediæval days, when they clearly embraced many objects of study other than those connected with pure law.

In the 'times of great Elizabeth' each Inn of Chancery had an elected principal; but in 1584, in a letter to Lord Burleigh respecting Staples' Inn, we read that 'the homes of Chancery are grown to some disorder of living and to great decay of studie not regarding the auctoritie of their principall.'⁴

From this period the decay of the Inns of Court as systematic educational establishments may be considered to have commenced. In the days of Sir Edward Coke there were several grades or ranks in the members of the Inns of Court. They were classed as Moot-

P. 434, ch. 49. Edition of 1869. (Printed for private circulation.)
Pearce, p. 63.

men, who argued Readers' cases in the Houses of Chancery, in and out of term; utter-barristers, who attained this rank after eight years of study; and Benchers, or ancients, of twelve years' standing at the Bar. There were also Readers or lecturers, from whom the law officers of the Crown were usually chosen.

Neither was call to the Bar an idle ceremony, for in the sixth year of Elizabeth's reign examinations were ordered to be held previous to a call by an Order in Council. This fact may be taken as evidence of an external control to some extent of the Inns of Court. A compulsory attendance at the Courts of Law was required, and Mootings and Readings were also held. The Readings were a discussion of some statute or point of law commenced in the first instance by a Reader in an elaborate discourse, continued by an utter-barrister, and finally concluded by the Reader and any judges who might be present giving their opinion on the question under discussion. The Mootings were somewhat of the same character, but resembled rather debates or mock trials, less formal but probably more instructive than the Readings.

The Inns of Court and Chancery now rapidly deteriorated, and though at the Restoration an effort was made to replace them in the high position from which they had fallen, little success was met with, and the Inns of Chancery now, to all intents and purposes, disappear from view.⁵ A feeble attempt was again made in 1664 by an order of the Judges to re-establish the course of exercises, but this was also unavailing. At last, in 1780, after a long period of inertness and neglect—after what may be termed the dark ages of legal education—readings or lectures were renewed by Mr. Danby

Pickering, in Gray's Inn; and this date legal education in the Inns of Court has been though certainly, reviving. Memorable efforts of the 18th century were made by the Westbury in 1846, and the Report of the Royal Commission to enquire into the Inns of Court in 1855, a considerable impetus given to the question, and at present time very practical attempts are made by the Inns of Court to the students under their regulations. The Consolidated Regulations of the four Inns of Court, of 1872, now form the basis upon this point.

It is necessary that a student keep twelve terms extend three years at his Inn before he is eligible to be called, and must pass a satisfactory examination in Law, Common Law, Equity, the Law of Real and Personal Property. He may pass the Law examination any time after he has kept four terms. Examinations entitling the student to honours are also held in Law, including Public and Private International Law, Constitutional Law and Legal History, and Criminal Law, in addition to the subjects already mentioned. Four eminent lawyers, Sir Edward Creasy, Mr. F. Stephen, Q.C., Mr. Fry, Q.C., Mr. Joshua Williams, Q.C., deliver each two lectures a week in private classes and lectures are also given by the tutors and barristers of the Inns. A considerable sum of money is also annually given in prizes to the students. The dream of the enthusiastic reformers of legal education, of what Selborne is the distinguished foundation of a legal university, whilst the plan of the Benchers is to give as much as the student as the present method of the Inns of Court can manage.

⁵ Foss, vol. vii. p. 30.

ctory conclusion can be drawn upon this question. We are merely appreciating the position in which it lies, the means by which it is surmounted, and what is the object for student studies? The answer is: it is to get such a knowledge of law as will enable a man to do business with which he is trusted, to the satisfaction of his clients. Three things are necessary for this end—first, a knowledge of law, second, a practical idea as to where to go, and third, the various dicta upon questions of law, and a knowledge of legal procedure. It is evident that a man with an amount of general knowledge and a certain familiarity with practice are the two most certainly necessary for the attainment of this end. There can be no doubt that a more systematic and methodical system of legal education would be more satisfactory, in every respect, than the ad hoc system of the law. But the end is simple, harmonious, and the object of the law may be the desire of the politician, it certainly is the object of the general students. To earn bread as quickly as possible in so doing to mount the professional ladder, is their aim. 'You bring a man to the bar two years for his age at an age when he enters upon the active life,' said Mr. Lowe. 'The majority of law students in his examination at the Inns of Court Com- missioners are, therefore, no attempt to become educated in the law, but there are, generally speaking, no drawbacks to such a system. The majority of law students have had already quite a good academic discipline and the most talented have

frequently already attained distinction at a university, by which a certain position has been gained, and in all probability other avenues of advancement are open at the same time that they devote a portion of time to the actually necessary law work. Again, the mere fact of living in a metropolis, the natural and desirable wish to move about in society, are all far from conducive to a close and scientific study of the law in an academic manner. A man who takes a first class at Oxford has for his life gained a certain reputation outside his college by means of his university contemporaries. A man who gains a prize of 100*l.* from the Inns of Court gains no position at all, is no nearer the goal of his desire than the man who has just barely passed his examination, and he may in all probability see the latter, who has occupied his time by marrying a solicitor's daughter, get rapidly into practice, whilst he himself may, perhaps, succeed in obtaining a situation on the *Weekly Reporter* at the enormous salary of 25*l.* a year. It is, therefore, evident from every circumstance, that it is impossible to expect a student to attain or attempt to attain more than what may be termed a working knowledge of the law. There are exceptions to this as there are to every rule, but laws and arrangements must be made with a view to teach the many and not the few.

What, then, should be the aim of the legal educational reformer? It should be to give as systematic and as sound an education as possible, and to make the form of it as complete as possible. It should be to give a student as clear a view as possible of the outlines of law, so that he can fill them up for himself as he goes on in his profession. The present Lord Chancellor, who must be counted a high authority, considers that anyone who wishes to practise effectively should spend at

least two years in Chambers.⁶ It is perfectly clear, indeed, that at any rate some time should be given to practical work. Instead, therefore, of the present system of one examination in various subjects before being called, in which no distinction is made between principle and detail, there should be two examinations. This plan has been adopted by the Incorporated Law Society, who overlook the education of solicitors, and it is clearly the right course to pursue. The first should be essentially an elementary examination, the second should be more detailed in its character, and touch more upon points of practice. At the same time, points of practice must always be learned by degrees and by experience, and an examination is very little use in regard to them.

The antique and ridiculous system of keeping Terms is an expensive and unnecessary anachronism, no longer needed, or even desirable, in the changed conditions of modern times. If you institute examinations, they should be the main test of fitness for call. And since there is no limit to the number of barristers who may be admitted, such examinations can be kept free from becoming merely tests of skilful 'cramming,' and may simply remain, as they should be, a fair criterion of knowledge. If this view is correct, any time after a student has entered an Inn he should be eligible for the First Examination; as soon as he has passed the first he should be eligible to enter for the Second. By this means a clear incentive is given to read systematically, and the examination if properly conducted would be a genuine test of genuine knowledge. Between the first and second examinations a student should be required to take up to his tutor a certain number of analyses of cases argued in Banc, in Chancery, or at Nisi Prius, which

he has himself heard. So that he would have gained of Court work. A year of passing the final examination every barrister would be obliged to bring to the Council a certificate of having spent at least six months in Chambers with a counsel. Thus work in Chambers could be seen either before or after call. If the certificate were brought, then the call to which took place after the examination, would be a more rational system. The tutors should exist in the same manner as they now do; the Council of Legal Education should form a general scheme of curriculum which should be obligatory on all students to attend. Cases and systematic, yet concise books dealing with the scientific principles of the law are also much needed. It would be also very desirable to permit young barristers to attend the lectures of eminent practitioners. To induce them to do so, the lectures must be of real calibre, by men like Sir James Maine, not merely the utterance of a series of remarks upon a number of well-known cases. A scheme as this, if properly carried out, would answer all reasonable desires and requirements. The subject must be looked at from a practical point of view. Professional success and personal advancement are and always will be the object of the lawyer's work; the endeavour of the education reformer should be, while fully in his mind the actual circumstances which surround this profession, to give a moderate and reasonable amount of knowledge in systematic form, and in a suitable to the requirements of the business world, not of a Utopia. E. S.

⁶ *Report of Inns of Court Commission*, p. 133.

ENGLISH PRISONS.

His Majesty's Government having in the Speech from the Throne declared their intention to consider the whole question of prison management during the next Session of Parliament, it seems desirable to bring before the House the present aspect of prison

management since the days of Howard, one hundred years ago, much has been done in amending the state and system of our gaols, and we venture to think that English prisons are no longer so unfavourably compared with those of even the most advanced of foreign nations. New ideas on the cellular system have sprung up in every county and important town. Adequate provision is taken for the moral and physical training of prisoners, and a rivalry is maintained between the county prison and prison in the official management of the various establishments, and in the amount of earnings to be deducted from the gross cost of each prisoner.

The study and practice of prison discipline have been almost transformed into a science; statistics have been multiplied to an interminable extent; statesmen and philanthropists, amateur visiting justices, and official 'governors' debate and quarrel over principles and details, and inflexibly maintain their respective opinions. It is no wonder that the former Secretary of State, when invited to take up the question of Amateur-Official-International Congress on Prisons and Penitentiaries; and it is also no wonder that the present Secretary of State has said 'something must be done,' and promises to reopen the ques-

tion this year. We only hope he has realised the vast amount of advice, rebuke, and statistics with which he will be overwhelmed. We have, however, no fear that he will be led astray by enthusiasts of various crotchets, but we feel sure he will found his legislation on a sound basis, derived from official and other sure information, and from personal observation and experience.

There is no doubt the subject is now ripe for further legislation; we believe Lord Carnarvon's views in favour of strict penal labour to be disowned by all modern authorities at home and abroad, and that there is an almost universal opinion in favour of industrial occupations. We do not by any means wish to see prisons merely looked upon as manufactories, or the standard of efficiency to be the amount of earnings by the prisoners; but we do sincerely hope that the crank, shot drill, and treadmill will be prohibited, as demoralising and behind the age, in fact that they shall be considered as the last relics of the pre-Howardian period.

In drawing attention to English county and borough prisons, we shall use as our chief authority the two 'Reports on Prisons,' which are the official returns of the two Inspectors of Prisons. They are brought down to the year ending September 29, 1874, and are dated February and March 1875, and were not issued until much later in the year.¹ It is much to be wished that these Reports were of more use to those who require information; why should they not give the names and salaries of the governors and

¹ Reports for the year ending September 1875 were not issued until we had gone to press, too late to be of use.

other chief officers—such as the doctors and chaplains.

It appears unnecessary to give in such detail, and for every prison, the 'Dietary'; it would surely be sufficient to give some approved standard, and merely to point out any special divergence from it. Again, we look in vain for any information with regard to the appointment of prison ministers, other than those of the Church of England. Nowhere can we find whether they are paid by salary, and only in very few instances is it stated that a priest is specially appointed for the Roman Catholics.

We shall refer also to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Prisons and Prison Ministers' Acts, 1870, because this is a matter which must be dealt with in any alteration of prison law. The Committee were 'of opinion that prison authorities should be required by law to appoint Roman Catholic ministers in prisons in which Roman Catholic prisoners are confined; and that hereafter the Roman Catholic minister, when so appointed, shall be classed as one of the officers of the prison, and shall receive an adequate salary for his services;' and then they recommend a scale of salary, from a minimum of 20*l.* for a prison containing less than twenty or more than ten Roman Catholic prisoners, up to 200*l.* for more than 300 prisoners. In 1869, according to the Appendix to the Report, only in 13 prisons was a Roman Catholic priest paid. In 1872, we find from a Parliamentary return, the number of salaried Roman Catholic chaplains was 15 (*Parl. Paper*, 156, April 21, 1873.) It is very desirable that the optional payment of these clergy should be removed from the Courts of Quarter Sessions, and that Parliament should insist upon adequate compensation being paid for work performed; it is really scandalous to

find that, although 2,473 Catholic prisoners passed Coldbath Fields prison in 1872, no priest attending them was remunerated!

We are also very glad of the opportunity of making more generally known that most usefully entitled *Prisons and Reformatories at Home and Abroad*, by the Transactions of the International Penitentiary Congress, 1872. It is a perfect compendium of the prison systems of every country in Europe, and of the United States and other nations. The papers and discussions contained in it are valuable, and no student of prison 'science,' should fail to make himself acquainted with it. We mention it largely in the following:

The Inspectors' Report contains, however, the only official information; we shall therefore endeavour to examine them carefully, and so far as possible to give them some notion of the state in which our prisons are found, and to point out their strong and weak points of the system pursued.

Although included in the volumes named, we shall not consider the state of prisons in Scotland or in Wales, but confine ourselves entirely to England.

The accommodation for prisoners varies in the Southern District, Coldbath Fields, with 2,400 to the borough of Poole, with 15; and in the Northern District, from Wakefield, with 1,400 to Stamford, with 16. Out of 100 prisons in the Southern District, 50 have accommodation for their average number of prisoners, and 5 of them could hold more than their average, viz. the courts of Bedford, Huntingdon, and Oxford, and the borough of Tiverton. Five gaols afford cells to the benefit of their counties by taking charge

y prisoners,—viz. Bedbury, Bodmin, Hereford,

Of the 42 prisons in the district only 12 have accommodation for double the number average, no less than 6 of in the county of Lincoln, 2, Lincoln county and could hold more than four average. None are

take in naval or military

At Dover there are 49 average of 51 prisoners; here there are only 18 cells average of 23 prisoners, and stated that the greatest any one time was 42, or or 13 cells, there must

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an average of only 96

prisoners: the 4 old prisons have together 238 cells and an average of 92 prisoners. Such a waste of money and, if we may so term it, of judicial supervision, seems quite extraordinary in a large and energetic county. We will again quote the words of the Report:

The county of Lincolnshire still retains the whole of its eight prisons [including three borough prisons], for a daily average of 231 prisoners, 96 of which are in the new Lindsey county prison at Lincoln, at which town two other small prisons are kept up; in one of which the cost per head of each prisoner for the year has been upwards of 114*l.*, though there is an average of more than a hundred vacant cells in the above-named prison; indeed, with a small addition, the prison would accommodate every prisoner in the county, and the advantage to the county would be very great in every point of view.

In case of legislation we presume the Home Secretary would obtain large powers to compel the closing of any small expensive gaols. No reform is more needed, for it is impossible that in such prisons discipline can be properly maintained, or any benefit be found to compensate for their great cost and general inefficiency.

We find the daily average number of prisoners varies from Coldbath Fields, with its 1,712 males, to Tiverton, with its 3 males and 1 female! Only 2 prisons in England contain on an average more than 1,000 prisoners daily, namely, the Middlesex Prison for Males, Coldbath Fields, numbering 1,712, and the West Riding of Yorkshire Prison at Wakefield, numbering 977 males and 240 females, amounting to 1,217—and only 7 others exceed 500, namely (in order of magnitude), Liverpool, Salford, Manchester, Wandsworth, Westminster (female prison), Stafford, and Durham; while 20 have an average of less than 28—in fact 8 of these contain less than 10 prisoners! There are 13,018 male

prisoners on an average in our gaols, and 3,946 females, the proportion being rather more than 3 to 1. In Lancashire, however, crime seems fearfully prevalent among women, for in the 6 prisons contained in that county one-third of the whole of the prisoners are women, the numbers being 2,205 males and 1,223 females, and in the 2 large town gaols of Liverpool and Manchester the men and women are nearly equal—in the former 511 men and 449 women, and in the latter 467 men and 330 women.

From the figures given under the average daily number of criminals in custody for the preceding five years, we have an incontestable proof of the diminution of crime. In the year ending September 29, 1874, the number of male prisoners daily in custody was 13,018, and of females, 3,946, total, 16,964. The average of the previous five years was—males, 13,676; females, 3,794; total, 17,470. But this is not wholly satisfactory; for the decrease is entirely confined to the males, who have diminished by 650; but it is distressing to see that the females have actually increased in number. This increase is only found in the Northern District, namely, from 2,071 to 2,287, while the males in the same district have decreased from 6,440 to 6,368. There is an increase of 120 women in Lancashire, 70 in Northumberland, 47 in the West Riding—altogether the average of female prisoners has increased in 38 prisons.

The statistics of re-committals do not teach us very much, and are not to be relied upon, as they do not state how many times in the year the same prisoner may have been re-committed. Speaking very roughly, there appears to be a proportion of about one-third of re-committals to the whole of the convictions. The proportion of

re-committals of women is greater than that of men, in several large gaols more than the women convicted are returned as re-committals: for instance the Westminster Prison, on 7,417 women, 4,573 were re-committals; at Durham the figure 1,952 committed, 1,144 re-committed; at Kirkdale, 970 and 499; at Salford, 2,519 and 1,390; at Wakefield, 2,140 and 1,269; at Leeds, 838 and 497. The extraordinary instance of re-committals is at Liverpool, where of 6,657 men committed, 3,676 re-committals. Out of 6,582 women the really astounding number 5,384 were re-committals. In consequence we naturally turn to the table of 'Sentences' at Liverpool and find that of 5,956 males sentenced, 4,805 were for periods exceeding one month; and of 4,755 women, 4,755 were also imprisoned for no longer period. Surely Liverpool magistrates are themselves responsible for not effectually stopping the career of crime in their jurisdiction. The county is manifestly more delinquent than all the others in England recognising old offenders, a goal is of such a character that no prisoner ever ventures to re-visit it: at the Suffolk County Prison at Ipswich, out of 414 prisoners only 33 are returned as re-committals. Happy Suffolk, compared as at the Borough Gaol, in the same town, 119 re-committals recorded out of 265 prisoners. In the County of Middlesex, in both Fields, of 11,045 prisoners sentenced there were only 34 re-committals, and, on examining the sentences, we find that 5,210 were imprisoned for terms exceeding one month, while 1,100 were sentenced to from one month to six months. The results are worth comparing with those at Liverpool—each have between 11,000 and 12,000 prisoners.

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for each prison, or
s. 5*d.* for each com-
er. The greatest ex-
43,111*l.* at Coldbath
east, 175*l.*, at Barn-
by-five prisons reduced
ture during the year,
hem with the average
as five years; but all,
ption of Bristol, New-
tipon, had fewer pri-
two had the same
erborough and Not-
nty. The prisons in
st 83,848*l.*; in Lan-
ol.; and in Yorkshire,
otal of 208,052*l.* out of

each prisoner varies
ent gaols, and to such
it is impossible not
reventable causes. Of

blaming the authori-
seemingly extravagant
st make great allow-
osition of the prison,
prisoners, and their
ences. We must also
t much latitude is
governors in making
to which we shall

The two most costly
gland are both in the
rict, namely, Lincoln

County and Oakham County. The
former has an average population of
6 prisoners, each of whom requires
114*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* to maintain him. The
annual net profit on each prisoner's
labour is stated to amount to the
magnificent sum of 3*s.* 4½*d.*, reducing
the net cost to 114*l.* 4*s.* 11½*d.* At
Oakham (Rutland), the cost of main-
taining 7 prisoners is 104*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*
for each of them, and there are no
returns for net profits.

The cheapest prisons are Salford
(County), where the average cost is
only 16*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*, or, after deducting
the earnings, 10*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* per pri-
soner; Preston (County), the cost
being 19*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.* each prisoner,
or, after deducting earnings, 10*l.*
14*s.* 11*d.*; Durham, where the cost
is 18*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.*, or, with earnings,
15*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*; and Manchester (City),
19*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.* for each prisoner, or,
including profits, 17*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.*

The average cost per prisoner is
found by dividing the total expendi-
ture of the year by the average
daily number of prisoners, and the
profit is found in the same way, all
prisoners being included, whether
they have been employed at re-
munerative labour or not. The
estimated value of work done in the
prisons is not taken into considera-
tion.²

We will now consider and com-
pare the prisons of the three impor-
tant counties mentioned above—
Middlesex, Lancashire, and York-
shire. Middlesex contains 5 pri-
sons, Lancashire 6, and York-
shire 8. The Middlesex prisons
may be divided into classes: 1.
Clerkenwell and Newgate (to all
intents and purposes) are Houses
of Detention for prisoners before
conviction, or until removed into

² of the Lincoln county prison are much confused; the total ex-
penditure is said to have been 1,258*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*, which, divided by the
of six prisoners (as in the other cases cited above) gives their average
15*s.* 7*d.*! instead of the 114*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* returned, and the net profit of
4*d.*, divided by the six prisoners amounts to 6*s.* 2½*d.* each, instead of
of 3*s.* 4½*d.* recorded. We wonder who in this interesting prison
our secular instruction daily to uneducated prisoners'!

penal servitude. But neither of these prisons is provided with means of punishment for ordinary criminals. 2. Coldbath Fields and Holloway are Houses of Correction (the former only for males). 3. Westminster, remarkable as being the only prison in England reserved especially for the punishment of women (with the exception of the small prison of Wymondham, in Norfolk).

In the year ending September, 1874, no less than 5,264 passed through the Clerkenwell House of Detention, and the cost of each prisoner was 35*l.* 8*s.* 7*d.*; not high, when it is remembered that untried prisoners have, comparatively, a very liberal diet. At Newgate, 'Gaol of the City of London,' 1,448 were admitted. Of these, 179 were detained after being sentenced to penal servitude, the remainder were for trial. But there is a most extraordinary difference in the cost per prisoner in these two similar establishments: against the 35*l.* 8*s.* 7*d.*, of Clerkenwell, a prisoner in Newgate costs 80*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.*! There is nothing in the Reports to show the cause of this great difference. Coldbath Fields, the giant prison of England, is one of the sights of London. Nowhere else in the world (we suppose) can 500 or 600 men be seen at once on the treadmill, ranged one above the other on each side of a vast hall; the only satisfaction to be derived from the humiliating sight, being that at all events they are earning something; for the wheel is attached to flour and water mills. The cost of maintenance is not excessive—25*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.* per prisoner, but the earnings are very small for a gaol in such a situation—only 1*l.* 7*s.* each man. The accounts seem to be kept loosely, as no return is made of the average number of prisoners employed at each kind of labour. Here we have a note that 'prisoners are allowed to participate

in the profits of prison labour to the extent of about five per cent with satisfactory results.'

The House of Correction of the City of London, at Holloway, is thought by many to be a model of prison management. The labour is not conducted on a strictly 'rate' system. The prisoners are placed together in large shops, but each is placed, and such vigilance is kept that it certainly seems impossible for them to communicate with one another, and in no other prison have we witnessed prisoners working harder or with more intelligence. It is the Governor's desire to employ all prisoners who come in, and sufficient time, some trade or knowledge of which may help them afterwards, especially those who are convicted for the first time. The principle is that when a prisoner is convicted for the first time, his detention is sufficient punishment, and that every effort should be made to reclaim him and save him in life: that on a second conviction there is still a chance of reclamation, but the punishment must be more severe than in the first case: that the 'hardened criminal' is irreclaimable, and not to be too severely punished. He divides the prisoners on principles into three classes, and places them in separate wings of the prison, separating them from their labour. There are, on an average, 251 criminals and 251 debtors in the prison. The cost is 38*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* each, 13*l.* more than at Coldbath Fields, but they earn 5*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.* (or, exclusive of 6*d.* 9*s.* 11½*d.*) a sum which compares very favourably with the 1*l.* 7*s.* at Coldbath Fields. There is an excellent plan in the prison of providing oakum and making mats by hand for the trade, which saves much trouble and risk. Here we find that 'prisoners who work over their task-work are allowed to participate in the

prisoners,—viz. Bed-
bury, Bodmin, Hereford,
Of the 42 prisons in the
strict only 12 have ac-
for double the number
age, no less than 6 of
the county of Lincoln.

Lincoln county and
old hold more than four
average. None are

ake in naval or military
At Dover there are 49
average of 51 prisoners;
there are only 18 cells
age of 23 prisoners, and
ted that the greatest
ny one time was 42, or
r 13 cells, there must
3 in each cell, and it
ising to find that the

his report draws the
ntion of the Home
the deficiency of such
prison. At Liverpool

y 407 female cells for
age of 449 prisoners,
occasion 521 had to be
ed. At Kendal there
for a daily average of
, which on one occasion
number of 50, or 2

We cannot, we think,
an quote the words of
or on these 2 prisons.
have, I regret to say,
ken to give additional
ion at the borough
Liverpool for female
ich has now for several
rgently required.' 'The
n at Kendal, which is,
more unfit for the con-
prisoners than the old
ppleby, is to be pulled

ion held by the county
is very remarkable: it
less than 5 county
y 1 of which is even
with prisoners. There
been built a splendid
close to Lincoln, called
y' prison: it has 213
n average of only 96

prisoners: the 4 old prisons
have together 238 cells and an
average of 92 prisoners. Such a
waste of money and, if we may so
term it, of judicial supervision,
seems quite extraordinary in a
large and energetic county. We
will again quote the words of the
Report:

The county of Lincolnshire still retains
the whole of its eight prisons [including
three borough prisons], for a daily average
of 231 prisoners, 96 of which are in the
new Lindsey county prison at Lincoln, at
which town two other small prisons are
kept up; in one of which the cost per head
of each prisoner for the year has been up-
wards of 114*l.*, though there is an average
of more than a hundred vacant cells in the
above-named prison; indeed, with a small ad-
dition, the prison would accommodate every
prisoner in the county, and the advantage
to the county would be very great in every
point of view.

In case of legislation we presume
the Home Secretary would obtain
large powers to compel the closing
of any small expensive gaols. No
reform is more needed, for it is
impossible that in such prisons
discipline can be properly main-
tained, or any benefit be found to
compensate for their great cost and
general inefficiency.

We find the daily average number
of prisoners varies from Coldbath
Fields, with its 1,712 males, to
Tiverton, with its 3 males and 1
female! Only 2 prisons in Eng-
land contain on an average more
than 1,000 prisoners daily, namely,
the Middlesex Prison for Males,
Coldbath Fields, numbering 1,712,
and the West Riding of Yorkshire
Prison at Wakefield, numbering
977 males and 240 females, amount-
ing to 1,217—and only 7 others
exceed 500, namely (in order of
magnitude), Liverpool, Salford,
Manchester, Wandsworth, West-
minster (female prison), Stafford,
and Durham; while 20 have an
average of less than 28—in fact
8 of these contain less than 10
prisoners! There are 13,018 male

prisoners on an average in our gaols, and 3,946 females, the proportion being rather more than 3 to 1. In Lancashire, however, crime seems fearfully prevalent among women, for in the 6 prisons contained in that county one-third of the whole of the prisoners are women, the numbers being 2,205 males and 1,223 females, and in the 2 large town gaols of Liverpool and Manchester the men and women are nearly equal—in the former 511 men and 449 women, and in the latter 467 men and 330 women.

From the figures given under the average daily number of criminals in custody for the preceding five years, we have an incontestable proof of the diminution of crime. In the year ending September 29, 1874, the number of male prisoners daily in custody was 13,018, and of females, 3,946, total, 16,964. The average of the previous five years was—males, 13,676; females, 3,794; total, 17,470. But this is not wholly satisfactory; for the decrease is entirely confined to the males, who have diminished by 650; but it is distressing to see that the females have actually increased in number. This increase is only found in the Northern District, namely, from 2,071 to 2,287, while the males in the same district have decreased from 6,440 to 6,368. There is an increase of 120 women in Lancashire, 70 in Northumberland, 47 in the West Riding—altogether the average of female prisoners has increased in 38 prisons.

The statistics of re-committals do not touch us very much, and are not to be relied upon, as they do not state how many times in the year the same prisoner may have been re-committed. Speaking very roughly, there appears to be a proportion of about one-third of re-committals to the whole of the convictions. The proportion of

re-committals of women is greater than that of men, in several large gaols more than the women convicted are sent as re-committals: for instance the Westminster Prison, out of 7,417 women, 4,573 were re-committals; at Durham the figure 1,952 committed, 1,144 re-committed; at Kirkdale, 970 and 491; Salford, 2,519 and 1,390; at W. field, 2,140 and 1,269; at Leeds, 838 and 497. The extraordinary instance of re-committals is at Liverpool, where of 6,657 men committed, 3,671 re-committals. Out of 6,582 was the really astounding number 5,384 were re-committals. In sequence, we naturally turn to the table of 'Sentences' at Liverpool, and find that of 5,956 males sentenced, 4,805 were for periods exceeding one month; and of 5 women, 4,755 were also imprisoned for no longer period. Surely Liverpool magistrates are themselves responsible for not effectually stopping the career of crime in their jurisdiction. The county is manifestly more delinquent than all the others in England recognising old offenders, or goal is of such a character the prisoner ever ventures to return: at the Suffolk County Prison at Ipswich, out of 414 prisoners only 33 are returned as re-committals. Happy Suffolk, equal as at the Borough Gaol, in same town, 229 re-committals recorded out of 265 prisoners. In the County of Middlesex, in both Finsbury, of 11,045 prisoners sentenced there were only 3,488 re-committals, and, on examining sentences, we find that 5,25 were imprisoned for terms exceeding one month, while 5,795 were sentenced to from one month to three months. These results are worth comparing with the sent at Liverpool—each have between 22,000 and 22,500 pris-

Middlesex magistrates sentence 5,500 to terms under one and under 4,500 to six

The Liverpool magistrates sentence more than 9,600 to under one month, and only 800 to terms under six months. The former have only 3,483 prisoners; the latter, 9,060. The total sum expended over prisons in the year ending March 29, 1874, was 482,160*l.*

On an average of 773*l.* for each prison, or 3*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.* for each commissioner. The greatest expense is 43,111*l.* at Coldbath Fields; the least, 175*l.*, at Barnet. Thirty-five prisons reduced their expenditure during the year, and 19 with the average of previous five years; but all, with the exception of Bristol, Newgate, and Ripon, had fewer prisoners, and two had the same number. Peterborough and Nottingham. The prisons in Lancashire cost 83,848*l.*; in Lancashire, 8,230*l.*; and in Yorkshire, a total of 208,052*l.* out of 60*l.*

The cost of each prisoner varies in different gaols, and to such an extent that it is impossible not to attribute to preventable causes. Of course, before blaming the authorities for a seemingly extravagant expenditure, we must make great allowance for the position of the prison, the number of prisoners, and their sentences. We must also allow for the much latitude is given to the governors in making arrangements, to which we shall allude. The two most costly prisons in England are both in the same district, namely, Lincoln

County and Oakham County. The former has an average population of 6 prisoners, each of whom requires 114*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* to maintain him. The annual net profit on each prisoner's labour is stated to amount to the magnificent sum of 3*s.* 4½*d.*, reducing the net cost to 114*l.* 4*s.* 11½*d.* At Oakham (Rutland), the cost of maintaining 7 prisoners is 104*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* for each of them, and there are no returns for net profits.

The cheapest prisons are Salford (County), where the average cost is only 16*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*, or, after deducting the earnings, 10*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* per prisoner; Preston (County), the cost being 19*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.* each prisoner, or, after deducting earnings, 10*l.* 14*s.* 11*d.*; Durham, where the cost is 18*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.*, or, with earnings, 15*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*; and Manchester (City), 19*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.* for each prisoner, or, including profits, 17*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.*

The average cost per prisoner is found by dividing the total expenditure of the year by the average daily number of prisoners, and the profit is found in the same way, all prisoners being included, whether they have been employed at remunerative labour or not. The estimated value of work done in the prisons is not taken into consideration.²

We will now consider and compare the prisons of the three important counties mentioned above—Middlesex, Lancashire, and Yorkshire. Middlesex contains 5 prisons, Lancashire 6, and Yorkshire 8. The Middlesex prisons may be divided into classes: 1. Clerkenwell and Newgate (to all intents and purposes) are Houses of Detention for prisoners before conviction, or until removed into

counts of the Lincoln county prison are much confused; the total expenditure for the year is said to have been 1,258*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*, which, divided by the number of six prisoners (as in the other cases cited above) gives their average cost of 99*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.*! instead of the 114*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* returned, and the net profit of 17*s.* 4*d.*, divided by the six prisoners amounts to 6*s.* 2½*d.* each, instead of the sum of 3*s.* 4½*d.* recorded. We wonder who in this interesting prison gives two hours' secular instruction daily to uneducated prisoners!

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labour,—the system is by the Governor to work, rendering the prisoners industrious, attentive, and preventing breaches of

Westminster County there were 7,417 commitments, which no less than 4,573 commitments, and 3,643 of these were for seven days. It cost nearly the same as at Coldbath Fields—*10l. 5s. 8d.*, and they earn by picking, washing, and ironing, about *18s. 6d.* each, the estimated value of their work very considerable—*930l.*

Lancashire prisons are, with the exception of the one at Lancaster, of considerable size. At Lancaster is first on the average 133, namely 60 men and 73 women. They cost *22l. 9s. 3d.* each (exclusive of debtors) and earn *10l.* each, chiefly by 'gum

dale County Prison there are 357 prisoners on an average. They cost *22l. 9s. 3d.* and earn *10l.* each, chiefly by mat-making, oakum-picking, and ironing, &c. The women earn sums by knitting, and washing. Out of a total of 54 sentences, 2,634 were for terms not exceeding one month, the re-commitments were, as usual, the women in proportion to the men.

At Preston County Prison there are on an average 357 prisoners. They cost only *19l. 16s. 7d.* and earn *18s. 8d.*, leaving only a profit of *10l. 14s.* as a result is magnificent, made in spite of 48 men being a useless crank. We also find that the 'prisoners' do one-third of the profits from their work done in their task, provided the profit does not exceed *2l.*

—NO. LXXV. NEW SERIES.

The plan appears to act well.' The chief profits are from mat making and cotton and oakum picking, and the women make good returns for sewing and laundry work. Out of a total of 3,231 criminals there were 1,067 re-commitments; and of 3,231 sentences 2,485 were for terms not exceeding one month.

At Salford County Prison, 820 prisoners each cost *16l. 3s. 9d.*; they earn *5l. 18s. 1d.*, leaving only a charge of *10l. 5s. 8d.*, or *9s. 3d.* less than at Preston! It is evidently a large, well-managed prison, and we cannot see why what is possible in a large prison in a large city in Lancashire, is not also possible in a larger prison in a larger city in Middlesex. In this well-managed prison we also find that the re-commitments compare favourably with the total number of criminals: out of 8,884 admitted, 3,753 were re-commitments, although of 8,258 convictions, 6,471 were sentenced for terms not exceeding one month. We again observe that the proportion of re-commitments among women is large, 1,390 out of 2,519. The justices are more lenient to them than to men, for out of 2,399 sentenced, 2,006 were for terms not exceeding one month.

At the Borough Gaol of Liverpool there are daily 511 males and 449 females, or a total average of 960 criminals. They only cost *20l. 5s. 8d.* each, and their earnings are *2l. 2s. 11½d.*, the most profitable work being mat making, picking oakum, &c.; the women also make valuable contributions by knitting, sewing, and washing. We have already referred to the re-commitments and lengths of sentences in this town, and compared them with those of the Coldbath Fields prison; with regard to women, the statistics are quite appalling, and we can only express a hope that the attention of the Government, the public, and the people of Liverpool itself will be called to the state

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of affairs there. We cannot but think one main cause of it has been indicated in the unusual shortness of the sentences inflicted, and we cannot believe that, notwithstanding the exceptional condition of Liverpool as the largest seaport after London and as containing a large population of the lowest class, the women of that town are so much worse than those of all the other towns in England, that a sterner administration of the law would fail to diminish the difference between its prison statistics and those of other towns.

In Manchester City Prison there are on an average 467 men and 330 women, in all 797. They only cost 19*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.* each, and earn 2*l.* 1*s.* The re-committals here are not excessive: out of 9,639 prisoners 3,155 were re-committals; out of a total of 9,042, 5,305 were sentenced to terms not exceeding one month. Here also the proportion of female prisoners is large; this would seem to be an unfortunate peculiarity of the two great Lancashire towns. We notice there were 39 punishments by whipping during the year.

On the whole the Lancashire gaols compare very favourably with those of Middlesex, both in the cost of maintaining their prisoners and in the earnings of the prisoners themselves. But the Reports fail to show, as we think they might reasonably be required to show, whether steam machinery is in use; for, if steam machinery is used, it is not fair to compare the earnings with those of less favoured places.

The Yorkshire prisons may be divided into three classes. 1. The Castle at York, common to the whole county, with a peculiar governing body, consisting of the whole of the magistrates of Yorkshire assembled in a court of gaol sessions.

2. The three County Prisons—of Northallerton for the North Riding, Beverley for the East Riding, and

Wakefield for the West. And 3rdly, the four Borough Prisons of Hull, Leeds, Scarborough and Ripon.

The Castle at York is especially well managed, on much the same system as the City Prison at London. In this way, the prisoners work for their own association, but in such a manner that they cannot see or come in contact with each other. The number of prisoners was 144, maintained at a cost of 30*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* while their earnings, as debtors, amounted to 7*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* The chief profits are made by firewood, oakum, and marble work. As regards committals to this prison, the guide, as, with the exception of prisoners and those committed to the neighbourhood of York county prisoners are merely detained for the assizes, &c. The prisoners are maintained by the same system as prisoners from other counties, cannot help pointing out the doubt which must attach to the estimated values of work done in the prisons. The Governor of the Castle by the published returns shows three men's work at 156*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* or over 85*l.* each, and in two items he considers his prisoners earned 54*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

At Northallerton there was an average 148 prisoners, at a cost 21*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* each, and at 17*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* Breaking stones and picking oakum are the most profitable employments. A saw-mill takes 36 prisoners away from profitable work. This prison is lately by a correspondent of the *Times* compared unfavourably with York. We think Mr. Talbot did not have been aware that Northallerton is a small country town in which, for instance, only a limited supply of fire-wood can be obtained, while at York the sale of that article produced 595*l.* Moreover, at York the prisoners have, as a rule, been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, and on that account

water profit; besides
 s no useless tread-
 the other hand, the
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 the average prison
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 a fair annual charge
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prisoners; but if
 uld be clearly stated.
 information is given,
 think that it is un-
 results obtained on
 ly unequal terms,
 n the management
 3 prisons for earn-
 when the truth is
 these divisions have
 to expend in costly
 t sums of money
 the ratepayers may

be tickled with the so-called large
 profits made at their prisons. This
 want of explicitness in the Reports
 is, we think, a matter which cannot
 be too strongly urged on the atten-
 tion of the Home Secretary.

At Hull there is an average of
 235 prisoners, which cost 25l. 1s. 10d.
 each, and earn the respectable sum
 of 5l. 17s. 11d. Mat-making and
 oakum-picking are the two most
 profitable employments. The re-
 committals are not excessive, and
 there are comparatively few short
 punishments.

Leeds has an average of 351 pri-
 soners, which cost 26l. 13s. 1d. each,
 and earn 4l. 17s. 4d. chiefly by mat-
 making, bread-baking, sewing, &c.
 The women and re-committals are
 not in large proportion. In these
 two important points the York-
 shire prisons in the manufacturing
 districts compare very favourably
 with Lancashire.

At Scarborough there are only
 about 28 prisoners daily, which cost
 38l. 3s. 2d., and earn 11l. 4s. 8d.;
 chiefly by washing (we believe
 for some of the large hotels). At
 the little prison of Ripon there are
 14 prisoners, who are said to cost
 37l. 9s., and to earn 10l. 2s. 4d.,
 chiefly by mat-making. We think
 these two borough prisons are a
 model to the numerous small prisons
 throughout the country; the earn-
 ings are genuine, and the cost
 within bounds.

Comparing the Yorkshire and
 Lancashire prisons, we should say
 that those in Lancashire are more
 economically managed, but that the
 earnings are greater in Yorkshire.
 The criminal statistics are the more
 interesting, and are certainly greatly
 in favour of Yorkshire.

Before leaving the subject we
 cannot help pointing out a curious
 anomaly. At Leicester County Pri-
 son a total number of 709 prisoners
 cost 3,862l. 10s. 4d., while at the
 borough prison in the same town
 708 prisoners cost only 2,245l. 19s. 1d.

during the year!—a difference of one prisoner and 1,600*l.*! and of about 20*l.* in the annual cost of each criminal.

Undoubtedly there are still great differences of opinion on the subject of prison labour. Lord Carnarvon is eminently in favour of strict hard punishment, and considers the earnings of prisoners, and their moral, religious, and industrial training of quite secondary importance. In his opening address to the Prison Congress he states: 'Prisons ought to provide for—(1) real and unquestionable severity of punishment, both in amount and kind; (2) reasonable opportunities of moral amendment to the prisoner during the period of his confinement.' (*Prisons and Reformatories*, p. 360.) 'Justice to the community requires that the punishment of all should precede the reformation of the few' (p. 364). 'There is a school which holds—and I believe the opinion to be as dangerous as it is attractive—that all prison labour ought to be remunerative' (p. 365). Lord Carnarvon's opinion seems to have been supported in a paper prepared by three magistrates of Liverpool who give much more favourable statistics of crime in their borough than we find in the Prison Reports. On the other hand, the evidence in favour of industrial employment is overwhelming. Major Du Cane, the Surveyor-General of Prisons, says: 'It has for many years been an established principle in English prisons to endeavour to instil into the convicts habits of industry—to develop their intelligence by employing them on industrial labour, and to facilitate their entering the ranks of honest industry on their discharge by giving them facilities for acquiring a knowledge of trades. These objects are fortunately conducive to another very desirable result, viz. that of making the prisons self-supporting in various degrees' (*Prisons and Reformatories*, p. 305).

Mr. Frederic Hill, in a paper to the Congress, says: 'I have never held useful, industrial, productive work as the very life of a good prison . . . because, other benefits, it affords one surest means of moral training.' 'In its favour may be stated that such employment banishes from everything that is repulsive and degrading, becomes assimilated in the prisoner's mind with agreeable thoughts, and tends to give him look upon work as deserving respect.' (*Prisons, &c.*, pp. 36-37). The Report to the Congress of Belgium states: 'It is impossible to effect the reformation of prisoners, but it is important also to prepare them, on their liberation, in a position in which they may gain a livelihood by work.' (*Prisons, &c.*, p. 82). The French Report (p. 82) says: 'What is desired is to punish the criminal; what is sought is that the punishment be his reformation. Therefore industrial labour is to be found in the prisons. . . . thereby sought above all to banish the dangers of idleness, and to give the taste and habit of work.' In Prussia (p. 126), 'It is highly important for a prisoner during his imprisonment to know how to help himself on his liberation.' The Russian Report (p. 197), 'Industrial work is making great progress, and the advantages it offers the prisoner, for he sees that he can escape, from which a too high wage and barren catechism will not save him.' And we can only too authoritatively state that an unlimited extent of industrial labour is the most effective and most merciful method of dealing with our prison population. We venture to repeat what is recorded saying, that if our philanthropists visited some foreign prison, and saw for the first time such an instrument as a lathe or crank at work, they would

appeal to the feelings of the
 and raise a cry of indigna-
 such barbarities being per-
 in a civilised community.
 possible use can the tread-
 : crank, and shot-drill
 they deter from crime?
 ery Visiting Justice can
 in his own experience that
 frequently request that
 go on to the mill instead
 ing in their cells. Are they
 inishments? They may be,
 are certainly degrading. A
 ft for eight or ten hours a
 anically turning a machine,
 hing to divert his mind
 own evil thoughts. Are
 hysical or moral use? The
 y knocks the beginner's
 d is shirked by the old
 and anyone who has
 rank at work (as at Lewes)
 shocked to think of the
 shoulders and aching back
 ist be caused by the hor-
 ping action; or the shot-
 at Millbank)—what can be
 pid? And from a moral
 view there cannot be a
 gument in favour of re-
 cise punishments. Surely
 has come when we may
 p to a cruel and degrading
 punishment, which is, in
 lemned by the practice of
 ion in Europe and America.
 Lord Carnarvon is right,
 the punishment of the
 he first consideration, and
 emation of the few the
 ve believe most strongly
 strictly penal purposes no
 nt is more severe than
 onfined, the deprivation
 and a minimum of food.
 also join issue with Lord
 n when he insists that 'the
 on of the few' is a subsidi-
 deration. The 'few' are
 d chiefly of men under-
 e sentences for their first
 The practice is to send all
 when first committed for a

term to the mill, crank, or shot-drill;
 and are we permanently to degrade
 these men at their first sad introduc-
 tion to prison discipline, when they
 may have brought with them the
 remembrances of more gentle and
 better influences, by herding them
 with a long line of old incorrigibles,
 to do work so useless and mono-
 tonous?

We will not discuss at length the
 advisability, or otherwise, of en-
 couraging prisoners in habits of
 industry by giving them, on their
 discharge, a portion of their earn-
 ings. The custom is general in our
 convict establishments, and appa-
 rently works satisfactorily, although
 the convicts on discharge are only
 allowed just sufficient money to
 maintain themselves while seeking
 employment; but other rewards
 are offered for extra industry, such
 as a shortening of the sentence, &c.;
 in the words of Major Du Cane, that
 the prisoner may be 'made perfectly
 to see and feel . . . that he
 has something to work and hope for,
 more than the mere avoidance of
 punishment' (*Prisons*, 3^d ed. p. 300).
 In Continental prisons the system
 seems general, and in many in-
 stances to be carried to excess. In
 the English county and borough
 prisons it has only been very par-
 tially tried, but apparently with
 some success. At Bodmin, 'a small
 percentage is paid on discharge;
 this system acts satisfactorily'
 (*Southern Dist.* p. 66). At Poole
 they 'participate in the profits'
 (p. 117). We have previously
 quoted the returns from Coldbath
 Fields and Holloway, both of which
 are very satisfactory. At Lewes,
 'prisoners can earn from 3*d*. to 6*d*.
 a week . . . not to exceed 2*l*. Re-
 convicted prisoners have a reduced
 gratuity, and after a third con-
 viction receive nothing. The plan,
 in the opinion of the Governor,
 works well, and is a great stimulus
 to industry in the case of well-
 disposed prisoners' (*Southern Dist.*

p. 372). At Warwick, 'all work done over task is credited to the prisoners, and the Governor reports that the plan works very satisfactorily.' (Southern Dist. p. 390.) At Preston, as we have already stated, 'prisoners are allowed about one-third of the profits arising from their work done in excess of their task . . . not exceeding 2*l*. The plan appears to act well.' (Northern Dist. p. 46.) The only objection we have heard to the system is that the prisoner will be inclined to neglect the lessons given him by the chaplain in order to do more work. But this is hardly a substantial objection, and it cannot be a very difficult matter to apportion their time in a well-regulated prison; and the moral force added to the chaplain's teaching by the practice of self-help and industry must disarm his criticisms, and be gladly accepted as an assistance to his labours.

While so strongly urging the benefits of industrial employment as against simple penal labour, we do not wish it to be thought that we have forgotten the outcry against all remunerative trade in gaols, and of the competition against honest labour. We think that there are considerable grounds for the complaints, and it is not to be wondered at that many energetic philanthropic men have steadily opposed it in all its forms.

We have already adverted to the steam machinery in use at Wakefield, and we do think that this is carrying a good system to excess, and that it is not right, that it is not fair to an honest trade, or desirable from economic points of view, to turn a prison into a vast steam manufactory. There can be no doubt that the mat trade is a sufferer to a very great extent by the almost universal introduction of mat-making into our prisons; even the Government prisons (at all events at Pentonville) having

largely engaged in this manufacture. We think all steam and mills should be prohibited that some regulation might be made limiting the manufacture of particular class of goods to a certain number of prisons or certain districts. Mat-making is popular because it pays fairly, and a prisoner can be employed in his cell in their manufacture; we confess to a dislike to this in the living cell; it takes up of the room and causes a quantity of dust, which cannot be advisable in so confined a space. Oakum-picking is not, as a paying employment; at present, indeed, it answers very well, but inland a prisoner does not more than 1*d*. a day in prisons.

There is an important element connected with prison life neglected; we mean the endeavours to aid the prisoner on his discharge. The Prisoners' Aid Society deals with convicts, and the very few societies to help criminals leaving our country or foreign gaols. In the City of London is a useful society of the kind called the 'Sheriffs' Fund Society,' which, we are informed, is working with the best results. It aids the discharged prisoners by 'looking after them over that trying time between their release and obtaining employment, by a small weekly allowance which to go and seek work; chasing a little stock to start in business; and in some instances it enables those who have a prospect of doing well abroad to emigrate. It also defrays the expenses incidental to the admission of women into the various home refuges provided for their various conditions. . . . It occasionally helps the families of prisoners just at the time of dire distress when they are suddenly deprived of the father who has been

ported them.' At Wakefield, there are useful Homes for male and female prisoners, which seem to have worked with satisfactory results. There are also ties in some foreign countries and discharged prisoners. At Anna there is one which does not seem very successful (*Prisons, &c.*). In France there is an Order of Sisters, viz. of the 'Order of Marie-Joseph,' who have devoted themselves, with good results, to the formation of refuges for women, and who also are permitted to visit the women while in prison. 'The Order was founded many years ago for the service of the revision of female prisons' (*Prisons, &c.* pp. 66, 93). In Baden there are twenty-one societies, the results of which are satisfactory (p. 103). In Bavaria they exist in every province, 'but they are much hampered in their activity by ignorance' (p. 112). There are many in Prussia, but the results are apparently not very satisfactory (p. 128). On the whole, such success must depend to a great extent on the good sense and bene-

volence of the managers; it is a system which cannot be forced or improved by Government interference. Perhaps an order of professionally trained sisters is the most effective way of doing good; and possibly in these days of sisterhoods and societies we may yet find some loving devoted women following the beneficent example of the French Order of Marie-Joseph.

We have now considered most of the prominent subjects of discussion with regard to prison arrangements. We believe our goals to be good, but we trust we may have them better. The Home Secretary has a difficult task before him. He will have to deal especially with the question of the desirability of strictly penal punishment; of the excess of industrial labour; of the payment of 'prison ministers;' and of the more effective supervision and central control over the prisons. These, and many minor points, are sufficient for the energies of a strong mind; and knowing the capacity of our present Home Secretary, we, with the utmost confidence, leave the matter in his hands.

J. H.



MAXIMS AND REFLECTIONS.

FROM THE GERMAN OF GOETHE.

ALL that is wise has been thought already; we must try, however, to think it again.

How shall you learn to know yourself?—Not by contemplation, but action. Strive to do your duty, and you will soon discover what stuff you are made of.

But what is your duty?—To fulfil the claims of the day.

The rational universe is to be considered as a great undying Individual, which is incessantly producing that which it must, and thereby makes itself lord over even the accidental.

The longer I live the more it annoys me to see man, whose highest function consists in ruling Nature, and in emancipating himself and those belonging to him from the encompassing necessity—when I see him, from some false preconceived notion, doing the very reverse of what he intended, and then miserably bungling about in the parts because the design of the whole is spoiled.

Let the active able man deserve and expect:

From the Great—grace;
From the Powerful—favour;
From the Good and Active—help;
From the Multitude—liking;
From the Individual—love.

Everyone must think in his own way; for he will always discover some sort of truth or approximation to truth which helps him through his life. But he must not let himself drift along; he must exercise self-control; it beseems not man to allow himself to be ruled by mere instinct.

Unlimited activity of whatever kind must at last end in bankruptcy.

In the works of man, as of Nature, it is the intention is chiefly worth studying.

Men come to mistake the and others because they take means as an end, the consequence being that their very activities their accomplishing as or perhaps effects the reverse what was designed.

What we plan, what we take, should already be so mapped out and so beautified its proportions that the Work interfering could only mar it should thus be in an advantageous position to adjust what might got out of joint, and to repair what had been destroyed.

It is extremely difficult to sort and sift whole, half, and errors, and to put what of truth contain in its proper place.

Truth need not always be bodied; enough if it hover like a spiritual essence, which one peace and fills the atmosphere with a solemn sweetness like monious music of bells.

‘Blowing is not playing flute; you must use your finger’

Generalisations and great conceit are always preparatory most lamentable mishaps.

Botanists have a class of which they name *Incomplete* might in the same sense as incomplete, imperfect men—namely, whose longing and gling are not in proportion to doing and performing.

The smallest man may be complete by confining his actions to the limits of his capacity and but even fine gifts are often ruined, and annihilated if the

proportion be wanting. It will often display its new time; for who fulfil satisfactorily the new age every way full of it and also in rapidest

sons of wise activity, gauged their powers, with sense and moderation to become proficient in knowledge of the universe. mistake: to hold oneself and rate oneself too

ally meet with young men I see nothing I could do or improved; nevertheless anxious when I see highly able to swim with of the times; and I am impelled in this case attention to the fact that a rail boat, had the rudder in his hands in order that not allow himself to be chance currents, but by of his judgment.

shall a young man by his efforts discover that anybody does, approves, or is to be hurtful and reprehensible? How shall he not let his nature and temperament waft him in the same direction?

regard it as the greatest of our time, in which we are allowed to attain to maturity each moment is swallowed by its successor, the day within the day, and that we continually live from without, without in reality anything. Do we not assess newspapers for the day? A ready wit, might still intercalate and the other. Thus anybody thinks, fancies, attends doing, is dragged by. Nobody must suffer but as a pastime for

others, the news flying from house to house, from city to city, from country to country, and, at last, from continent to continent, with incredible velocity.

But we can as little hope to put down the steam-engine as these phenomena showing themselves in the moral world: the animation of commerce, the swift passage of paper-money, the accumulation of debt to pay debt, such are the enormously complicated elements which the young man is called upon to deal with at present. It is well if he is endowed by Nature with quiet and moderation, making no exorbitant claims on the world on the one hand, nor allowing himself to be swayed by it on the other.

In every circle the Time-spirit lies in wait for him, and nothing is more necessary than to point out to him early enough the direction in which his will ought to steer.

The importance of the most innocent speeches and acts increases with our years, and I strive continually to direct the attention of those whom I see often about me, to the difference there is between sincerity, confidence, and indiscretion; nay, that in reality there is no difference, but rather a subtle transition—which ought to be noticed, or, better still, felt—from what is most harmless to the most mischievous.

To this end we ought to cultivate our tact, or we run the risk of inadvertently forfeiting people's favour from the same cause which first gained it us. We naturally learn this in our course through life, but only after having paid a heavy school-fee for it, which unfortunately we cannot prevent our successors from being obliged to pay likewise.

The relation of the arts and sciences to life varies in proportion to the stage of development they have

attained, to the character of the times, and a thousand other accidental circumstances; it is not easy for anyone, therefore, to form a sound conclusion on the subject as a whole.

Poetry acts chiefly at the earlier stage of human conditions, be they either quite rude, half-civilised, or in a transitional period of civilisation; or at the first acquaintance with an alien civilisation, so that one may say the action of novelty is always concerned in it.

Music, in the best sense, does not require novelty; nay, the older it is and the more we are accustomed to it, the greater its effect.

The dignity of art perhaps chiefly manifests itself in music, as it contains no adventitious elements. Consisting chiefly in form and feeling, it heightens and refines whatever it expresses.

Music is either sacred or profane. The sacred character is thoroughly suited to its dignity, and through this it exercises the most potent influence on life, an influence continuing the same at all times and epochs. Profane music ought to be permeated by cheerfulness.

That species of music which mixes up the sacred and profane character is godless, while that of a hybrid kind, which loves to express weak, pitiable, and miserable feelings, becomes absurd; for it is not grave enough for sacredness, and lacks the leading characteristics of its opposite—gaiety.

The sacred character of church music, the gaiety and sportiveness of popular melodies, are the two hinges on which music turns. An infallible effect is always produced by either kind—devotion or dancing. The blending of these two elements is confusing, the dilution turns rapid; and when music endeavours to accommodate itself to didactic

or descriptive poetry, it is cold.

Plastic art produces an upon us at only its highest. On various accounts we are impressed by mediocre work on the whole, they please more than delight us. Sculpture, therefore, should strive to lay hold of a subsidiary interest in the subject, such as is found in the life of remarkable men. But it is also, a high degree of execution must be attained, in order to combine the attributes of true dignity.

Painting is the most accommodating of all the arts, most facile because, even where it is more of a craft than art, we tolerate and take pleasure in much of it on account of its subject-matter; partly on account of its technical skill, however deficient in point of execution, impressive to the educated and uneducated alike; that it is generally acceptable to all, rises but partially to the level of art. Truth in colouring, in faces, and in the relation of objects to one another, is pleasing; and as the eye grows over, is accustomed to see nothing, a misshapen object, or reality or in counterfeit, is offensive to it as a discord in the ear. We tolerate the sorrowful because we habitually see such objects. If the painter, therefore, is but in some degree an artist, he will find more public approval than a musician of the same rank. The minor painter, at least, always acts by himself, while the musician of like standing co-operate with others, in produce some effect by their combined performances.

The question as to whether we ought to institute comparisons between works of art, has been answered as follows: '*noisseur* (it to compare

and a conception, an idea of and ought to be produced. *leur*, on the road to cul- ever, finds most further- abstaining from compari- viewing each merit sepa- y this means feeling and n for the more general are gradually developed. arisons of the uninitiated ct, a species of indolence cape the trouble of judg-

of truth shows itself in g and appreciating what hereever it may exist.

orically tempered human re understand one which elated that, in estimating rary merits and capacities, s also taken into account.

st result to be derived ory is the enthusiasm it

lity challenges originality.

st remember that there y people who, although iginality, yet wish to say r striking, and thus the msical things of all sorts ced.

of a profound and serious ind are placed in a diffi- ion as regards the public.

a who would have me for a peak positively; of the ic I have enough within

tion is so innate in man e try to expel it it retreats ldest nooks and corners, ng unexpectedly when it for any security.

ould know many things d we not wish to know minutely; for an object umes just proportions ; an angle of forty-five

icroscope and telescope

have a tendency to confuse our proper human understanding.

I hold my peace concerning many things, as I do not wish to perplex my fellow-men, and am content to see them rejoicing at what irritates me.

Everything is pernicious that emancipates our intellect without at the same time strengthening our self-control.

It is the *What* rather than the *How* which usually interests people in a work of art; for while able to grasp the former in its parts they cannot apprehend the latter as a whole. Hence comes the love of extracting passages—in the course of which, however, if we are careful observers, we shall see that the total effect is again reproduced, only, in this case, unconsciously to every- body.

The question as to whence the poet has derived his work concerns his subject-matter alone; of the *How* one never learns anything.

Imagination is only regulated by art, more especially by poetry. There is nothing more frightful than imagination devoid of taste.

Mannerism is produced by missing the ideal—is, in fact, a subjective ideal; it rarely, therefore, is wanting in ingenuity.

The philologist depends on the congruity of written tradition. Thus, a manuscript forming the object of research is often full of gaps, of faults of orthography and other objectionable qualities, neces- sarily producing corresponding gaps in the sense. Perhaps a second, perhaps a third copy is discovered, and by instituting comparisons be- tween them the possibility increases of eliciting sense and reason from the manuscript. Nay, the philo- logist makes still another step, and trusts that his own efforts, unaided by external appliances, may enable

him not only to understand the matter in hand, but to reconstruct it afresh as a consistent whole. But special tact and absorption in the departed author being required for this, as well as a certain degree of inventive power, we must not blame the philologist if he also arrogate the right of judgment in matters of taste in which, however, he is not always equally successful.

The poet's function consists in representation. This reaches its climax when it rivals reality, or, in other words, when its descriptions are vivified by his genius to such a degree that they appear actually present. Poetry, at its culminating point, makes the impression of something absolutely external, and as soon as it assumes an inward character its decline begins. That kind of poetry which only represents the inner without embodying it in some external form, or without making us feel the exterior by means of the inner world, is in either case the last stage whence it retrogrades into common life.

Oratory enjoys all the rights and privileges of poetry; it uses and abuses them in order to obtain certain outward, moral and immoral, ends momentarily advantageous in common life.

The real merit of the so-called *Volkslied* consists in its subject being directly inspired by nature. But the poet of culture could enjoy the same advantage if he knew how to avail himself of it.

As a really educated man, however, he will lack that pithiness of phrase always more or less at the command of simply natural persons.

Only he can judge of history who has had a history of his own. This equally applies to nations. The Germans have only become judges of literature since they have possessed a literature themselves.

We are only really alive when we enjoy the goodwill of others.

Piety is not an end, but a means of attaining the highest development of culture by perfect peace of mind. Hence it is to be observed that those who make piety an end in itself for the most part are hypocrites.

'One must do more when one is old than when one was young.'

Even the fulfilment of a desire leaves a sense of being incomplete because we are never wholly satisfied with ourselves.

It is only the loveless who see defects in others; receive these, therefore, if you would come loveless, but not more so than is absolutely necessary.

The greatest good fortune is that which amends our imperfections and balances our faults.

We only acknowledge him as king who is of use to us. We acknowledge the monarch because his government renders our property secure. We expect that he will afford us protection against unpleasant circumstances at home or abroad.

The stream is the miller's as well as servant, and rushes over the wheel: what good is it if it flows listlessly through the village?

He who contents himself with simple experience, and acts accordingly, possesses a sufficient amount of truth. The growing child is called wise in this sense.

The only use of theories is that they make us believe in the existence of phenomena.

Every abstract truth, if actually applied, is brought into human understanding by actual observation, and so the understanding is led on to further reasoning.

He who pitches his demands

who delights in intricate
nces, is liable to error.

From analogy is not to
nned; the advantage of
od is, that it settles
definitely—does not, in
at finality; while the
induction, on the con-
sists in the placing before
deliberate aim, and hurry-
and false ideas along with
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y apprehension, or a cor-
of human affairs, is the
irloom of common sense.

perception of the outer
world is, on the contrary,

st manifests itself in the
understanding, and di-
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ly, chiefly in mathematics,
of forms and numbers,
peech, and in an original,
cal manner in the poetry
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hings act upon us by means
n. History may be called
radition; while that of a
d is mythical, and nearly
imagination; but if we
a third kind of meaning
transformed to mysticism.
sily assumes a subjective
so that we only appro-
which is sympathetic to

ces to be taken into ac-
ce wish to be truly helped
n our development, are :
uratory,
omitant,
erative,
iary,
iering,
gthening,
ering, and
-working Influences.

templation, as well as in
e must distinguish be-
at is attainable and what

is not : failing this, we can accom-
plish little either in life or know-
ledge.

Le sens commun est le génie de
l'humanité.

The common sense which would
pass for the genius of mankind
must be judged by its utterances in
the first place. If we enquire what
are the uses to which it is put by
mankind, we shall discover the fol-
lowing: Man is conditioned by
wants. If these are not satisfied he
grows impatient, and if they are, in-
different. Man, therefore, properly
speaking, oscillates between these
two states; he turns his under-
standing, or so-called common
sense, to account, to satisfy his
wants; but, having succeeded in
this, it behoves him to fill up the
vacuum produced by indifference.
And if this is confined within the
narrowest and most necessary
limits, he may hope to succeed in
his endeavours. But if his wants
are of a higher nature, if they
transcend the circle of ordinary life,
common sense no longer suffices,
ceases to be genius, and the realm
of error opens out before mankind.

Nothing happens, however fool-
ish, which common sense and fortune
may not set right again; but no-
thing reasonable can take place that
chance and folly may not again put
out of joint.

A great idea is no sooner em-
bodied externally than it acts in a
certain sense despotically; whence
its accompanying advantages soon
turn to drawbacks. It is possible,
therefore, to defend and praise
every institution by recalling its
beginnings, and by demonstrating
that everything that was appli-
cable to it at that time must still
continue to be so.

Lessing, who had himself to sub-
mit reluctantly to various restraints,
makes one of his characters say
that 'no man can be forced against

his will.' A clever man, of a cheerful disposition, said: 'He who wills, must;' while a third person of culture added, 'He who comprehends, wills also.' They fancied that they had thus embraced the entire circle of apprehension, volition, and necessity. But, on the whole, man's apprehension of things, whatever its nature, determines his conduct; hence nothing is more frightful than active ignorance.

There are two peaceful powers: Justice and Fitness.

Justice claims what is due, Polity what is seemly. Justice weighs and decides; Polity surveys and orders. Justice refers to the individual, Polity to the community.

The history of the sciences is a mighty fugue, in which the voice of nation after nation becomes successively audible.

If a man will perform all that people require of him, he must over-rate himself.

And we willingly tolerate his self-esteem if it does not grow absurd.

Work makes the workman.

It is much easier to put oneself in the place of a mind involved in positive error than in that of one which dallies with half-truths.

The pleasure which Germans take in a certain licence in art is due to their bungling propensities; for the bungler shrinks from acknowledging a right method, lest he annihilate himself.

It is painful to see how a man of remarkable genius often wars with himself, his circumstances, and his times, and consequently never succeeds in his objects. The poet Bürger is a sad case in point.

The highest respect which an author can show the public is not by gratifying its expectations, but by offering what he himself at

various times may consider and appropriate to the culture attained by his others.

There is no wisdom save

Everybody can detect but not a lie.

The German, having fixed opinions, does not therefore want of freedom in matter of intellect and taste.

Are there not riddles in the world without our riddles of the simplest men?

The smallest hair casts its

What things in my life to accomplish under falseacies, I have nevertheless understand at last.

A freehanded disposition to get favour, especially accompanied by humility.

Ere the bursting forth of storm the dust, so soon it is violently agitated for time.

Even with the best inclination, one does not know his neighbour, and frequently supervenes, distorting everything.

We should know one better did we not always treat ourselves on a par with one

Eminent men fare badly; as one cannot compare to them, one keeps a sharp eye for their faults.

Knowledge of man is of consequence in the world; possess the knack, at any moment, of outwitting the man one has to deal with. This is done by fair means and by foul.

It does not follow that where there is water there must be fish; but wherever we hear frogs there is water.

no knows no language but does not even know that.

are not of much consequence to youth, but we must guard against dragging them with us into age.

annuated errors are rusty, shabby lumber.

the tyrannical folly of Corneille, Corneille had lost sight of himself.

she gets into specialisations—into a blind alley, where she goes forward and will not look back: hence the obstinacy of culture.

metamorphosis in the higher which consists in taking and winning and losing, was excellently depicted by

body has a certain something of his nature which, if published, must excite displeasure.

a man begins to ponder his physical or moral nature, and discovers that he is sick.

demand of nature that a man sometimes lulled without sleep; thence the pleasure of smoking, drinking, and opi-

important for a man of action to fight, but he should not know himself as to whether right

beat about the wall with a fancying at every blow are hitting the nail on the

French language has arisen from the written but the spoken the Latin tongue.

usually-actual, in which for want we can neither discern a nature nor of the will, is common.

imitating and tattooing of the return to animalism.

To write history is one fashion of getting rid of the past.

We do not possess what we do not understand.

Not everybody becomes productive on having a germinal idea transmitted to him; it may only serve to suggest something already quite well known.

Weak-minded persons dispense favours because they consider it a mark of sovereignty.

Nothing is so commonplace but will seem humorous if expressed with a certain oddity of manner.

People always retain sufficient energy to do that of which they are convinced.

Let memory fail so long as you can rely on your judgment at a moment's notice.

The so-called nature poets are men of fresh talents, who have appeared in a stagnant, mannered, and over-cultivated epoch of art,—but rejected by it. They cannot avoid certain platitudes, and may, therefore, seem to have a retrograde tendency; yet they exercise a regenerating influence and cause new progress.

A nation has no judgment till it can judge itself. And this great advantage is of late attainment.

Instead of contradicting my words people should act according to my meaning.

The adversaries of an honest cause do but beat on burning coals; these are scattered abroad and inflame, when otherwise they would not have produced any effect.

Man were not the noblest creature on the earth if he were not too noble for it.

One must leave certain minds in undisturbed possession of their idiosyncrasies.

Works of a certain order are now produced which are null and void

without being absolutely bad ; null for want of substance, yet not bad, as their authors had the general outline of good models in their mind's eye.

He who shirks the idea ends by becoming incapable of forming conceptions.

We justly call those men our masters from whom we always learn ; but not everyone of whom we learn deserves this title.

Lyrical work ought to be full of reason as a whole, and a little unreasonable in detail.

You are all of you like the ocean, which, distinguished by different appellations, is, after all, nothing but salt water.

Empty self-praise is said to smell amiss ; that may be, but the public has no nose for the detection of unjust blame of others.

The novel is a subjective epic, in which the author asks permission to manipulate the world in his particular manner ; all that concerns us, therefore, is to ask whether he has such a manner, and the rest follows of itself.

There are problematical natures unfit for every condition in which they are placed and satisfied with none. Thence arises the monstrous conflict which consumes life without enjoyment.

The real good we do occurs chiefly *clam, vi et precario* (i.e. secretly, perforce, and accidentally).

It is difficult to be just to the present moment ; if indifferent, it bores us ; the good one has to carry, and the bad to drag along.

I should say the happiest man is he who can link the end of his life with its commencement.

Man is of so obstinately contradictory a nature that he will not allow himself to be forced to his own advantage, yet suffers con-

straints of all kinds which his harm.

Foresight is simple, after very complicated.

There must be something about a condition which one in fresh troubles every

Nothing is more common on the point of committing prudent action than to b look-out for a possible case

It is with true opinion one has the courage to with pawns first advance chessboard : they may be but they have inaugurated which must be won.

It is as certain as it is w that truth and error spr the same source ; we mu therefore, beware of injuri lest we injure truth at t time.

Truth appertains to m error is of time. It was, t remarked of an extraordin 'Le malheur des tems a c erreur, mais la force de l'en a fait sortir avec gloire

Everybody has peculiariti he cannot get rid of ; and y ever harmless they may be, frequently the cause of failure.

He who seems not to more than he is, is more seems.

In art and science no h in action, everything dep the object being clearly hended, and treated conform the law of its nature.

When we find sensible : genious persons judging me science in their old age, the simply is, that their expe regarding it and themselv been pitched too high.

I pity those who bew mutability of things, and w

speculations concerning nothingness of the things we are here for, if they are transitory lasting, or possibly if we can estimate their true value.

French call *tourner* conceit softened by may convince us that not possibly have their conceit is hard their gentleness mild and, as one quality the other, they cannot.

any longer at the has lasted a quarter

happened to me, and a work of art discovered on a first inspection, not up to its mark; that it has merits penetrate its secret, variably make the discoveries; descryties in the thing and in myself.

domestic and private are public savings of funds, out of which receive assistance in city; but here the of silently draws his

pietism consists not obstruction of true, intelligible ideas, as in of false ones.

ask me, after having attention to the study superior and inferior we might consider tively the warp and world's web; for the terminates the breadth whereas the latter rability and consis-

tence, with the addition, perhaps, of some sort of design. The shears of the Parcae, on the other hand, control its length, to which all else is finally forced to submit. We will not, however, carry the metaphor any farther.

Books have a fate of their own, of which nothing can deprive them. Who never ate his bread in sorrow, Who never spent the darksome hours Weeping and watching for the morrow, He knows you not, ye unseen Powers.¹

A noble and honoured queen was wont to repeat these sorrowful lines when, condemned to the cruelest exile, she herself became a prey to inexpressible grief. She made herself familiar with a work containing these words as well as so many other painful experiences, and derived thence a melancholy consolation. How is it possible thenceforth to arrest an influence already stretching into boundless time?

I was perfectly delighted, when in the Apollo gallery of the Villa Frascati at Rome, to see with what felicitous invention Domenichino has depicted the scenes most appropriate to the character of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; one remembers, too, that the delight of the pleasantest things is enhanced by being experienced amid magnificent scenery, nay, that noble surroundings lend a certain dignity and significance to even the most indifferent moments of our life.

Truth is a torch, but one of enormous size; so that we try to slink past it in rather a blinking fashion for fear it should burn us.

The Wise have much in common. —*Æschylus.*

¹ quoted from Carlyle's translation of *Wilhelm Meister*. The Queen's son.

A particular want of good sense in many sensible people consists in their not knowing how to interpret what another says when he has not said it exactly as he ought.

Everybody thinks that because he can speak he is entitled to speak about language.

Tolerance comes with age. I see no fault committed that I myself could not have committed at some time or other.

One is never conscientious during action: none but the looker-on has a conscience.

Do the happy really believe that one who suffers is bound to perish with the dignity which the Roman populace required of the Gladiator?

Somebody asked Timon's advice respecting the instruction of his children. 'Let them,' he replied, 'be taught that which they will never comprehend.'

There are people towards whom I feel well disposed, and could wish that I were able to be still better disposed.

Even as long habit may induce us to glance at a watch that has stopped, we may look in a fair lady's eyes as though she loved us still.

Hate is an active, envy a passive displeasure; it need not surprise us, therefore, to see how quickly envy passes into hate.

There is a certain magic in rhythm leading us to believe that its sublimity belongs to ourselves.

Dilettantism taken *au sérieux*, and a mechanical manner of treating science, become pedantry.

Only a master can further art. But patrons may with propriety stimulate the artist himself: this, however, does not always further the interests of art.

Perspicuity consists in a proper distribution of light and shade.' *Hannibal*. Hear, hear!

Shakespeare abounds in metaphors, which are peculiar ideas, in fact a manner ill to our times, but quite appropriate in an age when art of every kind was under the influence of it.

He also takes his simile objects whence we would not ours; as, for example, from Printing had already been discontinued for more than a century, yet was still regarded as a sacred art as may be gathered from things of that time; and he came that the high-minds regarded it as something divine and venerable; but our books are stitched together, and we are conscious of respect for either the form or contents.

The most foolish of all men consists in young men of talents fearing to lose their originality by acknowledging which have already been imitated by others.

Scholars have usually a ridiculous manner of refuting an error in their eyes as soon as once the proportions of a crime are shown.

It is impossible that any man should ever distinctly appreciate himself.

No sooner had subject so-called sentimental poetry placed on a level with poetical objective and realistic tend consummation not to be attained unless we chose to count modern poetry, than it was expected that, even in the advent of men of true genius, they would thus prefer depicting the intimacies of the inner life to the great and busy world of them. And this method prevailed to such an extent that actually possess a poetry of tropes, to which one must concede, however, certain merits of its own.

AN AUTUMN IN WESTERN FRANCE.

IV.—MORE OF FINISTÈRE.

orth while to make the journey to Brest from Nantes, I am tempted to say from England, sake of a day at Plougastel. Of all the isolated sea-coast towns found in Brittany, and numerous, that of Plougastel is the most striking and curious. One, therefore, who has come here, should be deterred from an excursion sufficiently insisted upon for the sake of the books, and easy enough in the weather. If the weather is not more rain is said to fall in it than in any other part of the west; if you are bored to wait at your hotel, put up with it; if your time is limited, relinquish it for anything else, but on no account depart without having seen it.

As to its history to begin from time immemorial, the men and the caps of the men, and the dresses of the women, resembling the Egyptian goddess Isis, seemed to warrant the tradition of their Eastern origin handed on by ancient writers. The folks in these parts call themselves Galiléans, and they have remained a colony apart like the Jews, marrying amongst each other, and keeping up old customs and habits. Some historians ascribed their origin to that of Asiatic tribes introduced into Europe spoken of by the Siculus and other old writers, and upon the occasion of the recent Science Congress at Brest the subject was fully entered upon, bringing a discussion upon the geology of Western France. The historians all agree upon it, namely, that certain mountains from the region of the Pyrenees towards this part of Europe

did take place; some say that the Christians driven out of Egypt settled at Locudy, near Quimper, though no evidence bears out the suggestion; whereas in some parts of Brittany, notably Plougastel, the inhabitants certainly do recall by their dress an Asiatic descent, fancifully or otherwise. Although they go to mass, and the famous Quinipily Venus — also supposed to be of Egyptian origin — is no longer worshipped with mystic rites, there is little doubt that the Catholicism is a mere whitewash, as at the Ile de Batz, afterwards to be described.

The subject of ethnology, however, where such a mixture of populations has to be handled as that of Brittany, is inexhaustible, and I merely hold up one of the threads of the many-tangled skein as an example of the rest. Plougastel is not the only isolated little colony, as we have seen, and others were met with before my round of travel was over.

The weather, which had been rainy and windy during my incarceration — no great hardship with pleasant friends and kindly care from the people of the house — cleared up as if on purpose to enable me to see Plougastel. That 28th of October could hardly have been brighter, balmier, and more glowing in Algeria or Southern Europe, and in neither would you find a lovelier sight than the harbour of Brest as you drive towards Plougastel. Before is a beautiful little bay, calm, blue, and sunny, shut in by rocks of fantastic shape, and distant purple mountains (the Arez chain that no Breton can be brought to call hills); behind, a wide view of the open sea,

with green hills sloping to the shore, ships at anchor and fishing boats gliding about airily as butterflies; whilst the road, bordered with lofty trees still in full leafage, made a framework of green through which we got one glimpse after another of this calm, lovely scene. Arrived at the ferry, we put up the horses, and after waiting an hour, crossed with a large number of country folks going to the fair. Some were from Plougastel—the women in their gay, naïve, and most becoming attire, the men in red Phrygian caps, blue vests and trousers, and crimson sashes; their dark curly locks, olive complexion, and black eyes, and often cunning or half-savage look, reminding me of Albanians. The cast of countenance is as unlike the Breton as can be; the latter being open, simple, and genial, mingled with proud reserve and melancholy. A mile or so of winding road, bordered with trees and ascending sharply, having wild volcanic rocks on either side, leads to the unattractive little town of Plougastel. The houses are dark and dirty, the streets narrow and ill-paved, and to-day so blocked with pigs, cows, calves, sheep, and their owners, that it was difficult to get along. The ordinary dress of the people was bright and picturesque, but on a sudden our guide cried out, 'See that lad so strangely dressed; let us go and ask him from what country he comes.' The boy, in scarlet trousers, green jacket, and broad hat with coloured streamers, looking as gay as a Merry Andrew, or rather to be compared to those gorgeous figures we admire so much in the streets of Cairo and Algiers, was no stranger but 'a wedding guest,' and his mother, who was also very gaily attired, offered to take us to see the two brides, for it was a double wedding that had taken place that morning. Two brides, after all I had heard about the gala

costume of Plougastel, was fortune indeed, and we joyfully followed our gorgeously attired guides to a little inn where wedding guests were assembled was a very dirty little inn indeed, and we preferred to wait outside rather than accept the courteous invitation to enter. Meantime chatted as well as we could till the mediation of my guide, none else being able to speak a word of French. I complimented the two—for two or three had gathered round me—on the elegance of their dress, and said in English that it was nothing to be seen so far from whereupon one said, 'But you are a queen in England;' and I could not be brought to believe that their costume could be compared to that of the Queen of La Gu Bretagne. 'You can't speak French,' they said with as much surprise as we might ask of our Scotch Welsh neighbours, 'You can't speak English?' but it was all amused and astonished that an English lady could find anything worth seeing at Plougastel. All on a sudden, out they came, brides, bridegrooms, and wedding guests, and surely no more magnificent olden time, or in court pageants, or new, or masqueraders at a ball, or carnival, made so strange and so a spectacle. The dingy little dresses, blazed with the dancing of their garments, which, as bright as dyes could make them, fashioned into fanciful and were yet without a shade of vulgarity or grotesqueness.

The two brides, who were fresh-coloured, and pretty, dressed exactly alike, and in a gala costume of Plougastel is one of the most curious in Brittany, I try to describe it accurately. They wore then the Egyptian costume before mentioned, the principal feature of which is the long side skirt, and, it is hardly necessary to say of fine cambric, and exquisitely

s of brightest, softest, l gold green cloth, intiest shape, showing indervest of dark blue sleeves and chemi-ndescribable arrange-rts and petticoats, so ow different coloured above and below, the ours being violet, crim-ge; gay red-and-gold bers were worn under borts, and sleeves, vest, re all elaborately and nmed with silk and The dress of the elder oberer—petticoat and ark-violet cloth, with ark green vest with and large white collar front of the chest like a d now for the men. med black felt hat, yard in diameter, braids of all colours, ends; jackets of the l green cloth as that of mbroidered vest, brown, ue, as the case might waist sashes, and full h trousers, the latter is costume being an

Even in Plougastel of costume is to modi-future travellers may ve the opportunity of ustic pageant I have to describe accurately. feast was to take place ck, and meantime the amusing themselves here and there. One rooms was a tall, fine, ung fellow; but only ade friends with us, taking leave, we were enter the dirty little drink the health of the d couple in very nasty e people are said to be gh in their ways, be-en in Brittany, as far id decencies go. They at like the Arabs, out

of one dish; and, after seeing the dingy little place in which this superb assemblage met—for such a term is not too strong to apply to the finest cloth, the daintiest linen, and the richest braid, all of which they wore—I could believe anything.

There is only one thing to see at Plougastel besides the costume,—a curious old Calvary, unique in this the land of uniqueness. The crucified Saviour is in the middle, with the two thieves on either side, and below, on various levels or stages, are represented in green granite stone the events of the Life and Passion, the figures—there are two hundred in all—being curiously lifelike, odd, and homely. On the entry into Jerusalem, Jesus Christ is preceded by Breton peasants in mediæval costumes, with the old musical instruments of Armorica—bagpipe, tambourine, and musette, the only ones now seen in the country; and there is much rude pathos in design and execution, as well as a considerable amount of artistic power. It is quite possible, as a writer on this subject, himself a Breton, says, that love of country rather than ignorance actuated this anachronism, just as another Breton writer—the collaborateur of *La Tour d'Auvergne*, in his work, *Origines Gauloises*—affirms that the Celtic language was that of our primitive forefathers, and that Adam and Eve spoke Breton in Paradise.

Above these dramatic arrays of statuettes, all carved in the grey Kersanton granite, so plentiful in Brittany, the three crucifixes stand out boldly. Those of the Saviour and the good thief are surmounted by angels, that of the wicked thief with a winged demon. All kinds of fanciful symbolization are used to heighten the effect; and nothing but a series of photographs, which I believe is not to be had, would give an accurate idea of this primitive and interesting work of

mediaeval art. Of all the Calvaries in Brittany, this is the most curious and elaborate, and on no account is it to be missed. The date assigned is 1602, which seems hardly to warrant the title of mediaeval, only, as some one has said, 'The middle ages lasted longer in Brittany than elsewhere'—an assertion borne out by the history of its ecclesiastical architecture throughout the country. There are several churches near Plougastel worth seeing, but a short autumn day did not admit of this, as much time is lost in waiting for the ferry-boat. The fair, too, was a curious sight, but spoiled by the atrocious treatment of the animals. Never shall I forget what a spectacle was presented in the open market-place and at the ferry. Lying on the ground like bunches of carrots, tied by the four feet in such a manner that they could not stir, tortured in a hundred ways by the boys who had charge of them, were hundreds of calves a few days old only, half dead with hunger and ill-treatment; whilst pigs, cows, and sheep were hardly better served. 'C'est à manger,' said the nice-looking woman who had conducted me to the bridal party, when we remonstrated with her. Such brutality as we saw shown to these helpless little creatures, the calves, which were there in large numbers, I shall never remember without horror. When a market cart came up, they were thrown out on the ground exactly as if they were stones or potatoes; and it was the same at the landing-place of the ferry. So sickening was the sight that we were thankful to get away, and not a dozen weddings or Calvaries would have stopped us. Yet, the little peninsula of Plougastel would deserve a much longer visit. Its scenery, mixed, pastoral, and savage, of which the walk to the ferry only affords a glimpse, is romantic in the extreme. The southern coast offers a fruitful soil, lightly covering the

volcanic rocks, and delicious mate; and here are cultivated in open air, early strawberries, and green peas, and other choicest for the Brest markets; while the north side is a mere rocky waste where sheep find but scanty age, and the bustard, sparrow and grey crow build their nests. The population, 6,000 in all, possessing a commune of 1,000 hectares, is said to be rich consists half of fishermen and half of cultivators. Many varieties of shell-fish are found; shrimps are abundant, and mud-beds also exist in the neighbourhood; indeed, the principal characteristic of Breton fare is the variety of excellent fish, a luxury in inland places. The winding lane leading down to the ferry reminded me of Devon whilst the fantastic pile of rocks rising beyond on either side, resembled those of Tanbridge though on a far larger scale. The scene strikes a stranger oddly the rustic, home-like lane, not so long, should divide from the world a people utterly historic, and mysterious. Experience is certainly one of the surprising of the many that meet you in Brittany.

The fishermen and sailors for we saw many, have an extraordinary health and vigour about them, and their speech here sounds a strange and jumble of uncouth words. A perpetual 'Ja, ja,' recalling the yodel of the Germans, and other gutturals, greet the ear. That of talking got through the people is astounding.

The afternoon was, if possible, more southern-like, glowing and delicious than the morning. I walked on in advance of the marriage, looking back frequently at the lovely picture behind me; the thystine hills, shattering in a blue bay, on the surface of

boats with rich brown
 nless as painted ships
 ted ocean.' It seemed
 ve that the peace and
 ch a scene should be
 he barbarities I have
 to; and being in that
 ad when it seems im-
 elp making an effort,
 xotic, on behalf of the
 said to myself, when
 st advancing towards
 an opportunity. He is
 uré of Plougastel. I
 the curé.' Advancing
 and appealingly, I said
 French, 'Monsieur le
 an English traveller,
 visited Plougastel. It
 nd I assure you, in all
 not even in Egypt, or
 arabs of Algeria, have
 such reckless cruelty
 Preach to these poor
 e Curé, on this sub-
 will listen to you.
 ce péché.' 'Madame,'
 priest, a middle-aged,
 ot ill-natured looking
 at you say is true;
 are cruel to their ani-
 law forbids it. *Mais,*
est pas un péché. (It is
 ot a sin, M. le Curé,'
 rture the innocent ani-
 nd has sent to minister
 nd comfort?' But he
 ext: 'The law forbids
 o sin.'
 started for Morlaix, the
 that charming writer,
 estre, and of General
 indomitable adver-
 naparte and of Albert
 Froissard des moines
 the patient and ro-
 nieler of the life, acts,
 f Breton saints. His
 e found in the public
 ntes, and may be com-
 l who are likely to live
 ears, but otherwise a
 are preferable.
 railway between Lan-

derneau and Landivisian, is cut
 through scenery like the Tyrol—
 jagged rocks, pine-clad heights,
 wide hills not covered with the
 tawny purple and faded gold of
 heather and gorse, all bright and
 gleaming, despite a cold grey sky
 and storms of rain after a bright
 unclouded morning. There was
 every conceivable shade of red,
 yellow, and green in these wooded
 ravines, sweeps of moor, or *Landes*,
 and deep-dipping valleys, with
 brawling mountain streams rush-
 ing through their midst. Over the
 dark western hills lay a bright band
 of dazzling gold, where the sun had
 set; all else was cold, grey, sombre,
 Morlaix must be charming in
 summer time. It is like two Mal-
 verns put together; the town lying
 in a narrow valley, shut in by lofty
 hills and woods, amid which peep
 white villas with pleasant and beau-
 tiful effect. The general appear-
 ance of the town itself is an odd
 jumble of houses, churches, river,
 bridges, gardens, shut in by green
 hills. It is not, however, so much
 the surroundings or *tout ensemble* of
 Morlaix, beautiful as it is, with
 running waters and hanging woods,
 and terrace upon terrace of sunny
 sward, that strike the stranger,
 but Morlaix itself. No words can
 give any idea of the picturesque-
 ness of the narrow streets, noisy all
 day long with the clattering of
 sabots, and animated in a quiet,
 dead alive, dreamy sort of way.
 The houses are built with one storey
 overlapping the other, so that the
 upper of two placed opposite each
 other nearly meet, all embellished
 with stained wooden framework,
 and, in some cases, with stone cor-
 nices, representing grinning de-
 mons, saints, bag-pipe players, or
 heraldic devices. The lower part
 of the house is open in the daytime,
 and forms a kind of bazaar like
 those of the East, the head of the
 proprietor just peeping above the
 pile of bright coloured cloth or other

goods. For bright colours abound, lighting up the narrow dusky streets and dull autumn days; and the costume has a quaintness of its own, the women's being distinguished by a cap hanging down on the back, something like the night-caps worn by our grandfathers.

There was little to detain me at Morlaix, and the days were getting shorter and shorter, so I hastened on to St. Pol de Léon, 'the utmost limit of my farthest sail' in Finistère. The drive thither from Morlaix made me realise that I was approaching the Land's End, the *Finis terræ*, of France. From my seat in the coupé of the rumbling old diligence, which goes at a pace of two miles and a half an hour, I had a good view of the country we passed through; at first, monotonous stretches of heath and moorland, with occasional patches of fairly cultivated ground and farmsteads, or a château standing in wide-stretching parks, at some distance from the road. As we got farther on, the scene grew wilder and more solitary: on either side lay dreary brown wastes, the white roads cutting them at right angles now and then, and winding through the sombre heath and brush-wood, but adding to the dreariness.

Market-carts met us, jogging slowly towards Morlaix; everybody greets us, or rather the diligence, courteously—the men raising their hats, the women even stopping their roadside washing to say Good-day. Beggars abound, and lie in wait for the diligence, springing out upon us whenever we stop. There is an open, independent, and manly-bearing look about the country-folks, which bears out their reputation for pride and dignified character.

The first impression of St. Pol de Léon stands out alone amid my experiences of foreign travel. I can remember nothing so unique, so solemn, so melancholy, and so majestic. Far off, rising stately above

wide brown plain, barren and silvery sea, you see the twin St. Pol, and near it, but far above, the airy, glorious of the Creizker, so celebrated in Breton legend and song, deservedly the boast of the of Léon. Slowly the details of the scene are made out: the little town clustered around the gracious Cathedral, the garden fields stretching to the sea, the Creizker crowning all, its tall solid spire, pierced with shaped openings, letting in the 'Were an angel to come heaven,' writes a Breton, 'he would alight on the Creizker before setting foot on Breton soil.' It is one of the hundreds of masterpieces of architecture.

The town itself is primitive and melancholy, antiquated. White-robed nuns shuffle about, not even looking up at the diligence—the only connecting link with the great world—stately-looking nuns, in black and white, dark-complexioned and broad-built, dressed in black with broad purple waist-sashes, their hats to the driver give a look of oil-worn weather-beaten wood. Their black dresses and white headscarves are noted at us from their waving the rivulet at their front. There is no more movement in this little mediæval town than in a plague-struck city; no rumbling wheels, no noise except the clanging of sabots in the unpaved streets, no gas to light the way, but lanterns slung across on ropes; men and children walking in traditional or rather modern dress, only the priests and staid-looking country folks with a Spanish look of haughtiness about them, a Spanish picturesqueness in their dress.

From my window in the hotel I have a strange weird prospect of some homely and cheerful life near at hand. Close within and straight far back is a

wer, and vegetable garden to-day, the 30th of a few splendid red lilies in blossom, fuchsias also, and pansy-like flowers in plenty, and singing in the bushes were summer. It is five

in the afternoon, yet so soft is the air here that I have my windows open. The sea is a deep grey, but with a tinge of blue in the purple clouds just now burnished with a golden glow; the rich ripe gold of the sky and the dark blue sea and distant low-lying hills. A group of stately sea pines rises and towers over all and breaks the monotony of wide, straight lines, at this moment the gloomy feature of the landscape else being tinted with orange and purple. My heart is better, and certainly not worse. The floor of my room is much like a granary floor, but only grittier and dirtier. There are no bells, and the gambolling in the wainscoting is a troop of schoolchildren at play. But the bed is, as you might expect, clean and comfortable. The bed linen being of that Breton homespun which is washed through the odious and some process called in English 'bleaching,' but, being dried over a fire, is here as fresh before putting on the bed as all know what dampness is, and the inventor of the machine has much to answer for in Brittany appearance is as good as health, and you may have the somewhat rough-washed linen being as dry as a bone as shine can make it.

On the shore here, reached in a few minutes, reminded me of the sands at low tide. There is a quiet glow upon the grey sea-grey water, and dark cliffs lying on either side. It is oppressively quiet, dreamy,

and lovely; but close to the sea were women washing their linen, two gendarmes chatting, and children playing. Before me lay the mysterious little island called Ile de Batz, purple in the gathering twilight, and far away on the sands were the lonely figures of shrimpers with their nets. Returning, the spires of St. Pol and the lofty Creizker, with its openings like stars peeping out of a dark night, stood out grandly from amid the wide-stretching half-Spanish, half-Cornish landscape.

The interiors—as I glance at them on my homeward walk—looked no cleaner than those of Morbihan. Hens and chickens live with the family, and the cowhouse, if cowhouse there be, opens on to the general apartment. Of these interiors I shall speak more at length when describing the numerous peasant farms I saw near Hennebont and also at Nozay, in Loire Inférieure. A Breton interior is not an object to delight the eye, like those of England and Holland. Admiration as are the peasants here in many respects, they have not yet learned how to make their houses attractive without and comfortable within, and you may look in vain for the well-scrubbed floors, pretty gardens, and trim dressers of a Suffolk cottage.

Next morning was Sunday, and I awoke to the sound of birds singing and bells chiming. The bright sunshine and soft air make it difficult to realize that to-morrow is the 1st of November. The monotony of the quiet streets is broken by the cathedral bells and the bustle of church-going and church-gossiping; for an extraordinary amount of talk goes on before and after service, diversified with hot coffee, chestnuts, cakes, and fruit, in which the vendors must do a considerable amount of business. Early in the morning crowds had gathered round the Cathedral, the men scrupulously

dressed in broad-brimmed felt hats with hanging streamers, short jackets and ordinary trousers of fine black cloth, the jackets embroidered, an open waistcoat trimmed with many rows of buttons, and broad rich sashes round the waist, of deep purple or bright blue French merino; the women no less scrupulously and soberly attired in black, only relieved by white mob-caps.

As I drove to Roscoff, we met numbers of pedestrians trudging towards St. Pol in time for mass, all saluting us with grave politeness. My driver, who could speak scant French, and who carried his Sunday clothes with him to Roscoff, where he put them on, and went to church as smart as any, was a type of the Léonnais—reserved, dignified, courteous, a striking contrast to the gay and garrulous people of Quimper. We drove amid a succession of fertile fields and gardens; these artichoke and asparagus beds supplying the early London markets. The soil here is extraordinarily productive, and its produce, notably potatoes and early vegetables, are carried to all parts, the choicest being sent to England. Flower-gardens are found at Roscoff, a sleepy little little port, with a quaint old church, and an indescribable look and feeling of Cornwall about it. The air is so soft and warm that one wonders a great health resort has not sprung up here, where surely even sickly people might live to be centenarians—if they did not die of ennui.

The church was so crowded that I could not find standing room, so, finding a friend's friend at home, I had a long talk with him instead of listening to a sermon. He was a doctor, learned, a scholar, and a musician, who, after travelling all over the world, had retired with characteristic Breton love of country to pursue his studies and his avocation at this truly *Finis terre*, or World's end.

'You must cross over Ile de Batz in time for afternoon service, and see the "Druid" he said. 'These people are unlike any other in Brittany well worth studying, only ye days instead of hours. They go to mass and are Catholics, but their religion, Druidism. They are except courteous to strangers, but do not speak a word of French is a great drawback to interest. This courteousness and gentility characterises the Bretons, which they greatly revere. You must carefully examine physiognomy at-vepers this noon.' Many other interesting things the doctor told me the people of the Ile de Batz (he supposes to be the descendants of a Phœnician colony) and ways, and I was only sorry he did not admit of a longer stay. Fine weather, I am sure many might profitably and agreeably spend here. The hotel looks comfortable, the climate seems deliciously soft and mild, as people have a frank pleasant and an uncommonly good looks—dark hair and eyes, complexion, and good features is rare to see an ugly face in parts.

Whilst waiting for the mail which in its turn waited for mails, I strolled down to the harbour, where are to be found in those exquisitely lovely shells, rainbow and pearl linings and grey exteriors, sold largely in land, and many others equally namental of a smaller kind. Roscoff is resorted to for sea-bath in summer, and its little port considerable business with England in the way of fruit and vegetables. Two melancholy pages in its history are connected with Here Mary Queen of Scots in when a child of five years old her way to France, and found

el, now in ruins; and ended the Young Pre-
ring fortunately evaded
of English privateers
len.

ch, like many others in
Finistère and the Côtes
as a pagado-like tower,
de the sky-blue ceiling,
f vaulting picked out in
old, and in the chancel
tars, has a rich and fan-
.

These churches are
, and the curious ossu-
churchoyard are charac-
them.

sing to the Ile de Batz,
as inviting this clear
is a trifle; but at low
you have to walk, or
le, for a quarter of a
s the wet sands and
require boots of the
st description. To be
on such a day was
nd the unclouded blue
urple waves, and burnt-
cs made up a glowing
n the little mail-boat
a dozen passengers, all
ton as fast as they could.

one of the so-called
's,' or women of the Ile
ong them, very young
wore a wedding ring,
modestly put on the
tockings she had wisely
get down to the boat.
pretty brunette, and her
physical strength and
rits was delightful to
ress was severely simple
essibly dignified—gown
st, finest black French
de with a plain artistic
mpulsively white linen
with embroidered collar
, and a hood of creamy
mere, so spotless, soft,
l that a duchess might
on to go to the opera.
the island, we saw

crowds of women and children in
this costume, and men whose looks
betokened their seafaring life—all
the men are sailors here, whilst the
women cultivate the soil—hastening
to vespers, the men loitering out-
side the church till the last mo-
ment, as is the fashion in English
country places. Inside, the con-
gregation presented so strange an
appearance that it was difficult to
believe we were not assisting at
some solemn ceremony, instead of
an ordinary Sunday service. There
was not a bit of colour in the
church except a gay baby's hood;
the assemblage of black-robed,
white-hooded women, looking more
like a concourse of nuns than ordi-
nary country folks, and the black
dress of the men, when they
entered, did not relieve the mono-
tony. The prevailing characteristics
of this curious and mysterious
population, hardy sailors and no
less hardy women farmers, seemed
to me physical strength, *bonhomie*,
and animal spirits, but of course
they require to be known.

Many interesting experiences
might doubtless be gathered by
anyone versed in Breton who
should take up his abode here for
a time.¹ On the shore is a rock
called *Roche Moloch*, 'Le dien in-
fanticide des Phéniciens, Moloch
l'impitoyable, aurait eu donc là son
autel.'

My coachman, who, as I have
before mentioned, took his Sunday
clothes with him to Roscoff and
there put them on, came in to say
a prayer or two, then went away.
The devotion of the devout Bretons
reaches its culminating point at
this Land's End, and at St. Pol de
Léon church-going seems the chief
business of life with all classes.

What can I say that is worth
saying about the twin glories of
St. Pol de Léon itself—the Catho-
dral and the Creizker? Such full

¹ See St. Martin's 'Archéologie Celtique,' part 4.

and admirable descriptions are to be found in other writers, that another here would be superfluous and could not be original.² Perhaps the stranger's first impression on entering the Cathedral is one of disappointment. He will find there none of the gorgeousness which may have dazzled him at Burgos and Toledo, not even the sombre richness of Nantes or the lightness and lustrousness of Quimper. All here is cold, chaste, classic. That the interior has, however, greatly suffered under the hand of the so-called *restaurateur*, may be gathered from a work of Emile Souvestre, '*En Bretagne*,' written many years ago, in which he relates his dismay at finding after two years' absence, the beautiful cathedral of St. Pol de Léon, which he had left so sombre and mysterious, its arches of greenish Kersanton marble, giving it the appearance of architecture in bronze, suddenly transformed by the hand of the whitewasher till it looked like a *salle de guinguette* or a refreshment-room built a few days since! It is the extreme beauty of its proportions and construction rather than the richness of its decoration or its size, which makes St. Pol de Léon pre-eminent among the numerous beautiful old churches of Brittany. Many others are more curious, and in some respects more interesting, but none—excepting perhaps Dol—so perfect; and the lovers of Gothic architecture who may undertake a long journey to see it will be amply repaid. It was finished in the golden age of Gothic architecture—the nave, spires, and side porch dating from the thirteenth, the rest from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Nor must the extraordinariness of its site be left out of consideration. Built close to the sea, and com-

pletely isolated from the modern world by its nothing can be more striking the approach to it from tance, or the mediæval and quaintness of its grey streets. The spire of the a word meaning centre of t and which has been called of Brittany, is chiefly seen from without, the interior small and without any features, except the same curve of the nave so common in Quimper Cathedral. The and tower supporting it is *de force* of architecture, in an effect as striking beautiful. It is three hundred ninety-three feet high, and built of the dark greenish Breton granite, so plentiful in Brittany and so much used in Brittany wonderfully light and whilst the open work letting light affords one of those surprises in which genius ages has delighted to indulge.

Both churches were as churches can be during seasons never for a moment empty outside the usual Sunday recreation and refreshment going on—coffee-drinking, eating, and much talk and

It was with real regret I left St. Pol de Léon, halting-place in Finistère excepting for the rats and floors, my hotel was cosy and the pleasant garden back made it homelike. I was warm, too, that I could enjoy with open windows at five in the afternoon, when the pictures of shore and sea-tant islands would be at glowing, dim, or weird. too, that though I had seen much more I must leave Doubtless, Finistère is

² M. Prosper Mérimée's *Voyage dans l'Ouest de France*, published forty years ago, is one accurate and valuable account among many. But it is, I believe, out of

, and alas! impoverished, an archæological point of view described forty years ago by a noble Breton writer, the *comte de Fréminville*, who, with his countryman *Emile de La Motte*, deploras the wilful destruction and spoliation going on in native land. 'The monuments of ancient France,' he writes, 'are at the present time being used in the light of quarries, supplying materials for buildings ready for use;' and any further work should now follow in the footsteps of this indefatigable traveller, whether visiting the dolmens and menhirs, feudal châteaux, noble churches and abbeys, most surely miss half the

antiquities he describes. *Finistère*, like *Morbihan*, was the favourite land of the Druid, though it abounds in so many other objects of interest that most travellers whose time is limited will prefer to see *Quimper*, *Plougastel*, and *St. Paul de Léon* at leisure, rather than make hurried visits to twice as many places. Travel, above all other intellectual enjoyments, must be taken slowly and in small portions, since no other kind of pleasure or instruction so easily clog the appetite and weary the brain. Especially is this moderation to be enjoined in *Brittany*, where, in spite of good hotels, some 'roughing it' has still to be encountered.

M. B.-E.



LOCAL TAXATION, LOCAL DEBT, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

THE steady increase of the pressure of local taxation is a matter known to and felt by most of us. It may not be amiss to devote a short time to the examination of the causes of this increase, and the probability of its further augmentation.

The actual amount of that portion of the national expenditure which escapes the control of Parliament is now, in round numbers, a third part of the total taxation of the country. The Annual Reports of the Local Government Board have the merit of affording much information as to the incidence and the distribution of local taxation. But while much that it was formerly very difficult to ascertain is thus brought within the grasp of the publicist, much more remains to be done before we are presented with a complete and workmanlike account of the public expenditure of the country. Details are more accessible than was formerly the case; but we look in vain for any presentation of a *coup d'œil*.

The amount of the national expenditure for the year 1874, as stated in the Parliamentary returns, was 74,928,040*l.* But, in addition to this sum, a further amount of 32,664,955*l.* was expended under the head of local taxation. Thus the total national outlay was not 75, but 107½ millions sterling. The distinction between rates and taxes, which allows of this difference in the mode of stating the expenditure, is not greater than that between direct and indirect taxation. The results of both these sources of revenue are combined in the case of the taxation directly sanctioned by Parliament. The incidence of local taxation is almost exclusively direct.

Another feature of local taxation to which the legislation of the last few years has given new importance is the increase of local debt. While the total expenditure for the last year under the title of 'Local Taxation' has been 32,664,955*l.*, the total amount raised by annual imposts has been only 22,957,031*l.* The difference is credited, in the Report of the Local Government Board, to 'other sources of revenue including loans.' As tolls, light dues, harbour dues, and market rents are included only in part under the head 'Local Taxation,' it is not easy to ascertain how much of this difference, amounting to 9,872,045*l.*, simply represents the debt incurred during the year. But the increase of local indebtedness, we shall see, is a very serious matter.

Seven different classes of local authorities have been authorised by Parliament to raise loans for various purposes. The very titles of some of these bodies—as, for example, the Urban Sanitary Authorities—show well in how short a space the actual indebtedness has been incurred, and thus are highly significant as to the future. Thus, the Urban Sanitary Authorities, established in 1872, have already borrowed 6,030,297*l.*; while 1,750 local authorities have borrowed an aggregate sum of 54,548,625*l.* Of this nearly 7,000,000*l.* has been advanced by the Public Works Loan Commissioners; 16,000,000*l.* has been lent by insurance and trading companies; and nearly 32,000,000*l.* has been obtained from other sources, chiefly private persons. But this amount of original loan, which had been reduced to 46,773,880*l.* by the day when the last annual account was made up

uns represents the total ss of the local authorities

Mr. Purdy, the principal Statistical Department of Government Board, has that Board with a 'proxi- of the total indebtedness l authorities of England of loans in 1873-74-75 outs.' This aggregate ie respectable sum of l. When we observe, in art of the Report, how l progress has been made r works, it is clear that 7,000l. is but a first and ll instalment of the sum be demanded for local io total amount of the tioned for sanitary pur- e the passing of the ealth Act in 1848 is l.

'the loans generally,' the tes (p. 56), 'the heavier ere raised at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.' give an approximate an- it of interest of 3,735,000l. st of the permanent Na- t amounts to 21,780,028l. incidence of local, is al- l to 17 per cent. that of lebt. To the latter, how- t be added the further 5,173,653l. in Terminable But the very intro- Terminable Annuities owards the reduction of lebt, commonly so called. ription of National Debt es under the term local, tly, only in its cradle.

many idea of the Local at Board is that of a t of the administration d direct the warfare that o be continually waged e two mighty public en- erty and disease. The tion of the Poor-law is first care; that of the sa- s the second. But under r of their original powers a set of additional func-

tions, by the exercise of which the hand of the President of the Local Government Board is now enabled to exert a more sensible pressure, in every parish throughout the country, than that of, perhaps, any other member of the Government. And when we see how anomalous is the actual division of responsibility in some respects, as, for instance, in the reference of the supervision of railways to the Board of Trade, of land and sea communications, exclusive of railways, to the Local Government Board, and of mines to the Home Office, we shall find good reason for the existence, in almost every Ministry but that of Great Britain, of a Minister of Public Works.

Little more than one-fourth of the expenditure controlled by the Local Government Board is now devoted to the relief of the poor. The total expenditure of local taxation has been divided under seven general heads. The items are as follow :

1. Protection of life and property	£3,903,241
2. Public health and convenience	10,741,470
3. Land and sea communications	8,663,572
4. Preservation of lands	247,552
5. Relief of the Poor	8,480,819
6. Education and religion	235,166
7. Miscellaneous	393,135
	£32,664,955

Of these items, the first is in addition to the sum of 623,658l., borne in the Parliamentary budget under the head 'Courts of Justice.' There is some anomaly in the division of the cost of this branch of the public service into these two departments; of which the local has more than six times the monetary importance of the imperial. The third and fourth heads are disadvantageously disconnected from the control of the railway system, as well as from any supervision of internal navigation, and of docks and wharves. These matters

naturally appertain to the department of a Ministry of Public Works; and there are good reasons to be urged in behalf of the opinion that the country suffers from the absence of such a branch of the administration. The small sum allotted under the sixth head brings to mind the absence of any public audit of the very large sums devoted to the support of those religious persons, buildings, and functions which are of a strictly national character. Private and voluntary payments may not always be easy to ascertain, although an approximate estimate of these amounts must form an important item in any sound *aperçu* of the moral and material condition of the country. But the income of the sole corporations, in which capacity the beneficed clergy are regarded by the law; and the entire cost to the country of education and religion, so far as they are supported by the State; ought to be forthcoming in our annual budget; or at least in the annual statement of that national expenditure over which the control of Parliamentary votes is becoming more and more illusory.

Omitting the seventh item, consisting of little more than 1 per cent. on the gross expenditure, we find the fifth head to comprise the original object of the Poor-rate,—viz. the relief of the poor, and the second to cover those functions which have devolved on the Local Government Board in virtue of the various Acts of Parliament for protecting the public health.

The sum of 8,480,819*l.*, which was spent last year in the relief of the poor, includes the five heads of ordinary relief, law charges connected with relief (amounting to 24,068*l.*), county and borough lunatic asylums, and 'two thirds of expenses partly connected and partly unconnected with relief.' In those portions of the Report and Appendix that deal with these items

of expenditure, will be fable information as to the present condition of t blot on the civilisation of tenth century, the paup tion of England.

To a certain extent pr been made towards the e of this master evil. T number of paupers of a including children, at on receipt of relief from the n year 1874 was less than tl year since 1849, which is for which the figures a There has been a declin the quarter of a centur, steady decline, for the fluctuate from year to ye average decline. In act bers, indeed, the declin small.

Thus, in 1860 there v 17,187 more paupers than in 1871 there were 22,8 paupers than in 1864. In 1863, 1864, 1869, 1870 and average number exceeded : in 1853, 1854, 1855, 185 1860, 1861, 1873 and 18 below nine hundred thous during this period of irreq crease of pauperism the p of the country steadily i In 1849 it was 17,534,000; it was 23,580,000, accordin estimate of the Board. while the total population land has increased by six souls—that is to say, by a third—the pauper popul actually, though slightly, The percentage of pauper fore, shows a steady red 1849 it was 6·2 per cent population; in 1874 it was per cent. of the populati the first five years of the a century it averaged 5·4 p in the last five years it 4·16 per cent. We have ascertained advantage of 1 cent.; or, in other words, a tion in the proportionate an

ism of the country, by fourth part, in a quarter y.

ferring to the influence eral prosperity of the he amount of pauperism, overnment Board chiefly : restriction of relief to far as possible, to indoor e; that is to say, to the the workhouse. 'The sults,' they say, 'which ollow a steady adherence ousesystem are no long- of conjecture, but have l by long and continuous and we have the fullest that the same results rom the adoption of the far as practicable, in all sely connected with this subject is the suppres- rancy. The number of hroughout the country shed by more than one- 1866; the numbers be- on January 1, 1866, and anuary 1, 1874. But in olis the reduction has more considerable, being on the former date, to latter; which, however, than in 1873, when the nt was touched. The ended in outdoor relief ver, nearly twice that y indoor maintenance. liture of the 647 Unions for the half-year ending 1874, was 2,362,036*l.*, 43,531*l.* was for in-main- 11,518,504*l.* was for out-

In the thirty Unions in the metropolis the e for indoor mainten- outdoor relief during the iding at Lady-day, 1874, 52*l.*, and the sum ex- outdoor relief alone was A comparison of these th those denoting the vagrancy is instructive; strongly to support the —NO. LXXV. NEW SERIES.

arguments in favour of compelling in-maintenance.

The 'Administration of the Local Government and Sanitary Acts' is reported on by the Local Government Board as a separate matter from the 'Administration of the Laws Relating to the Public Health.' Looking at the results reported under the former head, we think that their extremely moderate proportions, coupled with the division above named, go far to show that the original vice of the sanitary measures of 1872 continues to paralyse the action of the administration as to this essential part of the national welfare. We are told that 473,000 nuisances have been reported and 450,000 abated, within the year. Considering that even so small a matter as the neglect to clean a pigstye, or the existence of water in a cellar, has been reported as a nuisance, the suppression of a number of individual causes of complaint, throughout England, scarcely exceeding the number of houses in the metropolis, cannot be regarded as a signal example of efficiency. The further action of the law in this respect is illustrated by the return of the total number of appointments which have been sanctioned by the Local Government Board since the passing of the Public Health Act in 1872. There are 727 Medical Officers and 752 Inspectors of Nuisances. The sum of 26,870*l.* has been repaid by the Local Government Board to local authorities during the year ended September 29 last, as a 'moiety of the salaries of Medical Officers of Health;' and a sum of 23,187*l.* as a moiety of the salaries of the Inspectors of Nuisances. If we take the *personnel* of these two departments to be represented by the number of appointments sanctioned, we find that the average salary of the Medical Officer is only about 75*l.* per annum, and that of the

Inspector of Nuisances little more than 60*l.* per annum.

These figures go very far to justify the fears that were expressed at the time of the passing of the Act of 1872, by some of the most consistent advocates for sanitary reform. That measure, it was urged, was little more than a public illusion. It did not really address itself to its professed object. It was theoretico-political, rather than practical and sanitary. It regarded a great engineering question as a matter to be left to the parish doctor and the scavenger. It ignored the engineering requirements of the case *in toto*. It trusted the guardianship of the public health to the very men whose chief object would be to keep down the rates. The Medical Officers and the Inspectors of Nuisances were carefully denuded of any such common organisation as would give independent action to any one of them. Each was left to the absolute control of the local Board: and if his complaints were neglected, he had no means of bringing them to the notice of any superior officer or authority. All that organisation, or rather organised non-organisation, could do to render Medical Officers and Inspectors of Nuisances powerless and useless, was carefully done by the measure of 1872. We may trace the natural result in the present Report; as well as in the failure of the attempt to pass the Bill for preventing the pollution of rivers during the last Session.

Rather more than thirteen-and-a-half millions of money has been borrowed for sanitary purposes since 1848. During the year ending December 31, 1874, the Local Government Board have sanctioned the raising of 13,338,181*l.* by urban sanitary authorities, and of 119,315*l.* by rural sanitary authorities, by way of loan. At the same time the greatest anxiety is manifested, in many places, for definite official counsel as to the

best mode of dealing with the pressing nuisance of sewage, and the beneficial action which has been expected from the Act of 1872 has been paralysed by the direction given to local authorities. Opposite and contradictory demands are made on them. They are asked to remove offensive matters, and they are told that they are to get rid of them by throwing it into the river. They are asked to ask in vain for advice, and they are told that they are to do it themselves.

Had the Public Health Act of 1872 been regarded as a great engineering measure, demanding the care and supervision of professional men, this purpose would have been better served. Much time, money, and no doubt many values would have been saved in the country. As it is, the last experience that has been had of the public is a return to the House of Commons on April 1, 1873. That return gave 'the names of borough boards, parishes, and special districts, which have loans provided for sewage by other means for the disposal of sewage by filtration or precipitation.' The returns in the House of Commons, with their details, analysis, or even suggestion. These figures considered, very unexpected information but to extract the real cost the return requires far more intelligent attention than has been directed to its construction. How little heed has been paid to this return, when we find so loud in their advocacy for sanitary reform as if no statistics had been compiled upon the subject.

The general outcome of the returns, so far as the return on sewage goes, is briefly this: five authorities, representing an aggregate population of 100,000 souls, have expended sums

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on of 373,000 souls,
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precipitation works. The country
has the right to expect that an
administrative department, which
superintends the administration at
once of sanitary law and of local
government, should bring these
facts to the knowledge of the
sanitary authorities, if they be cor-
rectly reported; and should explain
the actual state of the case, if any
error vitiates the returns which
yield such results. Had the Presi-
dent of the Local Government
Board been provided with a re-
sponsible Engineer for consultation,
as he is with a Medical Officer, this
state of things would have been
impossible.

Independently of the sevenfold
division, of which we have given
an abstract, the local taxes have
been divided, in the Local Govern-
ment Board Report, 'under their
separate aspects, as non-remunera-
tive or as remunerative imposts.'
The division, even if it were intelli-
gible, is hardly a happy one. Poor's
rate (in part), police rates and tolls,
dues and rents, amounting to a
total expenditure of 15,987,265*l.*,
'whereof 12,464,364*l.* was levied
by local taxation,' are classed as
'non-remunerative local taxation,
1872-73.' 'Remunerative local
taxation' comprises highway rates,
Metropolitan Local Management
and Consolidated rates, Sanitary,
School Board, lighting and watch-
ing, sewers, Burial Board, and
Church rates; vaccination expenses;
turnpike, bridge, ferry, market
and fair tolls; light, pilot, and har-
bour dues; and City of London
coal, wine, and grain duties. With
regard to the twenty-two items of
impost, thus classified, it is more
easy to admit their utility than to
speak of them as remunerative.
The highway rate alone would seem
to have any just claim to the title,
although the adjective employed is
rather an ill-adapted term for in-
timating the close dependence of
national welfare on good internal

communications. But why police rates should be called non-remunerative, and lighting and watching rates remunerative; why City of London and borough tolls, dues, and rents should be returned in the former, and City of London markets, and duties and market and fair tolls in the latter, we fail to comprehend.

The so-called remunerative taxation amounts to an expenditure of 16,677,690*l.*, whereof 10,492,667*l.* was levied by local taxation. The total expenditure, before stated at 32,664,955*l.*, is summarily described as raised by rates to the amount of 26,851,469*l.*; by tolls and dues 5,483,685*l.*; and by duties 329,241*l.* Of the total 22,957,031*l.* was raised by direct imposts, and 9,872,045*l.* from 'other sources of revenue, including loans.'

It will be seen that a multifarious and important group of national services are contemplated in the Annual Report of the Local Government Board. With regard to the duties which formed the original object of the department, there is an undeniable decrease in the object proposed for elimination—that is to say, pauperism. The relative amount of pauperism shows a steady decline, while the cost per head of indoors maintenance certainly appears to be reduced to the lowest possible point. We calculate the actual expenditure on indoors maintenance at 12*2*/₂₂*l.* per head per annum, or 56½*l.* per pauper per week. This is, of course, considering that the numbers furnished on January 1 and July 1 may be taken as giving an average for the year. We may take this figure as gauging the amount of least possible resistance to death, or minimum cost at which human life can permanently be maintained in our climate. If reduced to the analysis of force-producing, and flesh and force-producing, elements of diet, we shall have the minimum consumption of the human machine in England, when not called on to perform any tangible amount of

work. The return is a contrivance of some importance to our knowledge of vital dynamics.

In the second great branch of their duties, the war against the Local Government Board, not yet be said to have given sign of rising to the level of responsibility. But a step taken last year which, no was a needful preliminary for the deplorable mismanagement inaugurated by the measure of The sanitary laws are now outdated, and the very necessity the case will sooner or compel the Board to seek the guidance of competent professional advice on the very important engineering questions which present them for solution. The final of the Rivers Pollution Commissioners will but very faintly to strengthen the hands of Government in the renewal of the noble attempt made last Session check that crying evil, the poisoning of our streams. It might almost be called a specimen of local dilettantism, rather than practical engineering. The chief is of the same nature as arises, in part, from the same cause as the inefficiency of the 1872. It naturally arises from consultation of men of one opinion on what is the proper business of those of another. But, as very form of a Royal Commission there is involved a final digging the matters of enquiry by three minds, we obtain, in events, a book full of detail formation, instead of a return the abatement of 450,000*l.* and the appointment of Medical Officers and Inspectors of Nuisances, at a rate of pay considerably below that which is commanded by a journeyman painter. Probably a return credit for such microscopic work was never before gravely submitted to the legislature of a great nation. F. B.

JOHAN AND EUREKA.

A CANTERBURY TALE.¹

AFTER THE MANNER OF CHAUCER, WITH ALL THE LATEST IMPROVEMENTS.

IN Londoun was a youth of hie degree
 Who therein tarried had for sesounns three
 Law for to read (but that was alle my eye),
 Keepynge his terms, hadde he kept jinkes hye,
 And through a vaste amount of chinke yronne,
 In larkes eke, and bettes lost and wounne;
 Fulfild of gumptioun and all seemliness
 Johan he hight; no flat was he, I gesse.
 And he had been to Oxenford also,
 And got through eke his great and litel goe
 By but a shave. Him rileth their teachynge,
 It dulleth Johan old songs for to synge,
 Such he pooh-pooheth—Schooles orthodox
 Ben one and alle, saith he, in the wrong box.
 He holdeth lingoes dede and gone in spight;
 In the New Learnynge is this childe's delight.
 Tweypence nor cared he for Theologye;
 Yet ful was he upon Philosophye
 Positif, and what Psychologye they calle,
 Logike, Ethike, and Science Natural.
 A free thinker was Johan for the nones,
 Of playn speakynge he made not eny bones.
 'Hopeth,' quoth he, 'to seen all credoes shaken
 And from all preestes sails the winde out-taken,
 Or e'er we goeth to Davy Jones, his locker,'
 Ah, he was one right well up to the knocker!
 Whereof no moo. I speak now of the chumme
 Through whom this Johan is to grief ycome.
 This scely chumme, he loafeth, on a daye,
 To Johanes chambres—New-Square-ward they laye—
 And ginneth yarnes straunger for to spinne
 Than e'er afore were sponne in Lincoln's Inne,
 Of a new Londoun, felaws clepen 'mystike,'
 And a new school clept Spiritualistike;
 Harpeth on eeche manifestatioun,
 Tables that turnen, tilten up and doun,
 Banjoon that *solì* pleyn and wonder-tynges,
 And of none ende of marvellous rappynges,
 Til out sange Johan, 'These ben awfull shammes.'
 'Nay, if so be it that I speke thee crammes,'

¹ 'Canterbury Tale,' i.e. a marvellous story. See Dean Stanley's *Memorials*.

(Quoth this poor seely chumme) 'The deuce me take!
Cometh sharp, wher my tale I good shall make;
No man am I thus choused for to be;
Toddleth we then, this wonder for to see.'

Same eve is Johan to an hall conveyed
Where alle he findeth as the chumme hath seyde.
The glims they dousen, sitte a table rounde,
Laye on their hands, and whistlen for the sounde;
Nor longe in vayn. The table tilteth stronge,
Answereth when to-spake, nor always wronge,
Johan his birthday, rappes loud proclaime,
His governoures late uncles Christian name,
What ailed him last week when he was ill,
The sum totâl of his last tailor's bille—
Til Johan, for his wittes five afrayde,
Biddeth good-night, and straighte him scarce he mayde
But as the seely long-legs to the flame
So cottoneth Johan to this new round-game,
Whereat, if once a wight his fingres burneth,
Ful safe and sure he to the fyre returneth,
E'er and anoon til he fore-diddled be,

So Johan, schortly, under knuckledo he.
His thoughte, his speech, ben alle of spirit-shoppe,
In for it see him gon, neck eke and crophe.
Now from lyke errands, Lord, us fools deliver,
And alle by Johan warnyng tak for ever.
Who goeth for his foot to putte herein
Never a tippe or wrinkle shalle he winne.
Soon to all else in lyfe will he be dead
And lose his tyme, an if he kepe his head.
'Something within it,' thinketh, 'there must be.'
Forsooth, mefears, a deal of chouserie.
What should I bother me to tell the hums
Of wrytyng, spekyng, floatyng mediums,
Of spirit spellyng, spirit-alphabets,
Pencils that liften them and eke planchettes,
Slates wher fingres automatik write,
Percussif souns, seances derke and light,
Hands luminous, bodies that come and go,
And spirit-touches, voices, musick—(So
Spirits will clepen souns y-raised upon
That cursed bagpipe, clept accordion).
Straunge influence, and levitatioun,
Raised red letters—informatioun
Writ on a mannes arm; and clairvoyance
Cross-questionns answeide straighte, and clair-audience.
Flowers that come in a cracke and melte away

Or ever man 'Jack Robynsoun' may saye,
 Drummes self-bete, and airie tambourines
 That flit like bats, and gadde about the scenes,
 The shape, and eke the spirit photograph.
 Old birdes for to catch this is the chaffe.
 But esy to bamboozlen though they be
 The miracle oft runneth up a tree;
 Wherof no odds they make. If sittynge faile,
 Patience have they alway, and eke a tale.
 One saith, 'The power was alle too weak to-night;
 The circle not y-harmonized aright.'
 One, 'Twas along of the conditionns.
 Signs may not croppen up in alle sesounns;
 While an the worst it cometh to the worst,
 'Tis like enow the spirit was exhaust.'
 'Egad,' quoth oon, 'twas th'order how we satte.'
 'We were *not alle there*'—(Yea, but what of that?)
 'Ah,' quod a thridde, 'hadstow come yesterday,
 With quyte another circle.' 'By the waye
 'Twas in another room, more lyke to please.'
 'To-night yon medium is not quyte the cheese;
 Shutteth me up, it may be, for a spelle;
 Another trye, another tale may telle.'
 Johan, alack! is now so far y-gone
 He busieth himself with this alone.
 Thou duffere, who for elvissch bre y-wished,
 How canstow let thee thus be alle to-dished?
 Oh Johan, where is thy philosophye?
 Nay, by grete Jove, it is nat worth a flye.
 Grene heads (of what societie felloon)
 Of gullibilitie all length may goon.
 With spirits now he keepeth companie,
 This sotted youth. Who gladder was than he?
 Was ever grigge or merrie larke so gaye
 As Johan, on one passyng-festive daye
 When up he turnde a tip-top medinm.
 Right fast she hath him now beneath her thumbe.
 Eureka, will I clepe this personage;
 She was a lady of a certeyne age—
 Goode lookyng was she ne, I dare assert;
 No rappe hadde he cared with her for to flyrte;
 But nowise slave to master never payde
 So blind regard; nor lover never mayde
 For mistress fayre—alle were she Venus self—
 Such havok of his tyme, his power, his pelf,
 As Johan for Eureka, under heaven.

Of frendes, than himself more foolish, seven,

Taketh, at Dame Eureka's biddynge, he.
 Ofte in the dark they sit for hours three,
 Four at a stretch, mum, or, so please her whimses
 Syngyng—By Georgius! Johan syngeth hymnes.
 Til their ears achen for the doggrel rhyme.
 What breweth, fayre Eureka, all this tyme?
 She in yon cupboard dark, alle oute of sight,
 Her hands and feet to-bound with cordes tight,
 Sleepeth; and if enduraunce alle can boast
 Still to holde out, and not 'give up the ghost,'
It, an no sheepes blacke (the men of doubt)
 Should flabbergasten it, will comen out.
 'Tis not Eureka. Through the darke I see
 This shape by halfe is not so talle as she.'
 'Black was her toggerye. Where should she finde
 This clothyng white?' 'We helped her to binde
 Some while agone.' Tyme muste she have to spende
 For raisynge up this litel spirit friend.
 'Mimi,' she hight. Her rustling robe they hear.
 'Ha!' crieth one. 'Lo! as a toucher near
 She whisketh by.' 'Now close to where I stand—
 This tyme she toucht me. Yea, mefelt her hand.
 'Twas warmissch.' 'Ha!' quoth a third (how blest),
 'She kist me.' Lucklier thou than alle the rest.
 Hap she may speke. Johan, right eloquent,
 He wheedleth her in terms of blandishment,
 'Speaketh up, *Mimi*, love; Come hither, do;—
Some tale unfoldeth—Just one worde or two!'
 She gan oblige. From Afric's coral straunde
 She haileth—(English, though, can understaunde)
 By questionns divers seemeth much perplext;
 Lite of this world she wot, less of the next;
 Her Afric lyfe was led so long ago.
 'Tis of the spirit world we fain would knowe
 Wher dwelle, how fare ye all? For news we burne.
 Art fairly off—or pinyng to returne?'
 Thus much will she contenten them, nor more,
 Twies as well off she wote her, than before,
 Nor of the spirit-line is like to tire,
 Nor for to droppe it hath the least desire.
 'Wher was thine old life ledde? In Zanzibar?'
 Quoth one, 'or by Nyanza's lake afar?
 The Busche? The Cape? The White Nile or the Blue?
 Coomassie—Abyssinia—Timbuctoo?'
 O dodgere artfull! Leerie questioner,
 Thinkestow by wordes long to flooren her?
 Look ye—Spirits exhauste of rest have neede

And slopen them with all convenient speede.
 So mizzleth *Mimi*—Longe sit they bereft,
 Then finde Eureka—just as she was left.
 Their ways they goon—‘To-morrow eke, again,
 We meete at our next séance’—Hapless men!
 No Circean enchauntress needeth we
 To sette an asses head on such as ye.

Swim they or sinken, smashen they or thryve,
 Eureka now a roaryng trade gan dryve.
 Her lackede none array, nor no vitaile,
 Of cash within her purs she need not faile,
 Nor that, than cashes self more dear to men,
 A goodlye footyng with the upper ten.
 Lo an unlettered She, sprung from—who knoweth?
 To lordyngs’ house by lordyngs’ prayer she goeth;
 If circles straunge she ope to her fanatik,
 He to her circles straunge (aristocratik)
 Gan ope—At choicest tables dineth she,
 Goode is the fare, scrumptious the companie.
 Eureka’s manners wer no shakes great
 Nor faire her form, nor we her style canne rate

A 1. But a trew woman she, I thinke.

What is it women love far more than chinke,
 Than flummerye, or feast, or doings gaye?

To lead the daunce—First fiddle for to pleye.

Now of this sporte, Eureka hath none ende;

A duke, a judge, a Father Reverend,

Two ladies faire, a knight and eke a sage,

A packe of alle the lyonns of the age,

Have bounden them her biddyng for to do—

While Johan done is he, right through and through.

And, if so be at times her heart gan quake,

She had some moments rare, I undertake.

And thus she goeth in clover for to liven—

Johan to her and hers him up hath given.

‘Loveth me, loveth mediums mine,’ his fadde,

Till frendes vote him as an battere madde.

With one, out had he fallen, in an huff.

Brown was a childe, metrows, well up to snuff—

While Johan him this marvel was relatyng,

‘How long?’ quod Brown, ‘doth *Mimi* keepe ye waityng?’

‘Dependeth—Times one hour, sometimes two.’

‘How much?’ quod Brown. ‘Myself the trick could do

In less. ’Tis done, Egyptian Hall within

In minutes twey, by Cooke and Maskelyune.’

Johan now cutteth Brown who dared to scoff,

And Brown hath sworn Johan to poliah off.

For since his pal to him the shoulder cold
 Gan turn, this felaw Brown a stroke ful bolde
 Gan ruminaten—‘ If that a *plante* it be
 I cure my friend—If none, grim ghosts on me
 Fall toothe and nail, til ye my sense have reft,
 Into me pitcheth spirits, right and left;
 Blow me to atoms till nor gods nor men
 Could not put Brown together once again.
 Sad though mine ende, it will not be in vayne,
 Makyng the trouthe of spirit rappyng playne.
 The world (and eke his wife) I leave my debtor.
 Confoundeth it—Could man do more or better?’

So unto Johan is this Brown y-come.

‘ If ever I chaught about thy medium,
 Forgive’ (prayde he) ‘ my humour erst hilarious,
 The matter now meseems is passyng serious.
 Crookes have I read. Wallace who could resiste?
 At thy next séance I would fain assiste.’
 Johan gan thinke—‘ A great gun, ay, is Brown,
 And his conversioun right through London town
 Will make a stir—It will be, an it hap,
 A spirit feather in the spirit cap.’
 Spake he, ‘ Straight will I move for thine admyttinge.
 Eureka always,—*Mimi* too—permyttinge.’
 They shaken hands. No sooner said nor done.
 But passyng deep was Brown, mistake is none.
 The better then his litel game to pleye
 Court furious to the spirits he gan pay
 As he were woode. Of alle the circle he
 Most patient, rapt, intent, from doubttings free;
 Than Johan’s self the game more ful upon;
 The heart of Dame Eureka hath he wonne.
 To the four winds mistrustfulness he bloweth,
Mimi all dredeless, at ceche sittying showeth,
 And, an the medium’s eye do not deceive her,
 She counteth one more bigoted believer.
 (But God wot what Brown thinketh him in heart
 Of the new rite in which he taketh part.)
 Back is he now in Johan’s bookes goode
 And hopeth him to bring from out the woode.
 Th’occasion ripe; one fateful evening
 Persones eight satte in one magick ring,
 The medium laid, behind the cupboard door,
 Glimless—Lo! enter ghost—all as before—
Mimi, ’tis she. With fairy foot she cometh,
 Hark—on piano now, a tune soft strummeth—
 They coaxen her—she gaddeth up and down,

Of alle the eight she cottoneth most to Brown.
 She toucheth him ful oft—touche her he can—
 Oh woeful night! Oh traitorous, heartless man!
 That ever seely woman dost beguile
 And sleeth with hand, nor ceaseth for to smile—
 Scarce is his sawder all too softe y-spoke,
 Al sodeynly the circle is to-broke.
 What may this rumpus be? that shrieke of rage,
 Spirits to-night are out on the rampage.
 Holdes on Brown (though ghost like blazes fought)
 Like grim deth to the Tartar he hath caught.
 ‘Lights, lights,’ he yelld—Sure he is borne away
 By fiendes foul, like Faustus in the play!
 Up goth the gas. What sight is this we see?
 Brown—in what battle royal engaged hath he?
 His coat to-tore, his collar all awry,
 No second rounde he careth for to trye.
 But *Mimi*? where is she? ‘Twere vain to seek—Ah!
 Brown hath y-nabbed not *Mimi*, but *Eureka*!

On this ful screamyng farce I drawe a veil.
 One litel word, or I conclude my tale.
 Home gooth Brown; winner at trifling cost,
 ‘A coat tore done, a ticker strayed or lost,
 No dassch care I for such slighte incidents,
 Johan is cured outrighte—at alle events.’
 Thou simpletoun! Soon shaltou knowen better
 Next post inbringeth the sayde Johan’s letter.
 ‘Into the straunge affair have I inquired,
Mimi, we find, to death last night was tired,
 And bade Eureka go forth in her stead
 And play the ghost, by spirit-forces ledde.
 As day ’tis clear. ’Twas but the merest chaunce,
 The medium all the while was in a traunce.
 Still to my faith I hold. ’Tis now so stronge
A miracle alone could prove it wronge.
 And Brown is left lamenting his lost friend—
 ‘Oh Johan, erst my pal, is this the ende
 Of thy sapience and thy sciences alle
 Physical eke and metaphysical?
 Sinners make strictest saints—’tis an old rule,
 And your wise man ever your biggest fool.’

B. T.



THE LIFE AND LABOURS OF FRANCIS DEAK.
1803-1876.

IN the lofty Academic Hall at Pesth, where the remains of the great Hungarian patriot lately stood amidst a nation's sympathetic sorrow, there might be seen, on the black drapery with which the marble walls were hung, the escutcheon of the Deak family; showing, in the middle, a pen and a book—a battle-axe crowning the top. In a way, this rare coat of arms prefigured the late statesman's character and life.

For his country's rights he battled manfully, though his own hands never grasped the war-hatchet, which he would have readily buried for ever. The pen and the book more fitly symbolise his doings. Public speech and public writings were his only weapons. By these he wrought an extraordinary success; entering his name, with indelible letters, in the checkered history of his fatherland. Yet the battle-axe that surmounted his armorial bearings, and the use of which he personally spurned, had a good deal to do with the triumph of his efforts; for without the repeated favour of warlike events in neighbouring lands, Hungary could not have regained those constitutional rights of which he was the moderate, but steadfast, champion.

The outward career of Francis Deak can scarcely be called an eventful one. His life was one of the simplest. Averse to all show, he neither sought distinction, nor power. No stars or crosses covered his breast; nor would he accept any of those titles which Royalty showers upon men it wishes to fetter. The consciousness of having done right was ever enough for him, from early youth down to his dying hour.

Born on October 17, 1803, Söjhör, in the comitat of Zólyom, the offspring of a family below the lesser nobility, he studied at Raab. The first training in knowledge of State affairs received from a brother—his father—by twenty years. At an early age we find Francis Deak as a member of the Liberal party in his comitat. The county assemblies of Hungary have always served as a nursery for political talent, and a preparatory school for action in the Diet. When elected in 1832, for the latter Assembly, after the withdrawal of his father, he rose almost at once to the most rank as an Orator and speaker.

His bearing, at that time, was described as serious and dignified, with a gravity almost too grave for a young man. Of short stature, with features by no means striking; the clear and quiet eye, overshadowed by bushy eyebrows, with a good forehead; but wise lacking the character that might have marked him as a future leader of men: so he entered the Parliament at Pesth. In bodily form, as well as in temperament, he had few peculiarities of his race. He soon proved himself a very different man from the average of Magyars in his profound acquaintance with Parliamentary law, the fertility of his legal mind, and the copiousness of his voice when a point was to be argued, speaking, as it were, against the grain, as well as in his wonderful logic, which in later years almost always served the purposes of a death-blow to enthusiasm.

His maiden speech, in 1833, was in a low tone, but showing great full maturity of judgment,

cession on both sides of

Unadorned by any flowers; studiously free of affective or pathetic eloquence, entirely of a kind, mainly influenced by the logical marshals and arguments; by an array of weapons taken from the arsenal of Constitutionalism; the homely illustrations and anecdotic humour with which the orator relieved his other speech. The whole was in an easy conversational tone, rounded, sometimes even melodious. Simple common sense marked every utterance. He seemed to convince, not to hurry on, those whom he addressed. Only reluctantly he turned to an enemy in the public vein; but then he managed to make his foe a future quarrel with him. In a glance it could be seen that in ordinary times, this youth-precociously wise statesman exercised a leading influence. But the very strength displayed for such an exclusively legal contests, a germ of weakness for the revolutionary struggles that troubled people—to speak of Deak, in Schiller's *Tell*—re-claims those natural gifts, like stars eternal, when.

More speeches in the Diet of Deak fully to the front. In the winter of 1839-40, he acted as prominent party-leader. He was of Eötvös' harangues, marked by rhetorical invocation. Stephen Szechenyi—upon whom, in later days, dark clouds—had alternate acquiescence and hope and deep grief, Deak always gave the counsel with clearness and strong force. He neither hesitated nor ever did he even strengthen of his

nature came out when he fought, at one and the same time, the battle of his country's charter against Habsburg encroachment, and of popular enfranchisement against the harsh feudal rule of the nobles.

Aristocratic privilege, at that time, stalked about rampant and fierce in Hungary, whilst the country was ever and anon the prey of an absolutistic Court whose rule was upheld by the sword, by the executioner's axe, by prison torture, and by an inquisitorial censorship of the press. It is difficult for the present generation to understand the character of that sad epoch, when the personal security of every prominent opponent daily trembled in the balance. Deak, from patriotic motives, as well as from noble sympathy with the sufferings of the masses, earnestly strove to bring about Home Reforms; all the while resisting Metternich's attacks upon his country's Constitution. It was a difficult task—this double struggling. The question was, how to combine the existing political forces, which dwelt in a narrow aristocratic circle, against Metternich's system, and, at the same time, so to conduct the campaign against the misgovernment of the magnates as not to weaken too much the cohesion of the Magyar ranks.

Deak's wisdom and energy were equal to both tasks. In open Parliament, and in Committee, he was an indefatigable worker. By word of mouth, and by the press, he laboured for the emancipation of the peasantry; for a reform in the administration of justice; for a more equitable distribution of political rights; for the mitigation of social tyranny. Yet, while using the trowel for the building up of a better State-structure at home, he had to keep ready the weapon wherewith to hold the despotic foe at bay.

In those days, Hungarian deputies had to go by the instructions

of their constituencies, similar to the *colliers* of the pre-revolutionary era in France. When the comitat which Deak represented gave it as its instruction that he should vote for the continued exemption of the aristocracy from taxation, he threw up his mandate, and indignantly withdrew for a time from public life. A true Horatian 'just man, tenacious of his aim,' he would not buy a distinguished position at the price of his principles. But such was already then his influence that nobody dared to fill the place which he had left; so the comitat was for a while represented by a single member. In those years of retirement he was not inactive. A well-read juriscult, he continued working at a reformed law code, the first draft of which he had elaborated in company with Szalay, and which earned great praise from the eminent German legist, Mittermaier. Studies connected with the Parliamentary system also filled Deak's political leisure. An effort was made to bring him back to Parliament by altering the offensive portion of the instruction. He refused, because questionable means had been employed in a second electoral contest, and because blood had been spilt during the angry excitement of political passions. Above all things he abhorred any act of violence.

Only by fair and pure means would he obtain a success. His aversion to the use of force went so far as to render him, afterwards, when the revolutionary tempest came, more a victim of the foes than a help to the friends of his country's cause. He had all the law-abiding perseverance, all the unbending firmness, all the qualities of mixed modesty and courage of Hampden and Pym. No better parallel could be found for him, as regards the main substance of his character, than among the doughty men who preceded the English Com-

monwealth. But as soon as ground of strict legality he felt out of his place, he was practically powerless.

Towards the end of 1847 the signs of a coming tempest were visible on the European horizon. Deak came back to the leading members had offered his non-appearance in public as his private counsel. Now the party again placed its confidence in his acknowledged leader, ready the drift of the current began, however, to set in a different goal. We find him acting together with Komar, even then it might have been said that the paths of the two men soon diverge.

After the Revolution of 1848, when Vienna rose in the strength of a young giant, Milan drove out the arms of its oppressor, Deak became Minister of Justice in the Cabinet of Batthyany. In the stormy events which now swept over the face of Europe, he did not stand to great advantage. The moral to which his whole nature was unfitted him for the rough coping with a tyranny, he had only been cowed, but not generally a cautious and prudent man, he seemed in those days to lack even the foresight which far ahead into an enemy's tactics. Reforms in the administration of justice he firmly advocated and carried out. Trial by jury, freedom of the press, and similar notions of deep home import attracted the fullest attention. But in affecting the political side of the large he did not come up to the height of a great historical figure.

Whilst the strongest realisations were required to uproot the newly-born freedom against the sible and only too probable reaction, he was content with the Royal rescript. At the rise of his whole popularity, he urged

view against the party which began to gather round

To the proposition that Metternich's name should be on the roll of Hungarian traitors, Deak offered a strenuous protest. This was a fault, even from the point of view of moderate conservatism—which at any time sought to break with the despotic

mightily he recommended friendly relations should be entered with the National Constitutional Assembly of Germany by a semi-diplomatic mission from the fort-on-the-Maine. Hungarian political existence was clearly marked off. In the future, he failed to understand the drift of the time. Going to the elections of the old Prager Diet, he, a Liberal, gave support to the demand of the Emperor at Vienna that Hungary should furnish troops to help in the war of the Italian cause. In 1848, true, he only did that which Kossuth had temporarily refused. Written law, which had so often been used in suppressing his own country's rights, was made to serve as a chain to bind another nation struggling for independence. Yet, could there be a doubt at that moment that, if the House of Hapsburg were victorious against the 'rebels,' it would speedily send its troops, fresh from the campaigns against the Hungarian in-

dependence. Progress, but not Revolution, Deak was wont to say. In the midst of a revolution, there is no choice for anyone but to be in the front but to be on the anvil. The situation was such; no individual likings could avail. Events had to take their course; used for the furtherance of the cause—or else the flood-gates of absolutism would be forced open and every liberty that had

been gained be swamped by an ugly rush of reaction. For a moment, the prospects of Hungary had seemed bright in the early part of 1848. Equality of rights was decreed for its manifold races, some of which had, before that time, held the unenviable position of a mere *'misera plebs contribuens, optima flens, pessima ridens.'* Such, indeed, had once been the cruel saying which declared the wretched hind to be at his best when, bathed in tears, he paid his scot; and at his worst, when he felt in a mood for laughter.

Unfortunately, the fierce passions of race-hatred, kindled by dynastic guile, soon ran riot at the expense of that liberty which had been decreed for all, and which all might have equally enjoyed. A discordance of tribes marks the whole East of Europe. Not only in Turkey, but in Hungary, and even in Poland, odd fragments of races are heterogeneously huddled together, as stray remnants and sediments of the Migration drifts. In Austrian Galicia, where the Polish race, properly so called, is broken in by a Ruthenian population which holds an intermediate position between the Poles, the Lechs, and the Russians, Prince Metternich, in 1846, was able to make use of this tribal antagonism, as well as of the class feuds between the peasants and the nobles, in order to quell a patriotic Polish movement by a cruel massacre.

In Hungary, after the enthusiastic rising of 1848, the smouldering embers of race-hatred were soon fanned by the Mephistophelic agency of an Imperialist camarilla. Hungary is a polyglot country. Within its precincts there are Magyars and Slaves, Germans and Roumans; nationalities differing from one another in origin and speech as much as the Turks do from the Muscovites, or the English from the Italians. Besides these chief races, there is a medley of Arnauts, Bulgars, Armenians, Gipsy

clans, and so forth, which go to make out the many-coloured State-edifice between the Carpathian range and the Danube. In this confusion of tribes and tongues, the Magyars hold the central and most compact position, geographically as well as in politics.

An Ugrian, Turanian race, tracing its descent from an Eastern nomadic tribe, that rushed into Europe like a whirlwind, the Magyars have since early ages displayed a capacity for self-government fully equal to that of nations boasting of an Anglo-Saxon descent. In the midst of apparently disheartening difficulties, they succeeded in imprinting a common political stamp upon a country made up of the most variegated elements. Strong-handed conquerors at first, they gradually, of late, set to work to change mere aristocratic privilege into an equality of civic rights. If the German element of Hungary represented general culture, the Magyars were the political mainstay of the realm. Without them, the country fell back into chaos—a ready victim of absolutistic state-craft.

All Magyars know by what dangers they are surrounded. Deak, as a Magyar, could not deceive himself on that point; and what had occurred in Galicia must have served him as a warning example. Perhaps his extreme moderation, in his dealings with the Austrian Government, arose from the consciousness of these ever-lurking dangers. The camarilla in the Hofburg, did, however, take no account of such moderation. It fretted and chafed under the defeat which it had suffered at the hands of the people of Vienna, Pesth, and Milan. Its whole energy was given to the thought as to how the tables could

be first turned upon the Magyars means of the Slavs. If the years were once got down, forsooth, the turn of the Austrians was to come.

To effect such a reaction, a game of treachery was an almost unparalleled in history. Iacic, the Governor of Croatia, made the first armed attack the new order of things in Hungary, was in secret league with the Court of Vienna. Deposed and degraded, styled a 'rebel' by official letter, he had all the clandestine support of the Emperor Ferdinand, or rather of a intriguing clique which made that half-witted monarch a puppet. Field officers, and ammunition were sent to Ferdinand's Minister of War, to the Banus of Croatia, official decrees apparently degrading him of all his civil and military functions. Thus, an insurrection of Croats, Serbs, and Valachs cunningly fanned against the Magyar cause. When the Emperor, avowing the real object of his policy, by an order of September 4, 1848, revokes the decree against the 'rebel', pressed his high approval of the conduct of his 'faithful' subjects, suspended the Constitution, claimed martial law; and appointed the 'rebel' as his plenipotentiary for the kingdom of Hungary, vesting him with unlimited authority to act in the name of the Emperor within the said kingdom.

'The king was a traitor.' More far-seeing, this had long been suspected. With good reason, anticipating coming events, he had kept up relations with the Magyar leaders at Vienna. The Austrians and Magyars had a

¹ For a succinct, but telling, account of these events see the letters, originally published in the *Daily News* and *Times*, by Sabbas Vucovics, late Minister of the Interior, in Hungary; and by Bartholomew Szemere, late Minister of the Interior, in Hungary; and *Speeches of Kossuth*, edited by Francis W. Newman.

the Slav reaction, champions, Serbs, and Czechs. The capitals of Hungary there was, therefore, a chord. On the treacherous ruling house becoming motion without delay was needed. Almost on the moment, higher resolution to be formed than suited the going, but somewhat character of the leader create Constitutionalists. Urged and disconcerted, Vienna, making a last, empty. From the lips of Franz Karl he learnt as lost—that Hungary to choose between sub-revolution.

Deak withdrew from y. Henceforth, though stood at the head of the st, the chief part natural. Lewis Kossuth, the idol ses, the popular orator riter, the gifted leader of ed party, who—with an ntal style of eloquence, ilar from that of Deak l an active fervour and n deeply impatient of uance of Royal and le. In Parliament, Deak for a short time after ion as a Minister. But l occupation was gone. ublic act, during the tragic ar which now became of the day, was his before Prince Win-the Imperial commander, of a deputation from rarian Diet. Counts and George Majlath, is Bathyany, and Arch-owicz were with him Republicans of very

not treat with rebels!' arsh exclamation with nce Windischgrätz re-deputies. all hope of a peaceful —NO. LXXV. NEW SERIES.

solution at an end, Deak gave up his seat in Parliament, and refused to obey the summons to Debreczyn, whither the representatives of the people had withdrawn for greater safety. Amidst the clangour of arms, the expounder of legality remained silent. Meanwhile, the Hungarian rising, so ably and heroically led, but so dangerously assailed by counter-insurrections of hostile tribes from within, fell before the twofold attack of the armies of the Kaiser and the Czar. After the terrible catastrophe of Vilagos, and the sanguinary overthrow of the nation's cause, Deak passed nearly ten years in absolute retirement; living in the small town of Kehida, near which some of his family-estates lay. For all that could humanly be foreseen, he might have gone down to his grave without seeing a ray lighting up the dark night of reaction in which his country was enveloped.

II.

A deep gloom had settled over the countries under Habsburg sway. At Vienna, Robert Blum, Messenhausser, Becher, and other champions of the German popular cause were in their gory graves, riddled with court-martial bullets. In Italy, the work of re-conquest was completed by leisurely conducted fusillades. On the gallows at Arad, the hangman of his Imperial, Royal, and—aye!—Apostolic Majesty had strung up eminent Magyar generals and statesmen by the dozen. By drum-head law, men were condemned to be hung; an Imperial 'pardon' now and then graciously allowed them to be shot. For women, there was Haynan's whip.

A palace revolution in the Austrian capital, led by the Arch-duchess Sophia, with the aid of a High Council of Generals ('*hohe Generalität*,' as the technical term

was), had dethroned the half-witted Ferdinand, who seemed to be an obstacle to the continuance of sanguinary deeds, and appointed in his stead the youthful Francis Joseph, a boy of eighteen, for whom his mother, the Archduchess, practically ruled as a Regent. The sabre and the crozier were now the symbols of government. By negotiations with the Vatican, the bases of a Concordat were laid, which placed the whole intellectual life of the people at the mercy of a hierarchical Inquisition. There was no impediment to the execution of the wildest dreams of a reaction gone mad. At least, so it appeared for a time to the politicians of the Cabinet and the Camarilla. In such a situation the very name of Francis Deak was forgotten.

For the first time there arose, then, that Imperialist doctrine which would not acknowledge any marks of distinction between the several component parts of the 'Austrian Empire.' It is true, even Lord Palmerston, in 1849, when Hungary was yet struggling for her rights, had said, in reply to those who wished for the re-

cognition of the Magyar wealth, that he 'knew of no but of an Austrian.' That assertion of Lord F did, however, not tally with law.² Down to 1849, Hungary had been a separate kingdom, its constitution and the royal power were completely distinct from Austria proper as in the present from Sweden, or Hanover from England at the time when English King was the same time German Electors. Hungary had of her own. Her King was King after he had sworn constitutional oath. The of the Hungarian realm distinct and unmistakable. was even girded by a custom-houses, forming mercantile division in addition to political one. A 'provincial Austrian Empire' therefore was not. The of *Kaiser-Staat*, or Empire dated from the beginning of present century, when France was compelled, through the fortunes of war in the against Napoleon, to lay

² After the overthrow of the Hungarian rising, Lord Palmerston certainly says that is to say, in a private letter—against the atrocities of the Austrians whom he styled 'the greatest brutes that ever called themselves by the names of civilised men.' He wrote:—'Their late exploit of flogging forty odd people, two women, at Milan, some of the victims being gentlemen, is really too bloody disgusting a proceeding. As to working upon their feelings of generosity and sympathy, that is out of the question, because such feelings exist not in a set of who have been trained up in the school of ferocity; and the men in whom inborn feelings have not been crushed by Court and office power, have been excluded from public affairs, and can only blush in private for the disgusting things throw upon their country. But I do hope that you will not fail to hold in mind the country and the Government which you represent, and that you will the dignity and the honour of England by expressing openly and decidedly the which such proceedings excite in the public mind in this country. . . . You may find an opportunity of drawing Schwarzenberg's attention to these matters, and made intelligible to him, and which a British ambassador has a right to submit for consideration.' (See Letter to Lord Ponsonby, of September 9, 1849, in *The Life of Earl Temple, Viscount Palmerston, 1846-1865*, by the Hon. Evelyn Ashley, M.P.) The words these were of Lord Palmerston—after he had taken sides against Hungary. He said of the atrocities committed by the generals and chiefs of the Austrian might, no doubt, have been said also of the deeds of the atrocious Reaction of Europe—including that new night of St. Bartholomew of September 2, 1851, when the perpetrator Lord Palmerston, only consulting himself, hastened to acknowledge the ruler, whilst the streets still ran with the blood of the defenders of the Cause.

the crown of Germany, are that empire, which for nearly a thousand dissolved. As a slight men assumed, under the Francis I., the title of his own dominions. ally, Hungary was not why. For her the Austria remained simply as if this had ever been self-understood by men and by all the living men in Hungary.

In return for the devoted upon at Debreczyn, renounced the forfeiture of St. Stephen' by of Habsburg-Lorraine, declared, on his part, the to have lost their existence and their charter of fact of rebellion. It on the *Verviirkungs*-theory of forfeiture, to al phrase of the time.

Hungary was to be ing to the mere pleasure rich; all representative both in State affairs matters, being set aside of the pen, or rather of

There was to be a Austria,' under the flag, held together by the whole overshadowed

scheme of triumphant d not work; neither on the other side of

In the face of their pressor—who, the bethe relation in which he people of his capital, (from 1848 down to himself in public in han a soldier's garb—he maintained an attiveness all the more he Court, because it long a contrast to the l and forgiving temper ure-loving, but withal population. Even so

would the Lombards and Venetians not be weaned from their eager wish for a union with their Italian brethren. In Galicia, the idea of Polish nationality was kept alive with a view to future possibilities. In Hungary, the attempt of Prince Schwarzenberg to make the Magyars yield ready obedience to the rule of the sword, failed miserably. So did the more Liberal, but still anti-Hungarian, policy of Herr von Schmerling, who sought to found a centralized Austria on the constitutional principle.

After various kaleidoscopic changes in Habsburg politics, which all came to nothing, Deak was at last sounded as to whether he would help Government in mending things. He firmly declined. Several times approached in the same way, he always gave the same reply. 'There is no Hungarian Constitution in force,' he answered; 'and without that Constitution, I am simply Deak, and can do nothing.' During the Bach Ministry he once remarked in regard to a new constitutional experiment, that the Austrian Minister had 'wrongly buttoned his political coat, and that there was nothing left for him but to unbutton it, and to begin afresh.' On hearing this expression of Deak, Bach said:—'Perhaps we had better cut off the buttons!' Deak replied:—'But then the coat could not be buttoned at all!'

In times of great oppression, a few winged words go far as an embodiment of public opinion. Quips from the retired Hungarian statesman soon became a staple stock in political talk. When a second recruitment for the army was intended, in one and the same year, Deak said in answer to a question put to him:—'That will not do for Hungary! Women here are wont to bear children only once a year!'

The rough barrack rule of Schwarzenberg; the bigoted Jesuitical sway of Bach; the federalist

mediævalism of Goluchowski; the emasculated parliamentary system of Schmerling—all failed in turn. Schmerling's notion of a Constitution was that of a convenient machinery for raising money and passing enactments, with no 'right of resistance' against lawless Royal and Imperial decrees attached to it. The Hungarian idea of a Constitution, as upheld once more towards 1859 by Deak, was that of a historical covenant, somewhat like the old Arragonese charter; the king being only a lawful king after having sworn to observe the ground-law of the nation, and only remaining a sovereign so long as he fulfilled—his part of the compact not longer. In this sense, the trusty leader of the moderate Constitutionalists came now again to the front. Though he had been inactive for so many years, he at once attracted a large following. He was called the 'Conscience of the Nation.' People looked upon him as a kind of 'Aristides.' The 'Sage,' the 'Just'—such were the titles of honour plentifully bestowed upon him during this second epoch of his public career.

It was after the deep humiliation of the Kaiser on the Lombard plain in 1859, that Hungary won her first triumph. Without that military event, all the exertions of Deak would have been of little avail. The defender of Constitutional legality, who personally discountenanced the use of force, could never have made his voice in the Hofburg so impressive as the roar of guns. Yet, years afterwards, he who in the Hungarian Diet had once manifested his sympathy with the Polish cause, set his face, after Cavour's death, against any solemn celebration in honour of the Italian statesman. Italian Democrats—Garibaldi before all—may have cause to hold Cavour in a different estimate from what the world at large does, which only looks to outward success. Deak's

opposition came from views. If he, even after ing changes that had taken Europe, still bore a grudge, it was because his constitutionalism was of a cramped cast, formed in the of the Pragmatic Sanction these blemishes, though marring, leave unmitigated great merits.

For seven years after the Lombardy by Austria, Deak on the legal battle for the recognition of Hungarian claim country's rights,' he used 'are not private property to be freely disposed of.' The advanced elements, at the began to gather round to whom the principles of 18 still vivid. After the my death of Count Teleki—who last interview I had with him ed to hope for a rapid development of public spirit in Hungary, sense of the previous revolutionary epoch—Francis Deak became undisputed leader of the party.

In vain did Kossuth cross Deak's path. Whilst the latter strove to regain for Hungary time-honoured rights of self-government in an amended Constitutional form, the exiled leader came with a programme which have overthrown the historic of the country, and opened the gates of Pan Slavism upon the Slav race. Down to the 1848 war, Kossuth had been the champion of the Magyar nation. Before 1848, he had even, as then, overstepped the bounds which the strangely mixed nation of Hungary naturally is to a statesman when the conflicting claims of race and speech are settled. Towards Croats and Kossuth had almost been as Magyar. At all events, he had eyes wide open to the danger of Pan Slavism. This line of

marks still his powerful influence in England and in the states between 1851 and 1867. He styled Panslavism a plot—a dark design to stir national feelings, a tool of preponderance over the

languages during the Crimean War, which were apparently to urge a more efficient union. Some expressions occurred, which showed that he was treading on a new line. Before Louis Napoleon attacked Austria in Italy, Kossuth said that he would ally himself with the Devil, in order to overthrow the House of Habsburg; that except aid from anywhere and whether Louis Napoleon or Czar were held to represent evil. Kossuth's former views were thus thrown overboard in connection with the seizure of the Tuileries soon afterwards—a public fact. His alliance with Mazzini and Ledru-Rollin ended.

Under these circumstances must be taken into account when judging the nature of his proposal for the establishment of a Danubian Confederacy, by which he sought to carry out the policy of Deak. It is probable that Deak may have been influenced by this. His ideas of Parliamentary autonomy under the old system may not have exercised the same charm upon the mind that he remembered the heroic age of the Revolution. But at the time of Deak's procedure pre-existence of the Hungarian Revolution; whereas Kossuth's views actually threatened to

prevent him from signing Kossuth's proposition though I might perceive no objection to the Danubian Confederacy,' at the time, one of the

foremost army leaders of the Hungarian Revolution; 'I cannot sign it, because at home I should be looked upon as a traitor!'

Kossuth's plan, in fact, was this. Hungary, with her annexes—comprising, as she does even now, so many discordant tribes that the Magyar nationality is much hemmed in by them—was to be enlarged into a 'Danubian Confederacy' by the addition of Roumania, Servia, and—a vague indication!—'the countries allied to it.' Whole Turkey north of the Balkan was thus to be joined to the Hungarian realm. Bosniaks, Herzegovinians, Montenegrins, Bulgars—tribes either Slavonian or half-Slavonised—were to be thrown into this enlarged State. Hungary, as it is, forms already, in nationalities and tongues, a Babylonian structure. Yet Kossuth proposed to render that confusion even worse confounded; or, more strictly speaking, he wished to call in new national elements which would have entirely overwhelmed the Magyar race!

According to his scheme, the seat of the Executive of the new State was to be, in turns, at Pesth, Bukarest, Belgrad, and Agram. That is to say, in one case, in a semi-Magyar town; in the other three cases, in non-Magyar cities, two of which are hotbeds of Panslavist agitation. A Constituent Assembly was to fix the official language of the Confederacy. At a first glance, everybody could see that the result of such a choice would be in favour of some Slav tongue, and against the Magyar language. This scheme was rightly spurned by the Magyar leaders. Passion ran high; and some of Kossuth's adversaries brought to mind that, at the close of the Revolution of 1849, he had proposed to offer the crown of Hungary to a prince of the Imperial family of Russia.

* See his *Speeches*; edited by F. W. Newman.

A second great defeat of the Austrian Kaiser on the field of battle, in 1866, enabled Deak to wring from the Government at Vienna a fuller legislative autonomy than it had been ready before to grant. Deak, on that occasion, did not raise his Constitutional terms. He simply repeated them. He might, after Sadowa, have gone much further in his demands, with reasonable hope of success. But, partly from his training as a strict parliamentary legist, partly because he would not strain things so far as to cut off the Magyars wholly from the German connection, and thus isolate them amidst jealous or hostile races, Deak remained content with a lesser concession.

After new laborious negotiations, the present state of things was established, which on most essential points renders the Magyar realm independent from Cis-Leithan Austria. To-day, Hungary has once more her old land-marks, and her time-honoured ground-law, modified by the reforms of 1848. Her ruler, placed under a special coronation oath, is recognised only as king. The name of Hungary figures, in all State documents, on equal terms with that of Austria. The Hungarians who had fought against the Kaiser are acknowledged as having merited well of the fatherland. The rank of General has been given back to Klapka, Perczel, Vetter, once foremost among the military chiefs of the Revolution. Men who once narrowly escaped the gallows have been placed in the highest positions. Count Andrassy himself belongs to that class. In short, the restoration of self-government is well-nigh as complete as it could possibly be under Royal rule.

This was Deak's crowning achievement. As the 'Father of the Restored Constitution of Hungary,' he henceforth had marks of esteem and respect showered upon him

from all sides. The people speaking of him, used words of endearment; and all tales about his daily doings ran up. To the Queen-Empress, whose favourite of late years been the Gödöllő, near Pesth, he was 'Cousin Deak,' or 'Uncle Deak,' so, at least, the popular name had it. Meanwhile the Hungarian patriot never lost his wonted simplicity of life, as he was, of all things, a hater, as he was, of all pomp. His bachelor establishment in Pesth consisted of two rooms in an ordinary hotel—the 'Hotel d'Angleterre.' His landed property had transferred to him for a small annuity. He was in the most frugal style of total abstainer (a rare thing in a country famous for wine!); but, on the other hand, an inveterate smoker. He was, rather soon, and was styled 'Herr' and 'Patriarch' when other statesmen shrank from themselves on their vigils of modesty, his retiring character never forsook him. Having about his personality that which called impressive, he might have been seen in a *sombrero* hat and his mantle, have passed unobserved in a crowd; but a nation's eyes were followed his steps, and of his occasional strong opinions against every ovation.

An unselfish man; not a hypocrite by conviction, yet guided by an incorruptible conscience in the minding of us of the nobles of Republican virtue, Deak asked all favours from the Court on the question, more than addressed to him confident of the Court, as to what he should uniformly reply:—'I am in want of anything.' At the advice of one of his friends, Francis Joseph sent him a family portrait, in a frame of gold, set with costly gems.

ke a present of money,'
I cannot accept that!' picture from the rich it back the latter with and compliments. All he also refused to h to the annoyance of mperor, who, in the f-hand manner, seemed ight upon the Crown. tant resolve was to endent. No calumny so disinterested a

ars, Deak's influence, an extensive one, gradual. A more advanced up, which, under Kolos now in power, and se members aim at the t of a strict 'Personal would entail the sepa- he military forces of om those of Austria as been much remarked yczy, the President of f Commons at Pesth, on the life and career Deak, said:—'He did s complete autonomy lence, such as a nation der the rule of a prince; given us that which ined within the exist- l framework.' From

these words it may be inferred that a more thorough separation from Cis-Leithan Austria is the aim of an influential party in Hungary.

The death of the great patriot (January 29) has occurred at a moment when new storm-clouds are drifting over the Austro-Hungarian horizon. The opening up of the Eastern Question has emboldened once more the so-called Slavonian Court Party at Vienna. Reactionary Federalists and Centralists are already in eager expectancy. The political danger is enhanced by the contest between the upholders of the Free-trade system in Hungary, and the Protectionists in the western part of the Habsburg dominions. At present, the outlook is dark indeed. Francis Deak had seen the triumph of his country's cause; but, before closing his eyes, he also saw fresh perils gathering round it. He had fought his battles well for his nation's rights and for the extension of popular freedom; and though new struggles may soon have to be gone through by Hungary, no fitter words could be applied in his honour than those written on a garland laid on his bier:—'*Fading flowers for never-fading merit.*'

KARL BLIND.



ARMY RECRUITING.

BY A GENERAL.

FOR one reason or another, the state of the Army has been the subject of much discussion of late both in and out of the profession. We have seen the prize awarded by the United Service Institution to an essay by an Artillery officer, which declared the British Army to be 'the very worst which we could raise in England,' and concluded that we might have a much larger army 'composed of the flower of our population, at about one-third of the cost of our present Army.' Mr. Holms, the Member for Hackney, after a long study of the subject, declares (according to the *Times*' report of his speech at Sheffield), that 'were it not for selfishness and red tape, we might have the finest army in Europe for its size,' that 'the pay of the soldier should be increased, and a calling in the Army should be quite as good as any civil employment in the country,' and that this could be done 'at an expenditure of some millions less than is now spent.' He spoke of the Army 'becoming a myth,' and said that the needful 'cures are almost more plain than the evils.'

We suppose that many of our readers are perplexed by such statements. They will reflect that, after all, the Army is not administered by selected incapacity; that, whatever be the injurious influences in its management, they are certainly not greater than they were hitherto; that, in spite of them, the British Army has not proved itself a contemptible body; that the conquest of India, the deliverance of Spain, the stories of Waterloo, Alma, and Inkerman, are hardly consistent with the notion that the British Army is 'the very worst' in any sense. They will infer that a part

of such extreme depreciation is passionate exaggeration, as a part is due to the English propensity to decry whatever is by its own Government. But we will think that where there is much smoke there must be fire; and they will wish to be presumptuous that such allegations are even approximately true.

We will first consider the question of enormous cost.

There are always, from points of practicable economy, extensive and complex administration as that of the Army, and anyone who devotes himself to search and expose them is performing a useful service. But when those who administer the Army are charged with wasting it under the influence of self-interest and routine, the accusation is to be supported by some exhibition of the nature of the less expenditure. When a man, with the approbation of a committee of the United Service Institution, goes further, and using 'millions' vaguely, that we might have a far better army 'at about one-third of the present cost,' we reasonably expect some explanation.

The specific suggestions Mr. Holms makes are that, by increasing Militia officers, we have as many commissioned officers as needed, that the men need not be kept so long in barracks, and that the maintenance of the Militia is unnecessary. Captain Hislop, an Essayist, does not explain at all how he proposes to reduce the cost unless he means that his proposal of taking men by conscription will effect the reduction.

ures will throw much is matter. The total ie last Army estimates 000l. This is sub-llows :

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.	22,700
	£14,677,700

nce between this total above stated is due to of estimated receipts of s, including, amongst ents received from the erument for home-ops serving in India. seen at once that the t and Ordnance Store its alone, cost more rd of the present ex-which Captain Hime purposes.

is not quite so un-He only claims to in-ay of the troops con-d to reduce the gross same time by several le proposes for this bolition of the Militia tion of the number of l officers. But, on and, he implies that al regular troops are ted for the Militia.

'pay and allowances ar forces, 4,869,500l.,' 43,000l. for general

staff regimental pay and allow-ances and charges; the remainder being for medical establishments, clergy, and the administration of military law. This sum of 4,543,000l. includes many charges which are not pay of officers or men, such as 'purchase of horses 70,800l.,' and 'department of army accountants, 97,500l.' The pay and allowances of all kinds to officers and men amount to 4,000,216l., say 4,000,000l. Of this, about 1,200,000l. pertains to the commis-sioned officers, in number 5,684, leaving 2,880,000l. as the pay of 118,465 non-commissioned officers and men, averaging a little under 25l. each.

The total grant for the Militia is 685,300l. It must be remembered that Mr. Holms, in declaring the number of officers to be twice as many as are necessary, included 3,700 Militia officers; so that the greater part of his intended diminu-tion of officers is included in the abolition of the Militia.

Doubtless Mr. Holms would take credit, under his scheme, for a diminution of the charge for re-tired and half-pay officers, which amounts to about 600,000l. The portion of the charge for 'pensions' pertaining to officers is 162,000l., of which 17,000l. are for wounds, and the rest almost wholly are widows' pensions.

We thus see that Mr. Holms' proposals indicate a saving of 685,000l. from the Militia, and so much of the entire charge of pay, half-pay, retired pay, and widows' pensions, in all 1,962,000l., as would be saved by the smaller number of officers which he thinks sufficient. Out of these savings, irrespectively of providing some in-crease of the regular Army in place of the abolished Militia, he has to increase the pay of the non-com-missioned officers and men (who receive on an average a little under 25l. a year, with quarters, rations,

and some clothing), so that their calling shall be as good as any civil employment; and he undertakes to save several millions yearly besides. It must be added on Mr. Holms' behalf that seemingly he does not contemplate the retention of the present numbers of men in the ranks, but that they shall be discharged to their homes when they have been completely trained; and probably he supposes that thus a large saving would be effected. But he ignores the peculiar condition of the British Army, that fully one-half of the regular Army is for service in India and the Colonies, one-third being in India. This makes the problem wholly different from that presented to other Powers in the maintenance of a standing army.

It is essential to understand at the outset that anyone who postpones the consideration of the Army for India, postpones the whole question; and that anyone who, like the Prize Essayist, assumes, without argument, that we can have a separate army for India, has no claim to be heard; for he assumes a fundamental point in a sense which would probably receive a unanimous dissent from everyone responsible for Indian administration.

In former days the East India Company had a small body of European troops enlisted for Indian service, supplemented by a larger number of the British Army. Three regiments of infantry and the artillery, amounting in all to about 15,000 men, was the largest number; and these were supplemented by about 24,000 men of the British Army. Yet an occasion arose in 1860 when the combination of the local European troops was felt to be a most serious danger, although there were at that time about 66,000 men of the British Army in India. We now have about 60,000 British troops in India. The maintenance of such

a distinct from the Army, separate all vice, entirely dependent on the Indian Government, connected with India for its present difficulties and which put separation out question. The difficulties, stance, connected with having such large must pass the whole of the service in India, and future, after the comparative age at which they would ineffective, must be prov would be enormous. But superable objection is as a hundred minor objects the political danger is a The services of the Europeans in India cannot be spared shortest time. This such would know well; and, in which they might be unanimous, the knowledge give them a conscious power would be a danger of Indian Government has useful and sufficient warning

This necessity to provide Indian and colonial service makes conscription impossible notice this, because, the Essayist proposes conscription even Mr. Holms treats it derly; for, whilst repulse he says that 'people of the moment would not agree and that 'the people of the try would willingly submit they thought it necessary' scription is a most costly in best; but we can undertake it may be tolerable what however much it may interfere other occupations, does not man away from his own and people. But a cons which would take the cons India would evidently be But there not the slightest for it. (penny in the addi come-tax would to than fifty per

very non-commissioned man in the Army. It is difficult to say how many would not be less costly, and any more welcome, than

now turn to the present recruiting, which is disputed of the alleged merits of the present system, and the basis of all reformers' arguments.

The difficulty has been fully recognised. A Royal Commission was appointed in 1866, and a very thorough and instructive report. The merits of long and short service were fully discussed. Evidence was taken on various matters of detail, the claims and the feelings of the soldier might be better certain recommendations and adopted for some indirect additions to the shorter service, and the privileges, and other

Nevertheless there is no public discussion, and practically concurrent in what we have hitherto done the soldier thoroughly for the Army, in its own attractive calling; and this is especially felt in the effort to obtain good recruits to keep them when we need them. The particular attacks have been tried seem to meet the rise of the age and other circumstances, *cæteris paribus*, tend to the supply of recruits,

They leave the Army, just contriving to keep its number by means of whom many actually many would take their offered, and many are others as would not be so were easy to supply by better men. The points to some repugnance to some repugnance root of which we

have not yet reached. The conviction that this is so—that the recommendations of Royal Commissions and the devices of the War Department have failed of greater results, not by erroneous choice amongst recognised practicable means, but because there is some element of repulsiveness which is either undiscovered, or, if known, assumed to be irremovable—does seem really to underlie the restlessness which characterises the discussion of this Army question.

Such a repulsive element does exist. It does not truly remain to be discovered. It is, in a certain sense, notorious. But it has yet to be openly recognised. Moreover, we believe that many consciously question its necessity, although they are unwilling to express a merely nascent conviction, so opposed to traditional notions, that it will have to bear the odium of professional heresy.

The man who enlists is regarded by his friends and by himself as having sold his freedom. It is true to a great extent. He is at once placed under a special code of laws of extreme severity in some respects, making him liable to severest punishment for deeds which the civil law would regard as most petty offences. These special laws are not merely the supplementary laws needful for any large special organisation; but they are laws conceived on a different principle and in a different spirit, and in many respects superseding the ordinary laws. Their severity is chiefly directed to maintaining the most unquestioning obedience to personal authority almost without distinction of degree, if only it be relatively superior. For instance, we have known a man sentenced to many years' penal servitude for throwing his cap at a sergeant. A soldier in consequence is specially liable to suffer from the dominating tendencies of ordinary

men. Moreover, unless he can pay a sum which is beyond the means of the greater number, he has no power to terminate his service before the expiry of the term for which he is required to enlist, a term which, at the shortest ever yet proposed, is long compared with the longest 'notice' which would be required in any civil service whatever, if we except youthful apprenticeships. Consequently, the overworked peasant, who really knows no freedom from the toil which leaves him clumsy in frame, awkward in gait, ill fed, ill clothed, ill housed, yet feels himself essentially the superior of the well-dressed, active, comely man who now-a-days is allowed to want little which the best science can give to secure his health and strength; who has a life of comparative ease; but who wears the gay uniform which, to that peasant's eye, is the badge of servitude. The peasant may perhaps be very helplessly dependent on his master or his landlord; but he knows that he is in the eye of the law their equal; and he knows that it is otherwise with the soldier. This traditional feeling of the people that the soldier is not a freeman, is too largely supported by fact to permit the hope that it will die out under the influence of any improvements which leave the root of it untouched. It is a feeling too which, in some respects, one cannot regret; because it is not to be regretted that a love of freedom, even though mixed with baser motives, should overbear the attractions of a better supply of bodily needs.

It is, we say, in one sense, notorious that this character of servitude is the root of the difficulty. But this character is assumed to be inevitable, and all the various modifications of the recruiting system which are tried or suggested, are means of either extenuating

the character of servitude, or of ening it, or of outweighing various advantages.

But we question the fact to maintain the character of servitude.

What is the history of the exceptional system of law and the extraordinarily severe penalties by which military discipline is maintained?

Before the days of standing armies, i.e. of armies maintained in time of peace, an army was levied according to the needs of each occasion of war, by means of the personal obligation of the feudal system, by aid of the spirit, of love of adventure, hope of plunder, and of impressment. The necessity of civil law when the army is in the field, necessitates the introduction of what is called 'martial law;' whilst the circumstances of a large force, removed from ordinary restraints of society and helpless for military purposes unless manageable at the will of one man, make unquestioning obedience, for the time, a necessity, and the very lawlessness which attracts the most lawless character and for that further reason requires more special prompt and exercise of authority. With the cessation of field service, the army was disbanded; and the state of civil freedom ceased at the same time.

When armies were made permanent, the 'custom of war' made permanent at the same time, and it is easy to understand a free people, ready to endure the ruder conditions of military service during the needs of actual war, would be generally unwilling to remain permanently subject to an administration minute, constant, and arbitrarily enforced by such severe penalties. Only a despotic government would furnish

recruits in time of peace; appointment and regrets the rage of those entrapped by promises or worse means, mutual recklessness of the would all combine to at severity needful; and and its remedy would react upon each other. ed, is the actual history after in Great Britain.

standing armies were, recruited by impressed and vagabonds; and the acts were made for them as they.

gh modified in some re- existing Mutiny Act les of War show their their strong likeness to liest predecessors. The traditional notions derived ; earlier state of things nually made special, ded severe legislation need- t this again has reacted : men and officers, to con- traditional feeling of en- vice in the former, and of sity to legislate as for soldiers in the latter.

l memorandum prepared r Office in 1866 (forming H to the Report of the mmission dated October shows how impressment nised by law from the time s I. until 1780—that, by illiam III. and of Anne, the recruited by impressment ent debtors and convicts, such able-bodied men as any lawful calling or em- or visible means of their ice and livelihood'—that enth year of Anne's reign irst attempt at voluntary t, which, however, was lemented by impressment, steers being at liberty to ir discharge after three his Act was succeeded by ith some modifications; expired in 1712, and no

similar Act was passed until the rebellion of 1745, when a law of impressment was passed which expired in 1746. Somewhat similar Acts were passed in 1756, the impressed men being required to serve for five years. These expired as regards impressment in 1780.

But although formal impressment was abandoned, the Army was still largely recruited by mere entrapment, and enlistment was permanent surrender of liberty. For although the first attempt at voluntary enlistment in Anne's reign was by enlistment for only three years, yet this condition, two years later, was omitted from the Mutiny Acts. There were still certain recognised means of obtaining discharge by payment, or by providing a substitute, or by these means combined; but the Mutiny Acts contained no provision for discharge until 1806, when the Act 46 Geo. III. c. 69 gave the soldier a right to discharge at the end of certain periods to be afterwards fixed by the king's regulations, and gave him a legal right to pension on discharge. The regulations divided the enlistment into three periods of seven years each for the infantry, of ten, seven, and seven for cavalry, and of twelve, five, and five for artillery; and the recruit took an oath to serve for the first period. By the Mutiny Act of 1808 the soldier had the option of enlisting for unlimited service (receiving a large bounty); and Act 46 Geo. III. c. 69 was repealed in 1826, and limited enlistments were wholly discontinued until 1847.

Ireland, however, with its abounding population and great poverty, gave, for a long time, a large supply of comparatively willing recruits. The circumstances of the Highlanders of Scotland made them also willing to enlist in large numbers.

Ignorance soon becomes used to any orderly condition; and when the greater part of a regiment could

not write or read, the regular discipline was thoroughly effective to assimilate the recruits and to convert them to an accustomed if not satisfied acceptance of the conditions of their service. But as years have gone by, these circumstances have changed. There is less ignorance, freer communication of thought and discussion, better remuneration of labour, and readier means of transferring superfluous labour. Men being better instructed, their nature is less easily 'subdued to what it works in.' Such men emigrate instead of enlisting. Public opinion, too, revolted against some of the extreme severities of military government, and against the snares of the recruiting sergeant. In consequence there has been a mitigation of the severities of discipline, and an improvement of the old rather dreary conditions of the soldier's service in almost every respect. The mitigation of severity is marked chiefly by the continually diminished use of the lash, until by the last Articles of War a soldier is not liable to corporal punishment for any offence whatever unless he be on active service in the field or on board any ship not in commission; the utmost limit being fifty lashes.

At the same time the term of the soldier's service has been lessened. The Army Service Act of 1847 fixed the first term of enlistment for the infantry at ten years, and for the cavalry and ordnance corps at twelve, with conditions of optional re-engagement for eleven and twelve years more respectively. This was modified by the Army Enlistment Act of 1867, which fixed twelve years for all as the term of first enlistment, with power to re-engage to the extent of twenty-one years' service on the whole. This, again, was modified by the Army Enlistment Act of 1870, which, retaining the period of twelve years, provides in effect that the enlistment may,

at the option of the soldier for a part of the term of service be for the reserve. The obligation of Army service is determined time to time by the State, but is not to exceed three years. In fact, men may enlist for one year in Army service, with the option of the reserve; and with the conditions of their command may, if they wish it, be transferred to the reserve after only one year of Army service. More than the soldier's wages, his dwelling, his food, and his amusements have all been improved; his instruction and his opportunity of remunerative employment some degree provided; the most part, now in a position, in respect of comfort, very superior to that of the labouring classes of the country. That men, regarding their position, wonder what will entice and attract recruits to the ranks, if these conditions do so.

Nevertheless, a serious difficulty exists that the difficulty is not mastered; that, at the actual inability to fill the ranks, is avoided at the cost of a great expenditure, of the undeveloped lands, and of the desertion.

Some say that this is the only way to be done; that the whole of the matter is that of the price of labour. There is, of course, a great element of truth in this; from the whole or part of the truth. For thousands to be worse housed, less food, less leisure, less wages, the soldier, who is not to be enlisted, they say, they will

t they prefer to remain ; not sufficient to rejoin difference is immense in a man who is responsible and who, if he choose to work, can do so without said, but that such free-possible for the soldier ; he restraints of discipline, npalatable, must be taken vitable condition of the.

Analogous restraint is vitable in a great part of

A policeman, a servant y company, a clerk in a usiness, a domestic ser- all as much practically punctual obedience ; but aint does not make it o supply their places. everywhere an abundant recruits for such services. ne mere fact of restraint, different character of it, ses the aversion to enlist- is true that the liability service is a distasteful some, and we shall dis- more particularly. But al source of repugnance r service is the traditional that to enter the ranks t personal freedom.

e the root of the difficulty, e be disputed whether it he remedy. If this be at ime a necessary principle y service, we are 'as you must get on, as hitherto, ; and gradually increasing ments to enlistment, and satisfied with an army ch discharge will not be regarded as a penalty, which we cannot dismiss less characters except in ses.

s of freedom of which we sists in the extraordinarily alties for any kind of in- ion, and in the irrevoc- gement for a term which ong compared with the required in any depart-

ment of civil life. Are these things necessary principles of military ad- ministration, and therefore inevit- able elements of the problem ? or are they merely a growth of circum- stances which it is possible to remove gradually without impairing the unity, vigour, and perfection of the Army ?

At the outset, we of course con- cede that in the field, in actual warfare, the civil law is necessarily suspended or superseded. But this is not peculiar to the soldier. It is the same with regard to everyone who comes within the range of the exceptional needs of warfare, whether it be in his own or in an enemy's country. Moreover, the peculiar circumstances and needs of warfare entirely change, in many respects, the relative importance of various acts. The temptations to license are so great; the contagion of crime is always so imminent; the restraint of social traditions is so wholly withdrawn; the very occu- pation of war makes men so apt for violence, whilst the possession of arms and the ready opportunities for concerted action in some respects facilitate it; that acts which, in ordinary circumstances, would be petty and isolated offences, acquire a heinous character by their dis- organising tendency. For an army is not a society, but an organised living machine. It does not exist for its own sake or find its ends within itself, or attain those ends by any conflict of tendencies. It has one distinct function, which can only be properly fulfilled by the entire surrender, when demanded, of every judgment to a single will. The temporary loss of ordinary civil freedom, and the liability of each man to have his acts judged and punished, according to the ex- igencies of the moment, under one general law of obedience, is, and ever must be, necessarily inherent in the exceptional state of war. This may seem to any soldier too

obvious to need insistence. But we assert it lest we should be supposed to overlook, misconceive, or extenuate that necessity.

Our proposition is—that the loss of civil freedom is the root of the recruiting difficulty; that the system which requires that loss is derived, partly from the necessities of warfare, and partly from the equally real necessities of an army recruited by such means as supplied our first standing armies; that the conditions of warfare were rightly associated with the necessities of army government when armies were only kept together so long as there was actual campaigning and fighting to be done; but that such association has become gradually less and less needful; that the principles of discipline suited to a force recruited by the gaoler and the pressgang become year by year less and less suitable, and are only needed now, in any degree, because, by their reaction, they maintain a traditional feeling of enforced and therefore unwilling service, which necessitates proportional compulsion in one shape or another; that, allowing for the time necessarily occupied in introducing and developing, without disturbance, a radical change in a body so constituted and circumstanced as the British Army, and in extinguishing strong traditional prepossessions, there is now no inevitable obstacle to the removal of everything which makes the soldier, in time of peace, a less free citizen than any of his fellow-countrymen who serve in large organised bodies; that with such freedom, little additional expenditure, under a somewhat changed mode of distribution, would be needed to procure a sufficient number of good and willing recruits; and that there is nothing, except the persistence of traditional prejudice after the grounds of it have been removed, to prevent the Army

becoming in all ranks as it is in the com ranks.

In considering the new discipline, we commonly see a circle. Discharge is rarely a punishment. Such difficulty in getting and, when obtained, the so long a training before fit soldiers, that we can to discharge troublesome if offences would not be as assuredly they would the sole purpose of obtaining charge; and, in any case a large number of real who, if they were not in were penalties, would set authority at defiance. Necessary to develop this further; because it must be conceded that if the men unwilling servants that would be regarded as by a large number, the and the spirit of the M and Articles of War are to the maintenance of discipline.

But why is discharge regarded? And why is there difficulty in first getting and then in keeping the now, mainly, because of points of system which the culties require and, in justify. For, if we put a moment, the objection to reign service, what is there say, a postman's place, shillings a week, a subject competition, whilst they are so shunned? Surely it is of freedom in the ranks we have noted. Unless foreign service is an impediment in the unwillingness though more frequently a for the dissuasion of kind as being personally distasteful to the soldier. We have to moderate it, and consider it more fairly; and the other elements

and the first question is
be an inevitable one.

cive that the transference
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y impressed vagabonds
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of course, the right of
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not be allowed; and
ditions, such as will be
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inconvenience of losing
man may be admitted
pairing the argument.
first place, the with-
desertion before com-
the training, are most
under the present sys-
desertions for the seven
g December 31, 1865,
o returns given to the
mission, averaged 6,766
f whom 1,974 deserted
were passed into the
more recent statements
he number has not de-
every step of late has

been toward shorter periods of ser-
vice, entailing a large constant dis-
charge of men in ordinary course.
The only reason for assuming that,
with freedom to go, the with-
drawals would be, on the whole,
more frequent, must be because the
conditions of the service are really
so disagreeable that a great num-
ber, if free, would not endure
them.

Unless there be a real felt bitter-
ness in the soldier's life, such as a
large number of men will sooner
accept harder toil and poorer living
than endure, the freedom to leave
must be expected to diminish the
effective desire to do so. Many a
man who now, having to elect to
take his discharge at once or to
commit himself irrevocably to
another long period of service,
takes his discharge, would stay in-
definitely, if he were free to go at
any time at short notice.

Is there such a root of bitterness
in the soldier's life as will probably
make the withdrawals from the ser-
vice, if claimable at short notice,
intolerably frequent? Doubtless
there is at present, though half the
existing bitterness is in the fact of
being irrevocably bound; and this
would be nullified by the fact of
freedom to go. Still there would
remain the sense of thralldom in the
suspension of the ordinary equality
of citizenship before the law, and
subjection to an arbitrary authority
so hedged by the severest penalties,
even when delegated to men little
above the lowest ranks, that a sol-
dier must be prepared to bear occa-
sionally 'the insolence of office,'
with a patience which to ordinary
British natures is not easy, and can-
not be borne at all without a sense
of forfeited civil freedom.¹ 'Here's

Smith, of the 20th Hussars, who recently shot Captain Bird, at Alder-
n his written confession: 'I feel that my request to fall out ought to
anted, especially as I twice asked leave to do so; and I also think that
that is committed to non-commissioned officers, and especially to sergeant-
to be exercised with more care and discretion. If officers would enquire
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the respect which makes calamity of a life' in many ways attractive. Many will say that this is true; but that it is inevitable, that discipline would otherwise come to an end. We maintain that this is now a prejudice seemingly supported by much evidence, but evidence of facts now begotten solely by the system for the necessity of which they are called to witness. All forms of thralldom beget a spirit which, more or less, makes the thralldom an immediate necessity. By consequence the spirit of the Army in time of peace is infected by the suspicion which attaches to a hardly driven bargain, and by a jealous refusal of whatever is not in the bond. A freeborn man who has sold his liberty feels no devotion to the purchaser, whatever be the price he receives. The excitement of actual warfare supersedes such feelings for the time; and the very magnitude of the service which an army in the field consciously renders to its country gives dignity and devotion to the spirit in which the service is done. But in peace, the dignity which naturally attaches to the military profession is destroyed in exact proportion to the compulsion which attends it.

With greater freedom of the conditions of enlistment in the sense indicated, much might be done to make the actual present cost of the Army more effective as wages. The cost of recruiting, bounties, and desertions, was estimated in the War Office in 1866 (see Mr. Godley's memorandum appended to the report of the Royal Commission) at 400,000*l*. All such charges could be converted into additional pay without additional cost. A regiment of several hundred men in the prime of life

ought to be able to do almost anything for itself. The present cost to the State of such grants now made in kind might as money-wages, and the might be made regiments that the regiment should benefit of all good economically by the employment of its own labour therein. Every man knows how much dissatisfaction is caused by unexpected changes under Royal Warrants, the men know nothing of the enlistment, and with which intelligent men are fully acquainted. The claims in connection with recruiting, for instance, are often complicated, as to be a real hardship to anyone. The advantage is immense if a recruit were to receive a rate of pay which should cover everything, with a full understanding that everything whatsoever excepting the provision of his food and his arms, and the cost of his transport, would be defrayed therefrom, and under regulations made, if possible, regimentally as a condition of the Royal Warrant. The evidence to the Royal Commission how widespread a spirit of discontent attends the present mode of recruiting, and the claims of the State on the soldier's pay. The removal of all such suspicion would be of great advantage; and a freer opportunity for more uniformity of such administrative details of the different circumstances of different regiments might be the more perfect knowledge of the rules and of the reasons for which regimental arrangements would give—the certainty whether well devised or ill at the least the rules be

into the complaints made by sergeant-majors, it would be happier, as I have known many a man come to grief. I particularly wish to say that I do not say this to wish to do soldiers some good.

private soldiers are to of private soldiers being mis- what I have done

ely in the interest of the and not of the State ; and that if there be any inequitable consequence, ready means of remedy, if in many cases the dis- of the regimental expen- d be very much regulated men's own views;—these sions, combined with the d pride which is always whatever is regimentally would not only remove discontent, by prevent- exhibition of disputable the relative claims of the l the soldier, but would ngly to a free *esprit de* ch would be one of the s of willing and contented Above all things it would e remuneration of a soldier rdinary labourer in their on. Nothing is gained security on that point.

eedful now to consider views are affected by the o foreign service, espe- service in India. It will hat men might be ready o serve with a regiment id; but that they would soon as ordered on foreign

nstant foreign service in eace which our colonial an possessions require esent, no doubt, special . But so it does now. reer system of enlistment ncrease the difficulties. present shorter terms of ere are great inconveni- nding the despatch to en near the term of their tment. Between time- en, invalids, and the re- fs of regiments, there is continual exchange of h could hardly be ex- For the six years ending 31, 1865, the number of y relieved from duty in aged 4,240 by relief of

corps, 3,738 by time-expired men and invalids, whilst the deaths averaged 1,824, the number of men in India being then about 70,000. The frequency of option to with- draw from Army service will be much greater than hitherto, under the present system of optional transfer to the Reserve.

But present experience exhibits many limitations of the tendency to avoid foreign service. In the first place, men do enlist under the present system with the certainty that they will go to India. Why should fewer men be willing to go to India under freer conditions of service? It will be said that men do not fore- cast; that they enlist in England under some pressing motive, and that when the time comes for foreign service, they would repent if free to do so. To this it may be replied that when the East India Company had its own European force, and service in India was not a mere contingency, but the only prospect of their recruits, they had, to say the least, no more difficulty than the Crown in obtaining re- cruits.

Again, we find that at present nearly fifty per cent. of the time-ex- pired men re-engage in India; and when a regiment is ordered home a considerable number of men nearly always volunteer to stay; so that the foreign service cannot be so very generally distasteful. The Royal Commission of 1866 reported that the prevalent idea of the great dislike to service in India appears to be unfounded, judging by the evidence obtained by the former recruiting Commission, as well as by themselves.

But it will be said that if a soldier in India or on other foreign service, beginning to be homesick, or to dislike the country or climate, could demand his discharge at a few months' notice, the liability to coincident and perhaps concerted action of a large number, causing

an inconvenient or even dangerous diminution of force for a time, would be intolerable; whilst the cost of providing the transport would be extreme. We rejoin that, for reasons already given, there seems no likelihood that the transfers of men between England and her foreign possessions would exceed, *on the average*, those under the present system; and that it would be easy to provide against abuse, by making the claim to discharge whilst on foreign service conditional not only on the same 'notice' as would be required on home service, but on the time actually needed to procure a substitute, and, in India, on the relief being effected in the ordinary course of the troopship service.

A freer system must tend to a superior class of recruits; and to many such, in the earlier part of their service, foreign service would be likely to be attractive by its promise of variety and change of scene and circumstance.

Moreover, if the localised system of enlistment lately adopted, but so partially fulfilled as yet, should be hereafter so successfully developed that a great part of each regiment should have the bond of a common home to which, if they please, they will return in a few years, and from which they will, in the mean time, be never completely disconnected, the objections to foreign service would be greatly mitigated to those to whom it is most distasteful.

All these considerations seem to tend strongly to the conclusion that the foreign service difficulty would be diminished, not increased, if the soldier were enlisted on conditions nearly resembling those on which any large association or organised public department would engage the services of its several members.

There is another phase of the difficulty which must not be passed over. The constant foreign service

of the Indian Army is almost impossible that it shall be as general among soldiers as among the men of the same class in civil life. The question fairly occurs—Is the necessity for some kind of restriction, direct or indirect, to marriage, be affected by freedom of the service at short notice? Suppose the same rules required numbers of married men present, one or all of three must happen. Men in excess of the authorised number may marry, as some do now, and all the inconveniences that they would leave the service order to marry; or they may marry and subsequently be sent to service under experience of the inconveniences of being too many unmarried men. The first implies no change. It is needful to consider the other consequences, that men may either leave the Army in a hurry, or, after marriage, be induced to leave by the hard discomfort of their position.

No doubt this matter of marriage is just one of the things which the loss of freedom is specially felt. It would probably be the principal motive for early discharge, which was main when all compulsory and extraordinary service ceased. But, to be a valid objection, the outflow of men on account must be sufficient to leave the Army with an intolerable portion of untrained men. There are many counter-influences. Numbers would be sent on foreign service before they married as regards the large portion of the Army which is in India, it is found at present that they run up to the full number allowed that c

As a soldier does not marry, any a young man who is a soldier,

intention if it involved Moreover, if in consequence a large number would pass out of the Army they may be expected to enter the Reserve.

It is just one of the points of the whole problem, which, it is presumed, will be best solved on free conditions. If the inconvenience at present, viz. that the disinclination in order to marry is so numerous as to compel the man to a longer term of service, or the higher pay, or the possibility of a larger proportion of what then? Why does a wealthy nation wish to bear the cost of a disinclination? And will anyone say that the last alteration would be necessarily a disadvantage? We believe the contrary. For the greater number would have less crime and more, i.e. better men and more soldiers.

Permission to marry, if introduced, would present itself to other circumstances in a favourable manner. A more pleasant arrangement, by which the soldier virtually receives the same as if married (with the same advantages as if unmarried), would become unsuitable for the present system. It would be better to throw all the advantages to married men, and to increase pay after a certain service; so that a man could see a definite prospect of support a wife and a few years' service. The pay at intervals are inducements to conscription.

In many ways in which the Government might conceivably adjust every non-commissioned soldier to a somewhat larger num-

ber of private soldiers than at present, were allowed to marry—whilst the prospect of promotion or increased pay after a certain period might indicate a suitable time for marriage—it might happen that the men would not, generally, look to marry in the first few years; and the married men would be mostly men of, say, five years' service and upwards; whilst the men who desire to marry earlier would usually take their discharge or go into the Reserve. Considering the rapidity with which the *personnel* of the Army is changed, a prospect of marriage at a reasonably early age would be thus reconcilable with a moderate number of married men in the ranks.

Under the present new system of double or coupled battalions, one on foreign and one on home service, the men being interchangeable, a system might gradually grow by which a great part of the men would do their earlier service abroad and the latter years at home, so having a larger proportion of married men at the home-stations. Exchange of stations by mutual agreement between married and unmarried men might be permitted, by which much might be done to prevent inconvenience from a larger number of married men.

The localised enlistment and district depot systems are especially favourable to the establishment of a regimental home, where the children of men on foreign service or elsewhere might be left for education. More freedom of marriage might thus enable the Army to recruit itself in some measure. Many good influences might thus arise to set against the one loss of having fewer old soldiers in the ranks; if, indeed, such loss should result, which is by no means certain.

It may be said that many of the foregoing suggestions are mere hypotheses, which may prove erroneous, and that it would be as easy

to found very contrary suppositions on the general imprudence of the class in relation to marriage. This is true; and the only use of stating such merely hypothetical consequences is that they suggest the probability that some satisfactory result would come out. But it is not a mere supposition that a larger number of married men would give a better army, though a somewhat costlier one. There is no doubt that the additional pecuniary cost of more married men would be in some degree met by the indirect economy of less crime and better health. It is evident that if the passing a larger number of men through the ranks be less agreeable to commanding officers, and gives a less number of soldiers at the age of greater efficiency, it at least tends to increase the military resources of the country on the whole. It is directly inferable, from our experience both of readiness to stay in India and of the number of men desirous to marry in India, that freedom to leave the service would not increase the number of very young men in India (and it is chiefly in relation to the Indian climate that a great proportion of very young men is inconvenient). And the expectation that the best arrangement with regard alike to professional, social, and financial economy will be more readily discovered without the element of compulsion, has the support of a wide experience in almost every phase and relation of the national life.

No one, however, can pretend to foresee the particular consequences, in relation to marriage, of greater freedom in the terms of enlistment. The very point of our argument is that we shall learn the best course by experience, and that one great advantage of more free conditions of enlistment is that it will help, more than anything else, to the true solution of the marriage question, which is so immeasurably

important in its physical & relations.

Every change which I made of late years has come to the change we advocate. Earl Grey, the Minister who introduced the Limited Enlistment of 1847, said in his evidence before the Royal Commission, the object sought 'in short terms of service for the Army, and to cause considered an advantage to the Army, and a punishment turned out of it.' It was the essence of his scheme, he said, the men should feel that for a certain period, they were in by force; that they were compulsorily retained in the cause it was quite inconsistent with the whole policy of the Army that men look to the Army as a stage, that there should be compulsory continuance of their service. *The two things could not co-exist.* He added that, 'It was no doubt necessary that the engagements should be for such a length of time as the country, having gone to the expense of training the soldiers, have for a certain time of his services, but that the period necessary to accomplish the object it was considered of importance that the engagements should be such that a man should not be permitted to leave. These are the views which I doubtless, have mainly guided the Administration since 1847. These views virtually constitute the principle for which we contend with respect to freedom to leave the service at such notice as may be required in analogous civil circumstances. But there is a full acceptance of the consequences of what is conceded in the Army, shown by avoiding the question whether a ten or twelve years' service be really necessary to give the country the best man's service. The conclusion is obvious;

sation. If the cost of the ground of detentions, the earlier the a man withdraws attention, the weaker is retain him. The man ng enough to be well orth his training for his enrolling himself e. Under no circumstance can a fair con- the public service be ry case. What is due service is, at present, thousands, by the ss of desertion. We lose more men within nonths of service than oy desertion. But, of reat argument lies in that freedom to leave condition of contented mpulsory service and t coexist. well omit any question process by which the , if accepted, could be oduced. But as some ld think the matter ying that it is not im- cticable, we add, that the impossibility of once, for the whole he change indicated. er hand, we believe to take discharge at notice (with some ons when abroad, such suggested) might im- made the condition of ments, if attended by nment of all bounties, it or clothing, and the such regimental ar- regarding the issue of , or other supplies to ould enable the regi- re itself and the State oss except of the man's ase he leave the service ly time. me time the greater extraordinary punish- ised by the Articles of

War might gradually, but quickly, be restricted, as flogging is now, to times of service in the field or on board ship, with power to the local civil Government abroad (defined in a suitable manner) to put the Articles of War in full force as respects the troops or any portion of the troops within its jurisdiction, when satisfied that any prevalent spirit of insubordination or other circumstances to be duly declared, in the judgment of such Government make it needful. So, by degrees, a new spirit and new principle might grow, under which the Articles of War in time of peace would only have the character of bye-laws needful to supplement the ordinary law; and the soldier would, in effect, retain his entire civil freedom in time of peace; and possessing that, could preserve his self-respect, only enhanced by the dignity of his calling. Under some such conditions, the attractions of military life would have their full force. And these are manifold; some noble, some rather ignoble, but all deeply rooted in energetic natures. With these in full play, by the withdrawal of every element of bondage, the military service might be, to say the least, sufficiently attractive, not only to procure recruits, but to make dismissal a severe punishment; and this, as experience in all other departments of life shows, implies the power of sufficient discipline without suspension of ordinary equality before the law. We do not pretend to give the solution in every detail of this problem of Army organisation which constantly occupies the minds of every military authority. If we add one pregnant thought or conception, or give shape in some degree to existing unformed thought, or speak out that which many think but without sufficient conviction to make them declare it, we may be satisfied. Therefore, we have judged that the only useful treat-

ment of a matter which has been already so thrashed and winnowed in detail as this, is to regard its most general aspects; and to seek in our common impulses and in the history of past growth for the principles which are likely to guide most effectively the future development of Army system. So looking at the matter, it has seemed to us that, whilst there is nothing new to be discovered, there is something which has not been adequately recognised, viz. the forfeiture of civil freedom and equality which attends enlistment, and the great degree in which this nullifies the attractions of military life. We have shown that the present Army is governed by a code made for an army manned by convicts and vagabonds; and we only echo words written in the War Office and laid before the Royal Commission of 1866, in questioning the future necessity that the soldier's contract to serve the Crown shall be of a wholly different character from any other

bond of *rice*, and is required to suppress that obedience could *only* be maintained in peace without a severity of punishment otherwise unknown in connection with discipline.

We feel sure that it is bring this comparatively nised element of the prominent notice, and to the principles of administration which assume it to be inevitable. And although it will long continue to be an element of servitude as an able condition of military because it once was such become so incorporate that time and gradual experiment prove the unessential which insight may now yet we believe that many those who will most perassert the supposed new discipline, will do so with misgiving that to this of free service we must



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SECONDARY EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND.

By PROFESSOR G. G. RAMSAY (UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW).

ause of Secondary Education in Scotland seems at last to have reached the point of attracting attention which it deserves. By a huge fatality for which it is to account, it has been up to the present time almost impossible to arouse public interest in the

On the subject of Elementary Education, there has been a raging storm of argumentation raging for the past ten years. Every church, every community, every interest, has had its trumpetted the claims of its nostrum into the public ear. Every platform, and in every corner, every conceivable view of the subject has been propounded to every conceivable degree of violence and vehemence till the subject seemed to be almost sick of the name of education. But, nevertheless, almost the whole intellect has clustered round the political and ecclesiastical aspects of the question; and for every thought that has roared themselves upon the subject of Education, Rates, and Schools, there has not been one person who has not considered the question of all,—what is the education given when the rivalries of sect and party have subsided, what are the subjects taught, what the method of instruction and school system adopted, so as to

extract the highest possible educational result out of all the expenditure entailed by the new system.

And if Elementary Education has been considered principally in its outward aspects, Secondary Education has scarcely been considered at all. Scotchmen have no doubt been proud, as well they might, of the reputation so long enjoyed by their country of being the best educated in Europe; and of the advantage she has derived from the possession of a truly national system centuries, it may be said, before the idea was realised elsewhere. And if we Northerners had been for once blind to our own points of superiority, the praises lavished upon our Scottish system of education by southern critics would have sufficed to raise the national self-esteem to a proper pitch. In Parliament and out of it, English educationists have never wearied in their praises of Scottish education, and they have not hesitated to attribute the remarkable prosperity which attends the Scotch abroad to the superior education which he has enjoyed at home. Now, if there is one feature more than another which has hitherto characterised Scottish education it is this: that it has mingled together Primary and Secondary Instruction to an extent unknown elsewhere, and has thus placed the

advantage of the highest instruction which the country has to offer within the reach of the poorest of the land. It might naturally have been expected, therefore, that the interest of the public in all questions relating to Secondary Education would be peculiarly strong; and that the fact of that boon being not confined to a class as in England, but open to all, would have had the effect of quickening the intelligence of the community upon all educational questions. But it has not been so. I venture to say, on the contrary, that there is scarcely a country in Europe in which the various questions involved in the consideration of Secondary instruction, and on the wise solution of which the whole success of our higher education must depend, have attracted less attention, and are less understood by the public at large, than they are at present in Scotland. In England it has been otherwise. Public interest there was first roused to deal with Secondary Schools, and it was not till the Public Schools Act and the Endowed Schools Act had become law that public opinion ripened sufficiently for the passing of a measure on Elementary Education. But in Scotland the great questions at the root of educational reform have hitherto created little or no attention; whether Classics should maintain their old supremacy, or give way to the so-called modern subjects—Science, Modern Languages, History; whether alternative courses should be introduced, and under what conditions; what should be the methods employed, and the ends aimed at, in teaching either set of subjects; how schools should be graded, organised, governed; what should be the relation of governing bodies to masters, of masters to each other: these ques-

tions, canvassed so eagerly and fifteen years past in have scarcely been raised the Tweed. And so at present, when the higher of the country is in a great danger, having high and dry, cut off from sources of support by the 1872, and as yet unprovided new ones, the country is roused to appreciate the and the public spirit which can put things right has created. As Mr. Hunter of the Glasgow High School puts it, 'It is the low public opinion, or rather the total absence of any of Secondary Education in that has kept the work Universities so low; it is to be sought the true the deficiencies in our Schools.'

But it is evident that inference is not likely to be. During the late recess I ment the subject of Secondary Education has occupied a less in almost all the addresses to their constituents. projects have been put before the legislator has his own plan for planting more firmly that famous educational tree rudely shaken by recent legislation so as once more to afford to the humblest talent in the through the elementary schools to the Universities this at least they owe and that the higher education is in a bad way, and that not to fail altogether a must be done for its support during the past few weeks of association of some of the best Scotland has been formed, express purpose of giving minute attention to the matter, in the belief that

¹ *Our Secondary Education, and its Recent Critics.* By John Estlin D. Bryce and Son, Glasgow. 1875.

lull in the political atmosphere as well as the recently published report of the Scottish Education Commission, affords opportunity for working both public and on the Government of bringing the whole to a successful issue.

It would thus appear that there is a peculiarly favourable opportunity for those who have it in their power to throw light upon the present state of Secondary Education, and, to offer what contribution towards the formation of public opinion upon the subject. Information is needed.

It is impossible to decide what should be done for the extension and improvement of the present system until we know exactly what results it is actually producing, both as to quantity and quality.

If there are defects in the system, they should be carefully considered, and the best remedy supplied, before that remedy is extended further. If improvements can be effected in the condition of our schools, in the method of teaching, and in the methods of selecting the teachers, it is of the greatest importance that prominence should be given to the fact that when there is some prospect of improvement being taken to put right what is wrong. If a new fabric is to be erected, it is essential that a *consensus* should be arrived at as to the lines on which to build; the public is to be carried along with the new movement, it must be properly informed. Hitherto there has been too little publicity of the actual work done in our schools and Universities; more publicity would be to the benefit of both.

In conclusion, we have said, is that the information there to hand has been turned into an account. Till recently, the Secondary Schools of Scotland have been working in the dark. There has been no public standard

by which the absolute value of the results they produce can be tested, or one school contrasted with another. Until the recent Act, by which annual examinations of the twelve Higher Class Schools have been enforced, the examination of a school by independent examiners was almost unknown, and even now, with regard to the remainder, were it not for the most full and valuable Reports of the Assistant Commissioners on Burgh and Middle Class Schools, published by the Scottish Education Commissioners in 1868, the public would be still almost without data for forming an opinion upon their work.

Upon the labours of that Commission one word must be said. The value of their Report upon Elementary Education has been fully recognised; but their task of examining into the working and condition of the Secondary Schools they performed with a meagreness and feebleness for which it would be difficult to find a parallel in the Report of any other Royal Commission. And yet they had no lack of materials on which to found a judgment. Two thoroughly qualified Assistant Commissioners, Mr. (now Dr.) Harvey (now Rector of the Edinburgh Academy) and Mr. A. C. Sellar, had made a most searching examination into the history and present condition of the Burgh and Middle-Class Schools, dealing completely with all the points embraced in their inquiry: the character of the education given, the subjects taught, the results produced, and every question connected with finance, buildings, management, and organisation. They examined and inspected personally two-thirds of all the Secondary Schools in Scotland, and in two octavo volumes presented the Commissioners with complete materials for the issuing of a searching report on a subject up to that time wholly new to the public. But the Commissioners did nothing

of the kind; and suffered themselves instead to be satisfied by a superficial and partial report prepared by Mr. Fearon for the English Schools Inquiry Commission, which seemed to some extent to run counter to the results obtained by Messrs. Harvey and Sellar. Mr. Fearon had made a hasty tour of inspection round a few of the best schools; and, being much struck by the vigour of the Scotch teachers and the eagerness shown by Scotch boys, he gave a glowing account of the education given in the Secondary Schools as a whole, which a more thorough examination would certainly not have confirmed. But that account gave the Commissioners an excuse for doing nothing; and they accordingly issued a report which was as perfunctory and slovenly as it was possible to make it, and which has paralysed the efforts of educational reformers up to the present time. If, after a supposed complete inquiry, the Commissioners came to the conclusion that no change of importance was needed in our Secondary School system, who could hope to persuade the public to the contrary? How, with such evidence before them, they could agree to send out such a report it is difficult to imagine. It can only be explained on the supposition that they were wearied of their labours, or that they had not read or considered the evidence presented to them. As an example of their educational acumen, let us take the following passage on school organisation:

Whether or not there should be a rector with subordinate masters, or masters with co-ordinate power—whether there should be a fixed curriculum, or parents should be left to select such subjects of instruction as they may think advisable—whether the promotion from class to class should be regulated by routine or by proficiency—whether each master should have his own class, and appropriate to himself the fees of his scholars, or the fees should be paid into a common fund—are questions

of great practical importance; there appears to be much difference of opinion. *Upon the whole, we think they should be left, in the last resort, to the decision of local authorities.* *Third Report, p. xv.*

A more lame and imbecile conclusion on the points to which it would be difficult to refer. Those questions go to the very root of the matter. To refuse to give an opinion on them was to abdicate the function of inquiring into the education of the country. Where there were differences of opinion on the points, it was for the Commission to judge between the opinions expressed; but I venture to say the contrary, that among those who spoke with real knowledge and freedom there was little difference of opinion whatever on the points stated.

But the solid results of Harvey and Sellar's labours remain; and their reports are, on almost all the essential points involved in our inquiry, only authentic information. It is impossible to state the reports carefully without two conclusions: first, that the Secondary Education of Scotland is, or rather let us say was, at a time when the reports were issued, in a profoundly unsatisfactory condition, whether as regards subjects and methods of instruction, or the results produced, or the whole system of organisation; second, that such are the defects of the system they describe, only in consequence of the neglect of the material, of the teachers and taught, that the results produced have been even as they are reported. For while we must consider the schools and the system as they are, it would be most unfair to the system. Everywhere the assistant commissioners were underpaid, short-handed, and inefficiently provided with appliances, without any

themselves, interfered with parents, under the control of teachers who, with few exceptions, had little or no intelligent opinion upon educational matters, and were obliged to work under a system of remuneration and payment which was ingeniously devised to prevent the introduction of educational improvements. And, though we were constrained to report on 210 departments examined, they could only give 'Good' 29 per cent. in Arithmetic, 15 per cent. in Mathematics, only 15 per cent. in English, and only 10 per cent. in Modern Languages, a little wonder that they thought it would be unjust to the teachers if this estimate were simply to apply to the teaching only. Indeed, the teachers in the examination appeared to us to give of all praise for their exertions in the face of these difficulties. Now time that we should ask special questions to which we had to address ourselves in the next article. The object of recent educational reformers is to serve, under improved conditions, what has hitherto been the function of our Scottish system—that it offered its benefits to all classes of the community. 'What I long to see,' said Forster at Edinburgh, 'is that from the Elementary School to the University through the Grammar School.' And Lord Brougham at Edinburgh, said :

of educational reformers I take it that whenever in a village school, however poor, has shown exceptional ability, he may be given some moderate pecuniary help with his education at a Higher School, and, if he still continues to himself there, that he may pass to Universities, either to take his own open profession, or to devote his life of learning and teaching,

as his circumstances and his character may lead him.'

Such is the problem before us. An able writer in the last number of *Blackwood's Magazine* has well pointed out that before we can arrive at an opinion as to how far Secondary Schools are really needed and how they should be distributed, it is essential that we should have information on two points :

(1) How far does Secondary instruction still survive in some of the Primary Schools, and what is the value of such instruction ?

(2) What is the present amount of Secondary instruction given in the junior classes of the Universities ?

As it is to be hoped that nothing but Secondary instruction is given in these classes, the latter question should rather be put thus : What is the actual amount and value of the training in Secondary subjects which our students bring with them to the Universities, whether from Secondary or from Primary Schools ? For the real weakness in the University system is not the standard of instruction reached, but the proportion of the students taught who are really able to profit by the teaching given. The backward students do, undoubtedly, to some extent, keep back the better students; but the latter, as has been said elsewhere, get as much work, and as high work, as they require; it is the former whose needs cannot be attended to.

On both of the above points we have some information of an important, and probably, to most readers, of a novel character to offer.

The first question before us therefore is, to what extent is Secondary Instruction afforded at the present moment in the best Primary Schools; what is the value of that instruction; and is there any certainty that under the present system that

instruction will continue to be given?

The mixture of Secondary and Primary education in Scottish schools of all grades, is so well known that it is needless to dwell on it. But it may be well to state the fact, as it exists, in the words of the Education Commissioners (Third Report, p. x.) :

It cannot be too often repeated that the theory of our school system, as originally conceived, was to supply every member of the community with the means of obtaining for his children not only the elements of education, but such instruction as would fit him to pass to the Burgh School, and thence to the University, or directly to the University from the parish school. The connection between the Parochial and Burgh Schools and the University is, therefore, an essential element in our scheme of national education. The only way in which this essential element can be preserved is by insisting that the teachers in every Burgh or Secondary School, and many of the Parochial Schools, should be capable of instructing their pupils not only in the subjects common to all Primary Schools, but in the elements of Latin, Mathematics, and Greek. To be satisfied with any standard of competency inferior to this would be to lower the character of education which has hitherto prevailed in the country; to deprive meritorious youths of the means of gratifying a legitimate ambition; and to destroy the link which has hitherto united our Schools with our Universities, and which, according to universal consent, has proved of the utmost value to the people of this country.

It is thus impossible, in the present state of things, to consider the condition of the Secondary Education of the country without extending the enquiry to the Elementary Schools, on the one hand, and to the Universities on the other. Let us first ascertain, therefore, what is practically meant by the mingling of Primary and Secondary instruction in our schools.

In their Report on Elementary Education in the Country districts, published in 1866, p. 164, the Assistant Commissioners report that in the Parish Schools they found 5·25 per cent. of the total number of scholars learning Latin,

and 0·63 per cent. learning In the whole schools, taking criminally, 3 per cent. Latin, 0·25 1 per cent. Greek scholars in the three north counties (far ahead of the Scotland in this matter), Mr Laurie reported, about the time, that 6·7 per cent. Latin, and 1·5 per cent. Greek the rest of Scotland he said Latin scholars at 4 per cent. at about one-half per cent. adds :

It does not appear that the learning Greek in the Parish Schools at any time greater throughout than it is now; but these Latin seem to have numbers 6 per cent. of all the scholars is here, therefore, a falling-off great as is the falling-off in quantity, the deterioration of the the Latin professed in kindred (the North-eastern counties can doubtless much greater.

And what is the state of now? With the view of obtaining exact information upon the Committee of Senate of the University of Glasgow has recently sent out a schedule to the schools mentioned below, requesting information as to the proportion of scholars learning Latin, Greek, and Mathematics respectively in each and as to the effect of the Education Act upon the teaching of the higher subjects, as it has been as yet tested. The schedules were sent to—

(1) Every Elementary School in Scotland from which any scholar had been sent up to any Latin classes in Glasgow University in the session 1873-4 either directly or indirectly (with an interval between Secondary School). It will be seen that these are picked out of the Elementary Schools. They are chosen at random: they are the schools which at this time are doing no work of preparation for Glasgow University and in which nearly one-half

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Answers have been re-
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	No. of Scholars learning	
	Latin	Greek
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ge	548	4

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of that learning Latin.
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those studying Classics
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1866 in all the Parish Schools
taken together.

The following are the results from
the whole of the 52 Secondary
Schools from which answers have
been received:

Total No. of Scholars	Number learning		
	Latin	Greek	Math.
12,814 .	3,220	575	1,610
Percentage .	25.12	4.49	12.56

The results given by the Assistant-
Commissioners in 1868 correspond
almost exactly with the above
figures. According to their returns,
out of 12,862 scholars in 54 schools,
25.18 learnt Latin, 5.2 per cent.
Greek, 10.8 per cent. mathematics,
21. per cent. some modern language.
But in the returns we have given
two or three of the best schools
are not represented; and if we com-
pare the schools that are included
in both sets of returns—42 in all—
we shall find that since 1868 there
has been a decided increase both in
the total number of scholars and
also in the proportion of those
learning the advanced subjects.
Thus in 1868 in the 42 schools there
were—

Total No. of Scholars	Number learning		
	Latin	Greek	Math.
8,770 .	2,010	413	857
Percentage .	22.9	4.7	9.8

In 1876, in the same 42 schools,
the figures are—

Total No. of Scholars	Number learning		
	Latin	Greek	Math.
9,646 .	2,490	452	1,270
Percentage .	26.8	4.78	13.1

These figures, taken in conjunc-
tion with the written evidence of
the teachers who supplied them,
establish a number of important
points.

1. In the first place, they show ex-
actly to what extent Secondary and
Primary instruction overlap each
other. It appears that in all the
Secondary Schools, even if we in-
clude the four or five whose work
is entirely secondary, about 75 per

cent. of the instruction given is in purely elementary subjects; while in the best Elementary Schools some 5 per cent. of the instruction given is in secondary subjects. This result agrees closely with that brought out in the Return recently published from all the Secondary Schools, public or private, in the twelve principal towns of Scotland;³ and we may say roughly that out of every 25 scholars in such schools only 6 learn Latin, only 3 learn Mathematics, and only 1 learns Greek.

2. Greek, it will be seen, can hardly be said to exist as a regular school subject in the Elementary Schools. A schoolmaster here and there teaches Greek to the one, two, or possibly three boys, whom he can tempt to remain on at school in their third or fourth year at Latin; but the majority of those learning Latin leave school before that time, and those who do get the length of learning Greek learn it probably for not longer than a few months, a year at most. The study of Greek survives at all almost entirely in consequence of the laudable ambition of such teachers as are able to teach it, who are still anxious to keep up the old tradition of higher learning, and who, without any adequate remuneration, find time in their spare hours to bring on their most promising scholars, proud of being thus able to keep up their connection with the higher education of the country. But it is a flickering flame at best, and without encouragement it must die out altogether.

3. Even in the majority of the Secondary Schools, Greek is studied but by a very small number, and for a short time. Out of the 12,814 scholars included in the table given above, only 575 study Greek, and one half of these are in three or four of the Higher Class Schools.

And in all but the best a time given to Greek, as he said to Latin also, is inadequate for a really study of those subjects. a week to Latin, 2½ hour to Greek, and even less average time given in Elementary Schools as great majority of the Schools. The really valuable results of a classical training be obtained from a far course like this.

The amount of knowledge of Greek with which students up to the Universities will be most clearly understood: fact: it was recently found of 253 first-year students in Glasgow University, never learnt any Greek at all; 52 had learnt it for as little whole year.

4. If we next consider the influence afforded by the school as to the effect of the Education upon the higher education, draw a distinction between results produced by the management of School Boards in place of Councils and other management, and those flowing from instructions of the Code, followed as a consequence of the Act. Out of the 528 schoolmasters who have given detailed information on the question 15 give an opinion decidedly favourable as to the effect of the Act, only 6 speak favourably, remainder are unable to give a positive opinion, or state that the Act has had no effect upon teaching of the higher education. The fact seems to be that, as management is concerned, the substitution of School Boards for Councils has been an improvement. As a rule, Councils elected since the principal Reform Act

³ Mr. McLaren's Return respecting the Secondary and Higher Classes, August 9, 1875, No. 414. See also Second Report of the Committee on the Education of the People, 1876, p. 10.

must inevitably go down in quality, unless the managers are able, out of other sources, to make special provision for its support. Even where the higher subjects are taught to increasing numbers, the time allotted to them is curtailed. They do not 'pay.' A master, to stand well with his Board, and to gain a good income for his school, must devote his principal time and energies to forcing the younger children through the lower Standards. Even the higher Standards, IV., V., and VI., are a loss to a school, as compared with the lower Standards. And the best teachers are of opinion that the forcing of all children at the age of seven to pass an examination in writing, and still more in arithmetic, at an infinite labour, and to the neglect of subjects more suitable to their age, is a waste of power, if not a cause of positive injury to their minds.

The amounts given by the Code for the 'Special Subjects' in which Latin, Greek, and mathematics are included, are utterly inadequate; and there is no proportion between the difficulty of the various subjects for which equal grants are given. As large a grant is earned by a master for passing a scholar in a certain amount of cram questions in so-called 'Mechanics,' 'Chemistry,' 'Physiology,' 'Botany,' &c., which can be without difficulty taught to an intelligent class in a few weeks, as for an amount of Latin, Greek, or Mathematics, which would require two or three years of continuous teaching. Master after master states that he can gain 4s. a head for a class of twenty scholars, with some four weeks' teaching in these subjects, while he may have difficulty in gaining 4s. a head from eight scholars in Latin after two years' constant work. To take an example: in Mechanics, 'General notions of the Mechanical Forces;' in Physiology, 'The organs and functions of alimentation, the properties of muscle and nerve,' are held as equivalent

to 'The Greek Grammar. Xenophon's *Anabasis*, Book I. Somewhat longer sentences to be translated from English into Greek.' To pass such an examination (if not a pure sham) three years' study of Greek at the least would be required. The Science and Art Department is lavishing its funds on a similar principle. A well-known schoolmaster in the West of Scotland states that through the Science and Art Department last year the money results of classes in chemistry and electricity (there being about twenty scholars in each class) came to about 120*l.*, or at the rate of 6*l.* per pupil. Latin and Greek would have brought in all, for the same pupils, 8*l.*, or at the rate of 8*s.* per pupil! After such statements, it need scarcely be asked what is the effect of the Code upon the study of those subjects which prepare for the University. Teachers unanimously report that its effect is to push those subjects aside; to make them of little or no importance as contributing to the income of the school or of the master; to diminish seriously the amount of time given to them where they continue to be taught; and to reduce the standard of attainment formerly reached.

From the evidence of more than 100 schoolmasters, all to the same effect, we may quote the following:

The effect of the Act has been 'very unfavourable to the higher branches in this district and school'; has been 'very bad'; 'much less time given to the higher subjects than formerly'; 'number of pupils diminished'; 'less attention given to the higher subjects'; 'almost banished them'; 'diminished the time spent on them'; 'less attention to them than formerly'; 'higher subjects almost extinct'; 'time much diminished'; 'has affected them injuriously'; 'no time now for them'; 'higher classes dwindling away'; 'most unfavourable'; 'higher subjects totally extinguished'; 'almost crushed'; 'less time to devote to them, over and over again'; 'have had to coax boys to learn Latin'; 'higher subjects knocked on the head'; 'seriously affects classics'; 'higher subjects very languishing'; 'has almost extinguished Latin and Greek'; in 1872-73, the

Inspector reported this as one of the schools in the West of Scotland. Homer, Virgil, and Horace were in no manner to do credit to any School, and next year I shall see no pupil—it would not pay'; 'Phonography and English Literature requirements of the Code can be passed with a quarter of an hour twice a week. Latin, Greek, and Mathematics require not only higher but ten times the amount of labour.'

Where, then, the Code is in operation, the above results are certainly to be expected unless definite steps are taken for the purpose of counteracting it. So far, therefore, as the Code is concerned, the difficulties thrown in the way of raising the standard of education, which the School Boards have met themselves resolutely to face, as we have seen, the Board has to be doing what they can in the case of schools independent of the Code, the Boards have not this satisfaction, that if the Code is so sadly crippled in their effect, that almost universal want of Secondary Schools, want of Government influence at present to drag them down, and to reduce their efforts to raise the standard of education, or even keep it on its own old level.

We now come to the main inquiry with which we are concerned. What is the character and the teaching of the secondary subjects provided by the Code in the country, Primary and Secondary? What is the amount of the training in these subjects which the mass of our population bring up with them to the universities?

It is notorious that the results come in nearly equal proportions from Primary and from Secondary Schools. The Education Commissioners, who make their statistical returns, report that all four Universities report 42 per cent of the students in the Faculty of Arts come

Schools, the remainder educated in Elementary privately or abroad. In 1867-68 the Senate of the University obtained a return from the different Faculties with the view of

ascertaining exactly the educational antecedents of the students in each faculty. Returns were sent in by 898 students in all, being about three-fourths of the whole number. The results are shown in the following table:

	I. Educated wholly at Elementary Schools	II. Educated partly at Elementary Schools	III. Educated wholly at Secondary Schools	IV. Educated privately or out of Scotland	Total
Arts . . .	235	130	154	49	568
Divinity . .	34	19	14	4	71
Medicine . .	76	37	16	32	161
Law . . .	26	20	52	...	98
Total	371	206	236	85	898

appears that 41 per cent. of the entire number had received their education wholly at Elementary Schools. In the Faculty of Divinity only 26 per cent. entered the University, and in Medicine 53 per cent. only. In the Faculty of Arts, however, the proportion was 41 per cent. If we exclude students educated out of Scotland, the proportion is 50 per cent. in Divinity and 58 per cent. in Medicine. In the Faculty of Law, the proportion is 41 per cent. The proportion in the other years has been found to be nearly as possible the same. In the last session, for instance, of the students in the junior (first) division of the Latin Faculty of the University, 120 have received their education at Elementary Schools, 25 more at private

schools. It is to be said that, in proportion to a master's success, was the emphasis with which he expressed this preference. Not a few declared that boys who learnt Latin beat boys who did not learn Latin, even in subjects with which Latin had no direct connection.

And again:

The universal experience seems to be that wherever the study of Latin is neglected or omitted the whole education is lowered in character.

Now in Scotland the teaching of Latin has been far more diffused than in England; and it would seem from the Report of the Assistant Commissioners that there is no subject better taught. The following is their estimate of the quality of instruction given in the 210 departments of schools which they examined in the four subjects of Classics, Modern Languages, English and Mathematics, expressed in percentages:

Quality	Classics	Modern Languages	English	Mathematics
Good . . .	29%	10%	15%	29%
Fair . . .	25%	27%	43%	27%
Indifferent	31%	41%	33%	33%
Bad . . .	15%	22%	9%	11%

quality of the work done in Elementary Schools, probably it can be found that the students are capable of producing more than the average. In the Report of the Enquiry Commission, the following remark, p. 24:

masters were almost unanimous in regarding Latin as their chief instrument. It might almost

It would thus appear that Classics and Mathematics are the two subjects best taught in the schools. We have already seen that by Classics, Latin practically is meant, and that Latin is taught to a larger number of scholars than any other subject of Secondary instruction. We cannot, therefore, choose a better and a fairer subject than Latin by which to test the quality of the Secondary instruction afforded in the schools as a whole. Such a test it is in my power to apply with regard to students entering the University of Glasgow; and while I have little doubt that the results of such a test would be more favourable on the whole in the other Universities (especially in Aberdeen) in consequence of the almost total non-existence of Secondary Schools in the Western Highlands, I have before me similar results taken in a similar way from the University of Edinburgh; and though the figures are somewhat more favourable in Edinburgh than in Glasgow, I have the authority of the Professor of Latin in that University to state that the results of both examinations, in their main features, are substantially the same.

For the last five years, all first-year students in the Junior Latin class in Glasgow have been examined in their knowledge of that language on entering the University. The papers set have been of the most simple character. They consist of some questions in grammar, a passage of easy Latin to translate into English, and a few simple sentences to translate from English into Latin. Specimens of the examination paper are printed each year in the University Calendar. In each year the papers sent in were divided into four classes. Those in Class I. did the whole of the paper, those in Class II. all but the whole, correctly; those in Class III. were almost unable to translate any of the English sentences into Latin correctly; those

in Class IV. fell below standard, in fact failed entirely the view of making a parison of the scholarship in the answers with that the best English Public specimens of the papers in different years to 1 Rugby and Harrow, I agree in stating that, w in Classes I. and II. w a high or fair position for in either school, the work IV. would be considered worthless, while that of would not be more than standard of a low form. hesitation in saying that, w allowance might be made accuracy and weak grounding students who come from El Schools, any boy coming Secondary School at the age teen, who could not do well to be included in one of two classes, must be regarded as failure.

The following table gives results of this examination past four years:

Session	Class I.	Class II.	Class III.	Class IV.
1872-3	5	14	69	66
1873-4	5	18	60	77
1874-5	23	46	69	74
1875-6	24	34	56	147

These figures will not appear to many scarcely. They show that on the about one-half of the came up to the University any sound knowledge of the language, or even of the grammar and that not more than a fifth the outside, have such a knowledge of the language as might be expected from every entering the University. The facts which show the examination of the will be noted.

sion 1875-76 is quite excessive. It had got abroad that it was to introduce an examination in the year in consequence an undue number of students seems to place. This accounts for the small number of failures in that year.

It must be stated that a large proportion of those who are above the average are from 20 to 30 and even 40 years of age—who have long left school—probably been in business or in the military interval, and have made it up to qualify themselves for the examination comparatively late in life. Out of the 147 who failed in that year, only 27 were below 17 years of age, while no less than 10 per cent., are above the age of 30, and therefore out of the schools altogether. For the student, the less time he spends to pass such an examination, the more successful he is. Out of 32 students who failed in the year of twenty-three only 10 were failures. These older students are characteristic of the Universities. They feel that it is in their work, often with extraordinary perseverance, frequently attain a good result before the end of their course.

Many of the students had any experience in the subject, and hardly any of them had seen work. *No less than 10 per cent. of the students this year had never done a Latin examination paper in their*

It is also to state that these results do not give a complete view of the knowledge of Latin possessed by the students. They test their knowledge of the language in itself, and the power of getting up books for examination preparation. It is probable that the defects of the students come out most clearly in many of these students who are doing advanced authors,

and will pass very creditable examinations, even in difficult subjects, during the first and second years of their University course. They have great industry and intelligence, great desire for knowledge, and, with a given subject before them, will work indefatigably. But the great majority of them seem to have received no accurate grounding; they have been hurried over the elements of the language, and plunged into advanced authors before they were able to understand and master their difficulties; and from the beginning to the end of a student's course, the difficulties under which he labours in consequence of never having received a thoroughly sound training in any one subject are too often perceptible. Classics are treated in the schools too much as a matter of books, not of language or literature. Composition, except in the North-eastern counties, where the Bursaries of Aberdeen apply so strong a stimulus, is but little studied; so that a student of sixteen finds himself helpless when asked to face some simple English sentence and turn it into Latin.

But after making all possible allowances, the state of things disclosed is thoroughly unsatisfactory; and a prompt as well as efficacious remedy must be found, if the higher education is not to disappear altogether. The public will not have confidence in a system which produces no better results than these. All authorities are agreed that a deterioration has been going on for years past in the quality of the students coming up to the Universities, principally in consequence of the substitution of teachers trained at Normal Schools for those trained at the Universities; and a restoration of efficiency in the teaching of the higher subjects is an essential condition of their maintaining or regaining their popularity.

To return to the results given above. It would naturally be sup-

posed that all, or almost all, of those who fail in such an examination have been educated in Elementary Schools. But this is not the case. A considerable proportion of them come from Secondary Schools. The following tables show exactly, for the last three years, the number of students in each of the four classes, coming from Secondary and from Elementary Schools respectively. Those described as 'Mixed' received their education partly at one and partly at the other:

1873-4.	Class I.	II.	III.	IV.
From Secondary Schools .	4	9	24	21
" Elementary ..	...	2	25	36
" Mixed ..	1	4	4	8
1874-5.	Class I.	II.	III.	IV.
From Secondary Schools .	16	26	24	14
" Elementary ..	3	13	29	43
" Mixed ..	2	1	8	2
1875-6.	Class I.	II.	III.	IV.
From Secondary Schools .	19	14	27	38
" Elementary ..	3	15	28	73
" Mixed ..	...	...	...	25

Thus, out of 237 students coming up to the University from Secondary Schools during the three years 1873-75 inclusive, only 88 were able to translate at sight a simple piece of Latin into English, and to translate a few simple sentences into Latin, with tolerable correctness. If we add those who had been only a year or two at some Secondary School, the numbers would be 96 out of a total of 284, i.e. only 33 per cent.

It has been justly urged, however, that Secondary Schools are not really responsible for such of their scholars as may have attended them for only one or two years, after receiving the bulk of their education elsewhere. To judge fairly, therefore, of a school, we should regard only those scholars who have attended it for, say, three years at least. No one will deny that an average boy who has been well taught for three years ought to take a high place in such an examination as I have described. Counting, then, only those scholars who have been at least three years

at the school named, let separately Schools A and B, two principal, and on the best, regular feeders of the University), and Group C, which comprehends a number of schools of a similar character. The results brought out for the year are as follows:

School A.—Total number from 17; of these 17 there were 1
Class I. Class II. Class III. C
2 3 6

School B.—Total number from 10; of these 10 there were 1
Class I. Class II. Class III. C
0 1 5

Group C.—Total number, 18; there were placed in
Class I. Class II. Class III. C
1 3 6

The remaining 15 out from Secondary Schools than three years at any one and were thus placed:

Class I. Class II. Class III. C
2 2 5

It thus appears that, in any way we look at the figures, the great majority of scholars from Secondary Schools fail in coming up to a standard which in any sense be called satisfactory.

Another curious fact is mentioned in connection with the above figures. The amount of time during which our students examined in 1875 had been learning Latin was ascertained, and it was found that in all of the four classes of students from Secondary Schools had learnt Latin for a longer time than those from Elementary Schools. The average length of time which each student had learnt Latin is as follows:

CLASS I.
Students from Secondary Schools . . .
" Elementary .. (only 3 in all)
CLASS II.
Secondary students . . .
Elementary .. .

CLASS III.		Years.
Students	.	3'83
"	.	2'56
CLASS IV.		
Students	.	3'
"	.	1'70

case the result is the same for the students from Elementary Schools seem to have taken to learn the same amount as those from Secondary Schools. This fact I would attribute principally to two causes; boys from Elementary Schools are mostly picked boys, and a class more anxious and work hard than many of those who come from Middle-class Schools. And secondly, they have more individual attention from the master, and have been in smaller classes managed on the basis of proficiency, and not, as in the case of the common school, to the absurd and irrational system which prevails in most of the Common Schools in Scotland, where seniority alone.

Under this pernicious custom, however, that a large share of the ability of Scottish schools is lost, which English educationists will be at a loss to explain. It is with astonishment that in by no means a small number of Scottish Schools, up to the pre-promotion by merit is maintained.

A boy joins a particular class, and goes on for a year in the same class, with the same competitors, under the same master, from beginning to the end of the school year, no matter how rapid his progress may be, he can only advance at the normal rate. No matter how stupid he be—though he may never make any progress—he jogs on with the class year by year, and finds his time a mere force of time to the school at the same rate. Good, bad, indifferent, are all dragged

on together; and the fact that a boy has got into a certain class is no proof that he knows anything at all. It is needless to point out that every boy suffers alike from such a system; the dullards probably suffer most of all. The clever boys are spoiled by being allowed to go on for years the acknowledged heads of their class, without having to make good their position against fresh competitors; the backward are spoiled by being hopelessly dragged along over ground which they have not mastered, and cannot now ever hope to master. In fact, the system has absolutely nothing to be said in its favour; and were it not that custom and prejudice are almost invincible, it could not have survived to this day. It will suffice to quote on this subject the evidence laid before the Education Commission by two distinguished teachers who had had personal experience of the system. Dr. Hodgson says: ⁴

This custom, peculiar to Scotland, I have long regarded as prejudicial to the best interests of a school, especially when driven by want of endowment to have large classes (often of 80 and 100 boys), all herded together, upon no other principle than that they have been the same number of years in the school, though varying greatly in age, ability, and industry. I do not myself believe that it is possible for the very best master to do justice to so large a class, even when composed of boys tolerably on a level in point of advancement. But, composed as classes in Scotland are, I know it to be impossible, and have learnt, by the painful experience of thirteen years, that the boys in the lower division of every class (generally almost a third of the whole) suffer a grievous injury, both moral and intellectual, equally cruel to them, and unfair to their parents, which the most conscientious and painstaking master is powerless to prevent, while his very efforts to do so are injurious to the abler and more diligent boys in the class. This evil is so flagrant, and the remedy so easy, that it is to me wholly unintelligible why it ever should have arisen, still less have been allowed to continue. Nothing but the ex-

⁴ Third Report, App. p. 203.

excellence of the raw material of Scottish youth, and the energy and perseverance which distinguishes both boys and masters, could have preserved the best system from collapse when afflicted with so fatal a defect.

It is impossible to have any knowledge of Scottish education without cordially concurring in these last remarks. The excellence of the material of both masters and boys makes it doubly lamentable that their power should be so completely wasted by radical vice of system.

Dr. Hannah speaks with equal strength:

It is deplorable to see clever boys wasting time and patience at the top, while the master . . . is hammering at the heavy weights of the class. . . . If the roll is fixed by Latin and Greek, the same distribution is made to apply to mathematics and modern languages. . . . No plan can be less just to the boys. An unwise economy always leads to waste in the long run, and in this instance it leads, in the case of boys as well as masters, to waste of time and temper, brains and skill.

It has been said that parents would be ill-pleased if their children were not promoted as rapidly as others. But if there is one class more injured by the present system than another, it is the parents. They send their children to school to learn, not to sit for five or six years on the same bench with those that are learning. A father sends his boy to the best school in the place, year by year he sees him mounting in the school with his fellows, and has every reason to suppose he is advancing in knowledge as rapidly as they are. He gets no hint of the contrary. At the end of five, six, or even seven years, he discovers, or more probably never discovers, that his son has made absolutely no progress in his studies, and it is too late to try him under another system. That this is no exaggeration will be shown by the following performances, collected from different sources, and representing work done by boys fresh from either the highest or

second : : in various acknowledged excellence:

(a) A boy of seventeen from the highest (or seventh) class of one of the very secondary Schools in the country, a piece of Latin prose, of the following is a fair sample:

The Helvetii, on learning that they had crossed the river, sent ambassadors

Helvetii de intelligens ut finem grossus erat a Caesare mittunt legatos.

And translated

Otium bello furiam. Tum Otium Medi pharetra de

Furious war hated by the The quiver hated by the glorious Med

(b) A boy of seventeen, highest class of a first-rate school, gives *popellerem* as the subjunctive of *pello*, and *fuero* or *fuero*, *monet* *eram* or *monet* the first person plural passive of *facio* and *monet*.

Another boy from the same school declines *alacer*, *alacer*, *alacer*.

(c) A boy of sixteen, fifth class (i.e. highest class) of another excellent school sends up many good studies to Glasgow and Edinburgh. Having spoken of his studies he asked the Senate for a triumph—*Dictis de victoriam, senatum triumphum.*

(d) Another boy from the same school translates the same—*Sua victoria locum senatum triumphum rogavit.*

(e) A boy of fifteen, highest class of another school, of considerable reputation, gives

Hanc navis corrupta peditibus structus est Romanis et peditibus nautas Carthaginem.

(f) Another of seventeen

Hanc navis fecit Romanis et peditibus nautas Carthaginem (to C.)

(g) A boy from the highest class of his school translates:

Eodem die castra promissa et passum sex a Caesaris castris conedit,

day he removed his camp six
miles from Caesar's camp, and set
up camp under the mountain.

equally high in their
indulge in forms like
omnorum; alacer, alacera,
pecus, peca, pecum; au-
duisti; faciamur, probiti,
us, mi, mo, mum, &c.

going examples are taken
work of boys coming from
eight of the best schools
country; and whilst it would
unfair to found on them
dependent upon the character
work done in those schools
is—every school must
proportion of boys out of
which can be made—they
conclusively the point which
deduced to prove: that, in
face of the vicious system
education which has hitherto
it is possible for a boy to
the highest class without
made any corresponding
in his studies, and by his
there side by side with
boys to drag down and
the whole teaching of a
long with such boys these
schools send up many ad-
vanced students to the
universities; but nothing more need
prove that the teaching of
the classics of boys promiscuously
is, without any adaptation
to work to the special needs
must be in the highest
prejudicial to both. In
our best schools, such as
the Schools of Edinburgh and
this system has been
abolished, under the ma-
nagement of enlightened School
boards it still prevails in
schools, and until it is entirely
abolished, with, and promotion by
examination introduced in
it is vain to expect from a
system of satisfactory results.

As hitherto spoken only
of an examination of the

reports of the Royal Commission
will show that in every other
subject the same uncertain and un-
equal results are produced. As to
the study of English, the Assistant
Commissioners say:

English grammar and analysis of sen-
tences are taught upon a variety of sys-
tems. We found that these branches of
higher education were not in good repute
among the majority of teachers. A few of
the English teachers approved of the sub-
jects, very few even of them approved of
the books, but no teacher with whom we
conversed upon the point who was not an
English teacher approved of either subject
or books.

The evidence of Mr. Ross, rector of
the Arbroath High School, is
thus given:

English grammar as taught in the
higher classes of many of our Burgh
Schools I look upon as profound trifling.
Simple parsing, and as much analysis as
will enable the pupil to distinguish between
co-ordinate and subordinate clauses, are all
that should be attempted. Bain's En-
glish Grammar, or Morell's, with, if I
remember right, eleven kinds of nouns and
nineteen kinds of prepositions, and I know
not how many of adverbs, will illustrate
what I mean. Such distinctions are not
grammatical, but metaphysical.

The Commissioners say:

The ordinary grammar appeared to be
given in all schools in a manner that could
not but be perplexing and distasteful to
any scholar. In addition to English
grammar, taught on the principles laid
down in the text-books mentioned above,
the same scholar is taught Latin grammar
from a different kind of text-book, based
on different principles, and illustrated by a
different teacher; and he is taught French
grammar differing both from English and
Latin, and taught by a third teacher, prob-
ably a foreigner; possibly also German
and Greek grammars, differing from all
the others, and taught on different prin-
ciples from each of them. Four or five
grammars, all of the most abstract kind,
bristling with hard terms, calling the same
thing by different names, and classifying
the same things on a different system;
such is the method of instruction in gram-
mar which is offered to a scholar in our
schools.

A more complete educational
chaos it would be impossible to
conceive. And the whole arises

from the same causes. There is no unity, no organisation, in the system. Where this system prevails—and it still prevails in the majority of Secondary Schools—each master teaches his own subject independently of the others. Each, being paid by the fees of his own scholar, must be allowed to keep all the scholars he can get, at whatever stage of advancement, and give his subject all the importance he can, irrespective altogether of the scholar's true interests. The various subjects in such a school are like watertight compartments in a ship, each separated by impassable bulkheads from its neighbour. The scholar's mind is supposed to be divided into compartments equally distinct; and, if he gets on board the requisite cargo of 'English,' 'Classics,' 'Science,' or 'Mathematics,' each packed in the appropriate compartment, he is supposed to be satisfactorily equipped for his journey into life.

To whatever subject we turn, we find the same results flowing from the system of expecting educational results to be produced by a congeries of separate 'branches,' each to be treated without relation to the other, instead of by a gradual development of the mental powers as a whole through a systematic logical training in one or more departments of knowledge, treated as far as possible in their relation to each other. History is divorced from geography, too often classics from both. On this subject the Assistant Commissioners say:

The bearing of circumstances did not seem to be considered of importance by many of the teachers. The facts contained in two pages of the text-book which formed the lesson of the day were generally dwelt on, and no attention was given to any general deductions. . . . Neither were history and geography made to play into one another as they should be in any intelligent instruction in either subject. History was learnt by two pages per diem,

geography in the same manner. . . . one school did we find the boys using their maps along with their lessons. . . . The scholars learnt a string of names, which are supposed to represent mountains, towns, or seas of North or South America. The teachers then say these names, keeping the finger in the place in the text-book.

Physical geography is taught on the same principle.

They are rarely taught the pictures of their own country, and are not led to see the bearing of the physical conditions of a country upon its life and people. . . . With the exception of a few papers we got no papers from schools which indicated an acquaintance with the sort of ideas which a boy should have suggested to a boy who had stood what physical geography is.

My own experience entirely confirms this criticism. With a few exceptions, I find boys coming from Scottish schools entirely ignorant of the form, or to understand the historical conceptions. Even with them a name for a fact, or an unconnected fact or date, without the idea that those facts are connected by principles, as referred to general causes, or one period of history or light upon another, or upon the life of our own day, falls upon an absolutely new revelation. It is not unfrequently received with suspicion that borders upon credulity. And that the history are not studied to such a great extent may be inferred from the fact that out of a U. Latin class of over 300, only two could undertake to give accurately between whom of Marathon and Plataea fought, and give the names of the monarchs who fought the battle of Salamis, and of those two one was unable to give the impression that Salamis was immediately followed by the Battle of Plataea.

English literature was taught much in the same manner.

Such books as Spalding's, (

¹ Pp. 120, 121.

ature are learnt at the
ee pages a day.

entirely agree in the
—

ionable whether any edu-
be gained by teaching
out of a text-book. The
member the names of a
s, and pick up some stock
eir text-books; but such
of little service, either as
as a mental training. It
er to intelligent apprecia-
literature, nor to intelli-
It can be nothing but
dge, to be forgotten as
d. Yet such is the stan-
n English literature.*

information as to the
hing English Gram-
&c., which have pre-
ie of our Scottish
l as to the character
h system as a whole,
er to the instructive
by Mr. Meiklejohn,
e Appendix to the
of the Endowed

ission, pp. 327 sqq.
g of Modern Lan-
ounced by the Assist-
ners to be less satis-
hat of English. In
ject they declare 15
he departments exa-
good, 43 per cent.
former only 10 per
y 27 per cent. fair.
ught to such a small
5 per cent. of the
any branch of science
can be said of the
department. But of
ence lends itself most
ught on the principle
n science it seems to
lt than in any other
l men who can teach
nanner as to extract
educational value.
absurdity which has
hat we may call the
l principle, which sup-

ports each master on the proceeds of
his own department only, and treats
every subject as independent, is to
be found in the writing department.
We are informed that, in the Sec-
ondary Schools examined by the As-
sistant Commissioners, there were
11,333 scholars attending *writing*
classes, or 74 per cent. of the whole
number. A very considerable num-
ber of boys and girls of *sixteen*
years of age and above were spending
five or six hours per week—equal to
220 in the year—on writing alone.
And Mr. Meiklejohn states that in
one school he found that 50 boys
spent 7 years in the writing de-
partment, at the rate of 5 hours a
week, 70 spent 6 years, 90 about
5, and the average 4 years. In
other words, during their entire
school course—

50 boys spend	1,470	hours in writing.		
70 "	1,260	"	"	"
90 "	1,050	"	"	"
The average	840	"	"	"

The results obtained are far from
being commensurate with the time
and money spent.

But not only have the incomes of
masters been determined upon a
wrong principle: they have been
in the great majority of cases utterly
inadequate. The Commissioners
report that they found the average
income of teachers in the Second-
ary Schools ranged between 120*l.*
and 300*l.* per annum. Such a scale
of remuneration is only consistent
with an utterly unworthy view of
the position and worth of a school-
master. Few professions demand
higher qualifications for success, or
call for a more constant exercise
of vigilance and thoughtfulness, of
tact and temper. The whole tone
of a school depends upon the char-
acter and position of the masters; and
if they are to be kept on a starva-
tion allowance, upon which a man
of education and refinement cannot

maintain the position of a scholar and a gentleman; if there is placed before a successful schoolmaster no career worthy of his best efforts; and if, finally, he be expected to do twice as much as any man can be expected to do well, it is vain to look for really satisfactory results. That the above is no fancy sketch, we have abundant materials in our possession to prove; but we have left ourselves no room to enlarge upon this part of our subject in the present article.

We have thus taken a rapid glance at almost every part of our school system, and tested its results. We have pointed out the most conspicuous defects, and have left ourselves no space for considering fully in the present article the remedies by which they may be removed. One of the first steps to be taken is undoubtedly the institution of an Entrance Examination at the Universities. When we turn to the schools, we find ourselves driven to the same conclusion as that of the writer in *Blackwood's Magazine*—that it is all a question of money. Radical change of system is called for: without money that change cannot be introduced. Whichever way we look, we find ourselves encountered by the same want. The first reform imperatively demanded is the introduction of unity and organisation. Instead of a multitude of 'branches,' each

taught separately and in isolation to the rest, according to fancy or prejudice of particular interests of teachers, the afforded must be treated as a systematic whole, not in endless varieties and alternatives to give the minds of the regular systematic trainees a set of subjects or another; this, the organisation of the school under a single headmaster, responsible for the results; and to procure a person qualified for such a position, a salary must be paid. Promotion must be by merit; and seniority must be more masters in the school to the number taught; must be better paid than now, and paid on a different principle. Efficient inspection and examination must be paid for; buildings and apparatus must be paid for in many places in a sadly defective condition. In short, which we look in search of improvement, money is needed; and where money is to come from? Is it to come from a raising of the fees, which in many places are already pushed to the practicable limit. What other sources are open to us? To be able to find some answer to that question is the subject of the next paper upon the endowments of Scotland.



SICILIAN FAIRY TALES.

BY W. R. S. RALSTON.

LUZZA MESSIA, of Palermo, must be a charming person to know. Her years are an threescore and ten, has reached the proud position of being a great-grandmother, her mind is as clear and her memory as retentive as they were of her youth. In those days she lived by tailoring, but when eyesight began to fail, she took to the easier work of making counterpanes. Busy she is; she never fails, however, to find time for her devotions—she says her prayers in church every day of her life, assisting at every grand function which religious festivals afford. In addition to all these she possesses that of being an excellent story-teller, reciting, with remarkable spirit and a rich store of tales for which she is to a great extent indebted to a grandmother, who received them from her mother, who inherited them from her father. She cannot read, therefore she clings to the more valuable inheritance of oral tradition, to which she does such credit in her unstudied recitals. She is regarded as a model story-teller, 'come novellatrice' by the enthusiastic cold and erudite comparer of Sicily, Dr. Giuseppe Pitrè. Her tales come from those of

several other tellers of *fiabe*, as popular tales are generally called in Italy, he has gathered an immense number of stories, which he has lately published in a work on which too high praise can scarcely be conferred.¹ A number of Sicilian folk-tales had already been made widely known by the excellent German translations of about one hundred of them published a few years ago by Signora Laura Gonzenbach.² But the Sicilian originals possess one subtle charm of which the German versions cannot boast—the charm of a language which, besides being exceptionally rich in music, is indissolubly linked with the life and soul of the people in whose memories these *fiabe* have been preserved. Not that we need value the German versions less; but we may fairly prize the Sicilian originals more.³ There is about the latter something akin to an aroma, which the former do not convey. Oranges and lemons, as we know them here, add a sensible joy to existence. But about the orange or the lemon as it reaches maturity beneath its native sky there breathes an exquisite odour, in it there exists a delicate lusciousness, neither of which can be defined in words, but the combination of which, to an extent unknown to lovers of the fruit in colder climes, takes captive the senses of him who eats thereof, and laps them in Elysium.

novelle e racconti popolari siciliani, raccolti ed illustrati da Giuseppe Pitrè. Palermo, 1875. It contains 400 tales and an inexhaustible store of information of the language and folk-lore of Sicily.

Deutsche Märchen, aus dem Volksmund gesammelt von Laura Gonzenbach. 1870. The work must always remain one of the highest value, not only for the tales it contains, but also for the admirable Notes by Dr. Reinhold Köhler. In speaking of the Sicilian 'originals,' it is not meant that Dr. Pitrè's texts are those which Signora Laura Gonzenbach translated. The stories in the two collections are similar, but never identical.

A few stray fruits from Dr. Pitrè's rich store may not be unwelcome to the English reader, even though they may lose some of their scent and succulence in transit. To English minds Sicily has long been interesting, were it only for its Marsala; and Sicilians, it seems, not only retain pleasant recollections of such of our soldiers and statesmen as have been officially connected with the isle, but they use the term 'Englishman' to designate 'a man who is rich and handsome.' Thus in one of their tales, in which seven sisters get wedded, the eldest marries a Count; the second, 'un'ngriši'—'uninglese, cioè un uomo ricco e bello,' explains Dr. Pitrè, who goes on to say that one of the highest eulogiums that Sicilians can pronounce on a good-looking youth of a ruddy complexion is contained in the words, 'Ch' è beddu! pari un 'ngriši!' ('How handsome! just like an Englishman!') After this it is somewhat disappointing to find such an imperfect acquaintance with our municipal institutions as is betrayed by the story of the Merchant (No. 85), whom an English king makes 'general by land and sea of the City of London.' But even if the Sicilians were aware of the gravity of this error, it is doubtful whether it would annoy them, for they are an easily contented people, who enjoy their simple pleasures heartily, and trouble themselves so little about the smallness of their incomes, that when a workman begins to earn two 'ounces' a month, or a little more than nine shillings a week, he considers himself, or at all events used to do so before 1860, qualified to marry and able to support a family in comfort.

It is well known that rarer than a new folk-tale little that is novel will be the longer Sicilian stories to say, as regards their plot some of their leading 'parts of the drama,' so far as superlatives are concerned, differ considerably from the corresponding personages of Northern mythology; and among the tales, especially those which to the *cultus* of the saint flourishes so vigorously in there will be found several offer features unfamiliar to readers. As specimens of this class, we may take a couple of legends which have the first being characteristic and brief (No. 110), of which translation is below, relating *comparative*, or state of alliance, into which persons who are connected by ties of 'sisterhood' or 'godparenthood,' relationship the great protegeous guardian is St. J. Baptist, who is supposed to severely any disregard of and customs. The Scotch it may be observed, answers to the Sicilian *comare*; but press *compare*, we can call ourselves of the old word; the sense of *god-sib*.

THE GOSIP AND ST. J.

Once upon a time there lived a man and wife, and they were both gossiping with a certain man. The man got arrested, and was taken away. Now the Gossip was very fat. Cummer, and used often to go to her. One day she said to him: 'shall we go and see my husband?' cummari' ('Certainly, Cummer') so off they went. On the way she ate a large melon—for it was the season—to take to the poor prison are but flesh and blood! The Gossip his Cummer sinned against St. J.

* *Gnura*, a compound of *gnura*, *signora*, and *si*. In many parts of Sicily the people is styled *gnura*, but *donna* in Palermo, where *gnura* is the coachman's wife.

ought things to a pretty pass. It's going to let that pass un-when they had come to the and visited the prisoner, before they wanted to make a present r, so they gave him the cut it open before their eyes. errors! When the melon was so was found in the middle of Now this was the head of St. had slipped itself in there for of bringing home their sin to the gossips (*li signuri cum-matter* immediately came to justice, and they were arrested. and the wrong they had done. was set at liberty, and the is Cummer were sent to the

personages are credited ge performances in all lands, and in Sicily out them are rife. St. there, as elsewhere, the and ignominious part to his capacity of one of travellers of *Il Macestro*, ple call the Christ who ver the earth with his the general consent of tian vulgar has con- n; there also the Mother r is firmly fixed in the of the people as the of stingy selfishness. The ction she ever performed vas once giving an onion-beggar. At the prayer n, in his capacity of of Paradise, an angel is w her by means of that out of the flames to has been condemned. rises, a number of souls, tions in torment, hang on dles, hoping to share in on. In her selfish fear o shake them off, but her only serve to snap the , and she falls back for he fiery furnace. There ion has condemned Judas ts such as no words ibe, and sees in the

apparently shrunk and blasted form of the tamarisk the remains of what was a tall and flourishing tree, until the Betrayer hanged himself amid its branches. There also the Wandering Jew is well known under his name of Buttadeo,^s having often been seen, even of late years, notably by one Ginseppa Cascia. As she and her father were warming themselves at the fire one winter's day, in came a stranger, in foreign apparel, who said his name was Buttadeo. He was asked to sit down and tell his tale, but he kept moving about restlessly while he talked. When taking leave, he recommended a devotion by way of remembrance, consisting of six *credidi* and a *salvirigina*. When Giuseppa's father died, forty years ago, he charged his children on his death-bed to repeat those *credidi* every day, so that at the point of death they might be sure of a *bon passagiu*. Perhaps the most striking of these legends is No. 119, of which the following is a summary.

Once upon a time a carter was driving along a country road, when one of his wheels sank deep into the earth. He pulled and pulled, and at length out it came, leaving visible a deep subterranean passage. 'Who will go down?' asked the bystanders. 'I will,' said the carter; so a rope was got, and he was lowered into the hole. Now when Mastru Franciscu, for such was his name, got to the bottom, he found a door, opened it, and entered a chamber in which there stood a table with pen and ink upon it. And at the table sat a man reading a piece of writing which lay before him; and when he had finished it he began it again, and so went on constantly reading it over and over, without even lifting his eyes from the paper. Mastru Franciscu, who was exceed

Or his fuller designation of *L'Elreu ch' arribbuttau a Gesù Cristu*.

ingly courageous, went up to him, and said, 'Who are you?' But the man took no notice of him, only went on reading. The carter asked a second time. Still no reply. A third time did he ask. Then that man suddenly said to him, without further ado (*senza nè ciu nè bau*), 'Turn round, take off your shirt, and I will write on your back who I am. When you get away from here go straight to the Pope, and let him read you my name. But take care that only the Pope sees it.' Mastru Franciscu did as he was bid, and the mysterious stranger wrote something on his bare back. After putting on his shirt, Mastru Franciscu, though greatly awed, asked another question. 'Why are you sitting here?' said he. But the stranger took no more notice of him; went on with his reading just as if nothing had happened. So Mastru Franciscu was obliged to give a signal to the people outside, who thereupon pulled him out of the hole. When they had got him up they hardly knew him again. His hair had turned completely white, and he looked like a man of ninety. 'What is it? What's happened?' they cried. 'Nothing, nothing,' said he; 'only take me straight to the Pope, for I have something to confess to him.' So he was taken to the Pope, to whom he told the whole story. Then he took off his shirt without standing on ceremony (*senza tanti cirimonii*), and said, 'Read, your Holiness!' and the Pope read aloud these words, 'I am Pilate!' Hearing these words the poor carter stood thunderstruck. 'And they say that the stranger was Pilate, who is condemned to live underground, and to go on perpetually reading the sentence which he passed on Our Lord without ever lifting his eyes from the paper. And this is the story of Pilate, who is neither saved nor damned.'

Chistu è lu cuntu di Pilatu,
Chi 'un è sarru nè dannatu.

As many of the persons who write ecclesiastical treatises take part in Sicilian popular fiction, there is some reference made to beings belonging to classical mythology. It is acquainted with them, but in it the companions of the gods are turned into gnomes, enchanted fruit-trees, and divine assistants of Hephæstus sunk to the level of the Cyclopes which guarded the apples of the Hesperides. A Siren figure, but she sings no more, is turned into a sort of witch, who now and then visits the prisoner the heroine of a tale, keeps her fastened to a long chain.

One of the classical names we meet with is a legendary figure of mediæval fiction, not from literary history. It occurs in the 53, the purport of which follows:

Once upon a time there was a powerful magician whose name was Virgillu. Better than any other magician did he understand the arts (*l'arti arbolice*). Now, you know that when he was young he got married to a wife who brought ruin to him; a woman proud and temptuous, altogether not to be lived with as she was. Virgillu stood it as long as he could. At last he made a bargain with Malagigi, 'the great master of ruling spirits and a broomstick,' who initiated him into the mysteries of magic. He became a magician whom the devils feared exceedingly. He said he made his wife live more unbearable than she had been, and he went to make his. This was for some time, but at last he died, and carried off Virgillu to the upper world. When he reached the lower world, he ran and entered into a contract along with the lost souls, who must never let him in here, and he will tyrannise over us all. He cried; so they shut the

secured them with huge Virgillu arrived, and went hump! "Who's there?" "Virgillu." "Be off! be there's no room for you here!" "Where am I to go, for I am *'addannuto*?" "Away! there's no room for you and so Virgillu had to rest outside; and in very evil for Death had deprived is magic wand. All this, was exceedingly distasteful. So he collected scattered 'bones and flew away with them to island. There he laid an open stone sepulchre, and it three magic circles, and four 'dark words.' At that time, when anyone that island and approaches, such a tempest arises as if the whole world had turned upside down.

My story is not a new one, nor is it the original hero of it; but the name is interesting. The whole tale deserves mention, as Dr. Pitre says, of

Domenico Comparetti, the author of *Virgilio nel*. A much more important tale is allotted in the *fiabe* to the Sirens, or epic poets, is the *fata* (in Sicilian *fati*), or to the fairies of Western

They generally assume the form of beautiful, though often cruel; and they are usually, not always, well disposed and kind. As a specimen of the story we may take an example of No. 61, which narrates the adventures of a youth and Burdilluni.

The youth had a little sister named Pippina. And when she was three years old her mother gave her four *fati* to pronounce any. They carefully prepared cakes, and sent them to the baker's. But the baker's deceived by their sweet savour, ate one of the cakes, and re-

placed it by another, carelessly made of coarse flour mixed with water full of ashes and cinders. When the cakes came back from the baker's, the first *fata* cut one of them, saying: 'I destine thee (*Io 'nfatu a tia*) to drop gems from thy hair whenever thou shalt comb thy locks.' The second and third followed suit, the one bestowing the gift of matchless beauty, the other that of commanding ripe figs, apricots, and cherries at any time of year. The fourth arose, and with the words '*Io ti 'nfatu*' drove her knife into the last of the cakes. Out leapt one of the cinders due to the carelessness of the baker's wife, flew right into the *fata's* eye, and put it out. 'Ah! what agony!' cried the enraged *fata*. 'For the evil that thou hast caused me, I will bestow upon thee an evil destiny (*'na mala fataciunu*)—that when thou seest the sun, thou shalt become a black snake.' Thereupon the *fata* vanished. All that the unhappy parents could do was to keep Pippina in a darkened room, from the sunrise to the sunset of every day. In this seclusion she grew up so beautiful that the King of France, into whose service her brother Burdilluni had entered, hearing of her charms, sent to ask for her hand. Pippina and her parents consented, and she left for Paris under her brother's escort. Unfortunately, he was attached to and accompanied by an ambitious lady-in-waiting, who determined to get rid of Pippina. So one sunny day, on the pretext of being on the point of dying from the heat, she slashed with a penknife the curtain of the litter in which she and Pippina were travelling. 'In burst a ray of sunlight. Pippina turned into a black snake, jumped out of the litter, glided into the king's garden, which was close at hand, and disappeared.' Burdilluni was horrified. Not only had he lost a sister, but how was he to face the bride-awaiting king? 'Say I am

your sister,' suggested Pippina's perfidious travelling companion. He agreed, and his former love became the Queen of France.

Before long she began to plot against Burdilluni's life, inducing the king to order him to supply fruits quite out of season, under the penalty of immediate death in case of failure. So long as she only demanded figs, apricots, and cherries, all went well, for Pippina appeared to her disconsolate brother, and provided him with what was asked for. But when pears were demanded, there was nothing more to be done. So Burdilluni was hanged, and they buried him, in compliance with his dying request, in the royal garden. Then the queen's mind was at rest. But one night the gardener and his wife heard a voice lamenting above Burdilluni's grave, and looking out of window they saw 'a dark shadow' pass over it. Next morning the gardener found the ground strewn with gems which had fallen from Pippina's grief-dishevelled hair. Next night the gardener lay in wait with a gun. The shade appeared, and was just beginning to sob and wail, when suddenly he levelled his gun at it. 'Don't shoot me!' it cried, 'for I am flesh and blood, baptised and christened like yourself.' And so saying, Pippina 'lifted the veil she wore in front of her face, and let him see her incomparable beauty.' Then she told him to let the king know what had happened. The king hurried to the spot, and him also she dazzled by the brightness of her charms. Learning from her that the only way of freeing her from her enchantment was for him to go to the river Jordan, and there to obtain from four *fati*, whom he would find bathing in its waters, the ribbons which bound their curls, as well as a lock of hair from one of their heads, off he started at once. Having brought home the required remedies, he

went into the garden, as snake (for the sun was) and touch it with the hair. In a moment Pippina once more the fairest of whom the king straightway, having previously had his wife thrown out of his window. As to Burdilla sister soon brought him to means of a magic ointment ever afterwards all went well.

One of the most popular tales in the world is that which we know best in the poetic philosophic form given to Appuleius. The adventures he attributes to Cupid and Psyche are still familiar, not only to Christians of every physical theological complexion, but also to Turks, heretics, infidels, Brahmins, and Brahma-worshippers, and to all sorts of fanatics. In every land the tunes of the hero and heroine are explained in accordance with special mythological beliefs, present or past, and so in Sicily we generally find the story characterised by the appearance in it of *fati*. An illustration of the manner in which they are introduced, may be taken from the following summary of No. 3.

There was once a very poor miller who had three daughters, the youngest of whom was called Nunzia. One day, when there was nothing to eat in the house, her father and Nunzia went to gather pot-herbs. While they were tugging at a fennel plant, it suddenly gave way, and there appeared in its place a door. From it came out a youth who admired the girl so much that he induced her father to leave her behind, in exchange for a piece of gold. The youth led her into an underground dwelling, fitted up in the most beautiful manner, where she was married to him, and lived in all contentment. One day her sister Peppina came to see her, and was shown all over the house, with the exception of one chamber, which was Nunzia's. Her hand kept being

a slept, however, Peppa ds on the key, opened us chamber, and found iber of tiny women, all l busied in embroider- nzia was expecting to and they were getting ady. But the moment eppa their faces grew ale, and their forms Some became snakes, ds. Then they dis- Peppa told her sister happened, and went en the master of the ed, 'they of the cham- re *fati*,' told him that ad away his wife im- Sorrowfully did he go

'You must leave me ' said he, 'or I am a And she had to go, cry d. Only her husband ball of thread, telling e end of it to the gate e, and follow the rest rolled. She obeyed, l, and walked, and til she arrived at a ace, that of the *Ru d'* a monarch whose only told, had mysteriously

There she entered ice of the Queen, who fond of her, and there, she gave birth to a as soon as the child was *ti* told its father what d, and they transported it to the palace, to let baby boy. And when red the room it became und full of magic light ous song. But at the dawn the *fati* carried ack to his subterranean nwhile, news of what n had reached his royal o went to listen at the morning, when Nunzia Queen her coffee, she bout last night's music d at length she revealed elling all her adventures me when she went out

to gather pot-herbs up to that very day. The Queen felt certain that Nunzia's enchanted husband was her own long-lost son, and that all that now remained to be done was to get him disenchanted. Next evening Nunzia asked him, when the *fati* again brought him, how that was to be managed. He replied that no cocks must be allowed to crow, no clocks to strike, no bells to sound. Moreover, the daylight must be excluded from the window by means of a curtain, on which should be painted 'the moon and the stars which appear by night.' Then, if the curtain were suddenly drawn, just when the sun was at its highest, the *fati* would be obliged to take to flight. Next day the King issued a decree that no bell, no clock, should be allowed to sound, and that all the cocks should be killed. Moreover, the picture of the heavens was prepared in the form of a curtain. In the evening the Prince was brought as usual by the *fati*, who recommenced their mysterious song, and went on with it all through the night and far into the next day. At noon the curtain was suddenly drawn aside, in streamed the sunlight, and immediately the *fati* turned into snakes and lizards and disappeared, leaving behind them the Prince, who thenceforward lived happily with his wife and parents.

Perhaps the most singular of Sicilian *fata* stories is the seventy-third of Signora Gonzenbach's collection, the purport of which is as follows: There was once a King who wanted to get a very beautiful wife. So he sent a trusty servant to travel in search of beauty. The servant travelled far, but could not satisfy himself. At length, one day, he knocked at the door of a cottage, and asked for a glass of water. Now in that cottage dwelt two very old women. One of them, who was eighty years old, opened a panel in the door, and handed out the water.

From long spinning her hands had grown very white, and the servant said to himself, 'If her hands are so white, how fair she must be!' Entering into conversation with her, he asked her age, and was told that she was fifteen, and her sister twenty. Therefore he returned, and told the King of the two beauties whom he had discovered. 'I will have the fifteen-year-old one,' said the King. The servant went back and told the old woman all about it. She at once consented to go, but stipulated upon being closely muffled up, for she had never, she said, been exposed to the sunlight, and if she were now to encounter it she would turn black. And so obstinately did she keep her face hidden, that it was not till he was left alone with her, after the marriage ceremony was over, that the King found out what an ancient wife he had chosen. Then, in his wrath, he flung her out of window. But her clothes luckily caught on a stout nail, so she hung suspended in mid-air. Before long four *fati* passed that way. Catching sight of her, one of them suggested that they should will her clothes to tear, and so to let her fall headlong. But the youngest and prettiest *fata* said, 'No, rather will we wish her something good. I wish her youth.' 'And I beauty,' said a third. 'And I wisdom,' cried the fourth. 'And I a good heart,' said the one who had spoken first. The consequence was, that when the King looked out of window next morning, the most charming maiden he had ever seen in his life was dangling in the air outside. To send for a ladder and have her released was the work of a moment. After which she graciously accepted his apologies for his last evening's mistake, and all ended happily.

This is doubtless a comic ren-

dering of an original logical story, of the class that about Nunzia belong which the principal the temporary eclipse of being. Not understanding sun-transforming incident story-teller has burlesqued about the *fati*, in whose and powers he probably firmly, he has spoken. Those supernatural being a great extent a legacy days of heathenism, not names nor their attributes greatly changed. The stories have been quoted will show how closely connected *fati* not only with the *Fata* also with the *Fates*. The story will serve to give us the popular belief in another of fate—the personified destiny or fortune peculiar to any.

There was once a Queen seven daughters, the youngest whom was named Sfurtana upon that Queen fell so misfortunes that she knew not to do. At last an old woman told her that the cause of all her was one of her daughters was thoroughly unfortunate, fortunate, and of whom she get rid if she wanted to live days. 'And which is the one?' asked the Queen. 'She sleeps with her hands crossed the reply. So next night Queen went to look at her daughters in their sleep, and found the only one whose hands crossed was Sfurtana. So the girl awoke, and asked of the matter. And when she the story, she arose, and herself, and left the home as she was determined not to down any more misfortune away did she wander, but where she went brought ill luck those who harboured her. She spent the night at a weaver's

be found slashed next innkeeper showed her he would find his empty in the morning. The poor thing lead, curses and blows from . At length a friendly named Francisca took

Having made two s, she told Sfurtuna to the seaside, there to times, 'Ah! Sorti di isca,' and to give one er who would answer

From her, she said, ght learn where her r fortune was to be ow that sour spirit was itiated. Sfurtuna fol- instructions, and at the i [Signora] Francisca's ed, accepted the prof- and then, in compliance ma's prayer, told her k for her own *Sorti*. In with her instructions, lowed a certain mule e came to a furnace, e-rake of which she ible old hag, to whom he remaining cake, say- edda, mia pigghiatillu!') O my fortune dear!') get away! I don't ed the hag, and turned o Sfurtuna could only e and go away. But ress was not to be dis- laying received a liberal r the local Prince, for and Sfurtuna worked,

second time supplied cakes for her *Sorti*, as several other presents, les of attire, 'pomatum, d some other trifles.' a not only took them g, but set to work 'to th soap and a sponge, o her nicely.' There, said the mollified *Sorti*, d that thou hast done thee this box against

thy time of need.' And she gave her a kind of match-box, in which Sfurtuna, after she got home, found a piece of lace. Now it happened that the Prince was getting ready a wedding-dress for his future bride, and it only wanted just such a piece of lace as that which her *Sorti* had given to Sfurtuna. So the Prince, to whom Francisca showed it, offered to buy it from her at its weight in gold. But when it was put into the scale, its weight proved to be so prodigious that he asked to see the owner. Having seen her, he fell in love with her, and when he learnt she was of royal birth, he proposed to marry her, instead of the lady to whom he was engaged. And she accepted him, and from that time forward all went well with her.

One of the most striking characteristics of these stories is the use made in them of enchanted dolls or puppets. These rarely figure in more Northern folk-tales, but they play a leading part in many of the Italian *fiabe*. Here is an abstract of a Sicilian specimen.⁷ An odd old woman once bought three *pope*, or puppets, and set them in her balcony. The king's son fell in love with one of them, and insisted on marrying it. But when he found it would not speak, he shut it up in a secluded chamber, and married a more talkative wife. The puppet was working one day, when she lost her thimble. Going on without it, she broke one of her fingers short off. But she put it on again, and resumed her work as if nothing had happened. News of this being brought to the Princess, she tried to do what her predecessor in the Prince's affections had done. She succeeded in breaking off a finger, but completely failed in putting it on again, the only result of the operation being that she fell ill and died. The Prince married again, but the fresh wife did not

⁷ Pitre, ii. 109. Cf. Gonzenbach, No. 28.

last long. The puppet, one day, dipped her hands into boiling oil, and formed thereof five fish, which she sent to the Prince. The Princess for the time being followed her example, and scalded herself to death. Again did the Prince marry. Soon afterwards the puppet shut herself up in a heated oven, and came out of it after a while bearing seven cakes, which she presented to the Prince. The new Princess tried to do likewise, but perished miserably in the attempt. Then the *papa* let the Prince know that if he addressed to her these words, 'Thy father is the Sun, and thy mother the Moon,' she would talk like anyone else. He did so at once, and after that he and she became, and ever remained, a happy couple. This story is sufficiently nonsensical, but its absurdity is almost surpassed by that, which occurs more than once, of a bride who was afraid that her husband might kill her on the first available opportunity, she having greatly offended his dignity before their marriage. So she made a puppet, just her own size, forming it of honey and sugar and other things nice. This she laid in her bed, and then hid underneath to await the result. In came the bridegroom, drew his dagger, and drove it into what he supposed to be his wife's neck, and out poured a stream of honey. In the heat of his rage, he licked his dagger. 'Oh!' he exclaimed, 'how sweet my wife's blood is! Why shouldn't I kill myself, now that I've lost so sweet a spouse?' When he said that, out came his wife from her hiding-place. 'I'm alive! I'm alive!' she cried. And they rushed into

one another's arms. A puppet, they ate it up them :

E la pupa di succaru e mel
Si la manciaru marita e m

Few stories have had run than that which describes different fates of two but the one of whom—thank geniality and vocal power relieved of his hump; while in consequence of his physical gruffness, has doubled. It is a great favourite in Ireland, and indeed in lands. France knows Spain delights in it. In a guise it is dear to the rude and Mongolian mind, a form that is probably different from that which naturally bore, it has won the of the artistic Japanese. A lian version of the story is Dr. Pitre in No. 64. It is a humpbacked shoemaker passed a night in a haunted At midnight down drops the ceiling of the room in kept watch *quattro pupi*, *li* *pupa*, who began to sing *Marti, Mièrcuri, Juòvidi, V Sabatu!* Hearing this, the back lifted up his voice and harmoniously in the song chanted to find he was so ened (*incantisimati, quann* *ca nu si scantava lu marò*) took off his hump and hung the wall. Before the day they disappeared. Great astonishment of the neighbours when they came in the morning see how the shoemaker had at the hands of *li diavoli* him happy and humpless.

* Pitre, No. 5. Cf. Gonzenbach, No. 35, and Dr. Köhler's Note, ii. 21. Spanish story, quoted by him from Milá, the bridegroom cuts off the pupa which flies into his mouth. 'Had I known how sweet you were, I wouldn't have killed you,' he cries remorsefully, whereupon his wife reveals herself.

* In an interesting paper lately contributed to the Transactions of a Society in Japan, Mr. C. W. Goodwin has told in full the story of a humpbacked shoemaker, which a summary was given by Mr. Mitford in his *Notes on the Folk-lore of Japan*. A version of the tale will be found in Miss Busk's interesting paper on the Folk-lore of Japan.

ere was among them an , who had a hump larger d been (*ch' avia lu jimmu di di chiddu di lu mastru*), she had heard his story nined to try her luck *diavuli*. So next night watch in the haunted t midnight appeared the began to sing as before. oman joined in the song, badly (*lu cuntu lu facia stu*); and the puppets, t she was not inclined to fully, took down the shoe-ump from the wall and on to her breast. 'So ad a couple of them, one d one behind,' and the er next day made the s right cheerful. At this story takes a sudden turn, eds to relate adventures h it really has nothing

r conclude with a Sicilian a ghost-story—or rather a ry, for in the south and rope the dead generally e earth in a substantial Once upon a time there l called Saddaедda, who t. One day, when her d gone into the country, as left alone in the house, into a church, where the vice was being read over of a rich lady. The girl f in the confessional. No she was there; so when people had gone, she was with the corpse. It was t in a rose-coloured robe thing else becoming, and rrrings in its ears, and s fingers. These the girl nd then she began to un-body. When she came ckings she drew off one

easily, but at the other she had to pull so hard that at last the leg came off with it. Saddaедda took the leg, carried it to her lonely home, and locked it up in a box. At night came the dead lady and knocked at the door. 'Who's there?' said the girl. 'It is I,' answered the corpse; 'give me back my leg and stocking!' But Saddaедda paid no heed to the request. Next day she prepared a feast, and invited some of her playfellows to spend the night with her. They came, feasted, and went to sleep. At midnight the dead woman began to knock at the door, and to repeat last night's request, crying, 'Saddaедda, Saddaедda, dammi la jammaredda cu tutta la quasitedda!' Saddaедda took no notice of the noise, but her companions, whom it awoke, were horrified; and as soon, as they could, they ran away. On the third night just the same happened. On the fourth she could only persuade one girl to keep her company. On the fifth she was left entirely alone. The corpse came, forced open the door, strode up to Saddaедda's bed, and strangled her. Then the dead woman opened the box, took out her leg and stocking, and carried them off with her to her grave.¹⁰

It would be easy to draw many another draught of popular fiction from Dr. Pitre's well of Sicilian undefiled, but here we will pause. Let us hope that the readers of the foregoing pale and prosaic specimens of the glowing and musical Sicilian *fiabe* may prove of as easily contented a mind as the heroes and heroines of those tales, of whom it is generally said at the end of the story that

Arristaru filici e contenti.

No. 128. This story, also, is widely spread throughout Europe. But limb is generally one of gold, so that covetousness, not folly, prompts Mr. Baring-Gould has given a striking English variant of the story, in t to Mr. Henderson's *Tales of the Northern Counties*.

A BEAM OF LIGHT.

'When a mirror rotates, the angular velocity of a beam reflected from it is twice that of the reflecting mirror. This law of angular reflection, coupled with the fact that a beam of light possesses no weight, gives us the means of magnifying small motions to an extraordinary degree.'—*Lecture on Light. John Tyndall, F.R.S., New York, 1873.*

'The position of the spot of light reflected from the little concave mirror being noted, the torsion balance enables us to estimate the pressure or weight of a beam of light to a surprising degree of exactness.'—*Lecture on Light. William Crookes, F.R.S., Royal Institution, 1876.*

RARELY do statements of scientific men of equal eminence exhibit at once the parallelism and antagonism of the above; and when they do, the reception accorded them varies widely with the habit of thought of the recipient. Members of the large class which includes those to whom *Cui bono?* is the only canon of criticism, and others whom we may term undeveloped representatives of Socrates, since in his opinion 'Physics and astronomy belonged to the divine class of phenomena, in which human research was insane, fruitless, and impious,' will hail this apparent difference between the doctors with cynical scorn or ill-disguised delight. The compact body of scientific specialists will retort with no less scorn:

Procul, ô procul este profani,

begone from the sacred groves of science, the tree of knowledge yields no fruit to such as you. Yet another class of thinkers, among whom we hope to find our readers, will rejoice with the first, but in no unkindly spirit. Whether a partially literal or a wholly figurative meaning be attached to the word 'weight,' by one or both of the authorities, will matter little to them; they will simply infer

that during the past three something startling and expected has been discovered respecting light. Such inference be correct: the discovered question are those of Mr. G in relation to repulsion by rail and the mechanical action of

From the lucky moment Newton first 'untwisted a shining robe of day' to the present time, the tendency of all has been to endow a beam of light with attributes and find ever-increasing complexity. have successively grown not to the conception of the velocity at which light is propagated; to the millions of waves of waves which strike the every second to produce a impression of colour; to the of light and heat as reciprocal phenomena of reflection, polarisation and magnetisation of their and yet when the rumour that Mr. Crookes had made an instrument, toy-like in its simplicity which would spin round in a shine as if an invisible agent blowing on its vanes, the announcement was received with by all and downright scorn not a few. The general was not lessened by the fact the announcement came from an unexpected quarter; for all Mr. Crookes, as the distinguished thallium and as an original investigator, was well known outside scientific circles, and at large would have rather for an announcement of this character from one of the more exponents of science who had already delighted to have

We have referred to a beam of light as a 'Radiometer,'

s round in the sunlight; but e are comparatively highly de- ped forms of the apparatus loyed in the researches of Mr. kes; and before we can usefully eed, we must retrace our steps ble, and follow the movements ur pioneer at the time when, phorically speaking, there was light, but rather darkness le.

long ago as June 1872, Mr. kes directed the attention of Fellows of the Royal Society to eculiarity in relation to the t of heat in diminishing the rent weight of bodies, even a the weighing was conducted n exhausted chamber. Some e earlier experiments afforded icting data and led to erroneous ctions, but to these we need efer. The first really valuable ts were obtained with a delicate ace formed of a fine straw about a inches long balanced upon rizontal axis in an exhausted tube. At the extremities of straw beam were fixed from to time balls of pith, glass, coal, wood, ivory, cork, sele- t, platinum, silver, aluminium, cesium, and various other ls, but where great delicacy equired pith masses were found fier by far the greatest ad- ages. To facilitate sealing off exhaustion by the Sprengel p, one end of the glass tube using the balance was drawn a to a contracted neck.

hen the tube above described full of air the application of to its lower side induced a entary descent of the ball over- , followed immediately by a derable rise, and to the ex- aenter it seemed that 'the action of heat was one of ction, instantly overcome by ding currents of air.' Upon ally exhausting the tube the action occurred, but the ar of the movement decreased

as the rarefaction increased, until when the vacuum gauge was within a quarter of an inch of the barometer neither hot-water bulb, hot rod, nor spirit flame caused the ball to move in the slightest degree. The inference would thus appear to be inevitable that the ascent of the ball was due to currents of heated air; but Mr. Crookes is too experienced an investigator to accept the probable for the actual. Although all movement had gradually died away, he continued exhausting, and when the gauge stood within an eighth of an inch of the barometer, was rewarded by a distinct movement of the ball, whilst with the gauge level with the barometer the upward movements were not only much sharper than in air, but so sensitive that the approach of a finger was sufficient to repel the ball to the full limits of its travel.

In one form of apparatus the balls at the end of the balance were of brass, and the heat was applied *within* the exhausted tube by means of a coil of platinum wire which could be rendered incandescent by a current of electricity. The movement was quite inappreciable in this instance when the gauge stood level with the barometer, but the pump was still kept at work for an hour. 'The gauge,' says Mr. Crookes, 'did not rise perceptibly, but the metallic hammering increased in sharpness, and a bubble or two of air was carried down. On igniting the spiral, it was found that the critical point had been passed. Attraction, which had obtained up to a high degree of exhaustion, had entirely ceased, and the action was faint but unmistakable repulsion.'

In trying certain experiments, an action was noticed which led Mr. Crookes to think that some of the movements might be due to electricity, but on closer investigation it was demonstrated that 'electricity

is not a chief agent in these attractions and repulsions, however much it may sometimes interfere with and complicate the phenomena.' Again, to decide once for all whether air currents could be charged with the movements of the balance, an apparatus was prepared in which a chemical vacuum could be obtained by Dr. Andrews's method, and it was satisfactorily proved that 'in a chemical vacuum which will not carry an induction-current the repulsion by radiation is decided and energetic.'

Such were some of the leading deductions from the series of experiments carried out with the aid of the little straw balance and exhausted tube. Turn we now to those derived in like manner from another series, in which the straw arm was suspended by a long fibre, and was thus free to move in any direction in obedience to an impulse from without. A flat index or bar of pith, so suspended in a glass vessel, globular in form, with an elongated neck to afford room for the fibre, and sealed off at a high stage of exhaustion, proved to be so sensitive to heat 'that a touch with the finger on a part of the globe near one extremity of the pith will drive the index round 90°, while it follows a piece of ice as a needle follows a magnet.'

In a modification of the preceding apparatus, the glass vessel is in form like an inverted T, the vertical tube of which contains as before the suspension fibre, and the horizontal tube a light beam, with masses of pith or other material at the ends. A central mirror attached to the beam reflects a ray of light on to a graduated scale, by which means very minute movements are observable, and the fineness of the glass suspension fibre is such that 'when one end is held between the fingers the other portion floats about like a spider's thread, and frequently rises until it takes a vertical position.' Notwithstand-

ing this, the mass of the beam is so great that even after what would appear to be excessive torsion, the beam slowly unwinds itself, and returns to its original position. With this it has been demonstrated that the rarefaction being high, it is perfectly immaterial as to whether the residual gas be air, carbonic acid, water, hydrogen or aught else.

But a far more important deduction from the experiments with this new form of balance was the discovery of the essential difference in the action of light and radiant heat on variously coloured discs. The repelling action of the former was found to be far more powerful when the surface of the pith was blackened, whilst the repulsion emitted by a black body and a kettle of boiling water appeared to be indifferent to the distinction.

Imagine now that we have one of these inverted T-torsion balances, with its beam and masses of pith, of which, we will say, is blackened. The virtue of the superior sensibility of the darkened surface, we know, is that when placed in the light a black ball will retreat before a ray; and what inference can be more obvious than that if we leave space for the beam to revolve so revolve? Substituting a glass chamber for the horizontal tube, a pivot for the glass fibre, placing another beam with masses at its ends cross-wise to the original one to obtain greater regularity of movement, we obtain at once the world-famous 'Radiometer' of Mr. Crookes. This instrument has now become so historical that we may be permitted to cite in our description given by the inventor in the *Quarterly Journal of Science*, the following passage:—

It consists of the

sterial, suspended on a hard ring in a jewel cup, so that it is able to revolve horizontally about a point, in the same manner as Dr. Robinson's anemometer. The extremity of each arm is a disc of pith, white on one side and blacked on the other, the faces of all the discs facing the sun. The whole is enclosed in a thin glass case which is then exhausted to the vacuum point and hermetically sealed.

The instrument rotates with great velocity under the action of the rapidity of revolution being proportional to the intensity of the rays. Placed in the sun, or in the light of burning magnesium, so great that the separate discs form a circle of light. Exposed at a distance of twenty inches off, another revolution in 182 seconds; at a distance of one foot placed at a distance of three feet, the result is one revolution in 182 seconds; and at five inches distance was given in 11 seconds. It is seen that the mechanism is inversely proportional to the square of the distance. At a distance of two candles give exactly the same result as three candles; and so on for candles. In diffused daylight was one revolution in 23 seconds, according to the intensity of the incident rays. In 10 A.M. it revolved three times in one hour; at P.M. four times in one hour.

Nothing indescribably small, we might even add, about the movements of this little instrument. It is placed to the window on a morning, and it may be nothing more than an arm of pith and glass. But it is off. Glance down at the blows under the blows of the sun. The little wheel is round. But the sky is overcast, the movement, and soon all motion

and nor philosopher can explain the first movement. It does not depend on movements at a micrometer is to be them; but though

responding at once to the most delicate gradations of shade, it whirls round with bewildering speed in a light of no extraordinary intensity. At the Royal Institution, Mr. Crookes placed a radiometer in the light of an electric lamp, and the rapid revolution of the arms and pith discs as magnified and projected on the screen gave the instrument the appearance of a horizontal windmill driven by a hurricane with every external evidence of irresistible force.

To an engineer accustomed in the daily routine of his duties to recognise the convertibility of heat into power and power into heat—to balance, for instance, the number of units of heat contained in the steam supplied to his engine against the number of units contained in the out-going steam *plus the quantity of heat converted into power*—the radiometer marks a far greater stride than one not accustomed to such researches might be at first inclined to concede to it. Not because the radiometer is a little engine driven by the sun's rays has the attention of the expert been so arrested by the discovery, for the conception of a solar engine is both simple and familiar. Invert an ordinary lamp shade, replace the glass chimney, and there is before us a very fair model of the solar boiler constructed by M. Mouchot. The lamp shade represents the reflecting surface which gathers the sun's rays and throws them upon the central boiler; and if the larger diameter of the shade be nine feet, the heat of the sun in these latitudes has been proved to be equal to the evaporation of eleven pounds of water per hour. Sun-made steam will, of course, drive an engine as well as steam generated in the most approved marine boiler; and to remove any distrust which may linger in the mind of the reader as to the realisation in practice of any useful work of this character from the

sun's rays, we may add that if the deck of the *Warrior* were covered with these lamp-shade reflectors and boilers, sufficient steam would be generated to enable the present engines to drive the enormous ironclad mass of 7,000 tons at a speed of at least five miles per hour through the water, whilst a 'P. and O.' ship fitted with a looking-glass awning might very possibly, in the hot blast and lurid glare of the Red Sea, steam at the increased rate of seven miles per hour without the consumption of a single pound of coal.

Compared with such performances, the radiometer may appear to many to be an insignificant toy; but in truth, if a comparison is to be made, it is the big ships that must accept the status of toys. In the solar boiler and steam engine we have a well-known and complex combination of parts to effect a certain well-defined end. In the radiometer, on the other hand, we have the simplest conceivable arrangement acting we know not how and driven by a power of which we at present know absolutely nothing. The former performance may excite a momentary surprise, as would a parrot reciting a passage from Homer; but Mr. Crookes invites us to hear, not the highly organised parrot, but his *perch* speak; it does speak, and a host of preconceived notions come tumbling about our ears.

A cellular glass screen filled with a solution of alum would kill all motion in the first-class solar engine, but fail to arrest the movements of the radiometer. How the force, whatever it may be, is transmitted to the vanes of the latter, few have ventured even to guess. We speak of there being a 'perfect vacuum' in the glass vessel, but Mr. Crookes very properly protests against the literal interpretation of the term, since 'where a force can travel we are not justified in assuming the absence of matter—imponderable it

may none the less be there.' The latter, says Mr. Spencer, 'helps himself to the sun's action on the ether, assuming an intervening medium, and finds he must do so if he is to account for the fact that it reappears when he seals the constitution of this medium.' The matter which pervades space, and fills the so-called 'vacuum' in the radiometer is, in the opinion of many physicists, not a pressure incommensurably greater than that of the atmosphere.

Reverting now to the experiments of Mr. Crookes, from which we have somewhat digressed, we refer briefly to some of the applications he has already made of his discovery of the mechanical action of light.

At the Royal Institution apparatus was exhibited by which the illuminating power of gas was ascertained to any required degree of accuracy. A flat bar of pith, blackened as if it had been plunged up to its middle in ink, is delicately suspended in a glass vessel. At the end of the pith bar is a little mirror, which, by the action of light, magnet to give and bring the index bar back to its position, since the cocoon fibre has an elastic reaction of the glass vessel used in the balance. The apparatus is fully protected from external radiation, a ray of light from a standard candle is permitted to fall upon one face of the blackened pith bar, and the consequent thereon shifts of the light reflected from the bar to a different position on the scale. A note is made of the position of this dot when the repelling force of the light is the least, and of an average position when the light is of an average intensity. The heat of the candle is of no use, as the heat is absorbed by the intervening medium, containing a small quantity of sulphate of quinine.

the illuminating power of candles is compensated for by the position of the latter dot of light assumes the place on the index. A ray gas jet to be tested is allowed to fall upon the surface, and the relative measuring power expressed in standard candles is at once ascertained, since it has been determined by Mr. Crookes that illumination varies in the inverse square of the distance. The apparatus exhibited at the Institution by Mr. Crookes in which the quantity of falling minute by minute spot of ground could be noted and recorded without aid of an observer. A mirror of somewhat heavy construction provided with ten or twelve discs and carrying a magnet pivoted in a glass case, which is another magnet so as to establish and break every passage of the other and thus with the help of a fine wire or cable and a instrument every revolution of the instrument is self-recorded on a slip of paper. With this apparatus, the existing cables of the telegraph, it would have been feasible for Sir George Stokes to sit in his observatory at Cambridge and issue bulletins which would have enabled the public to follow the progress of his nautical expeditions in India, the gradually increasing influence of the mid-day glare, and the afforded even by the moonlight passage of a few fleeting

the radiometer is constructed of metal, the action of dark somewhat different from what the ordinary pith disc in-

With copper discs silver on one side and blackened on the other, the revolutions occur in the reverse direction when the mirror is covered by a heated

glass shade, and in the normal direction when the latter is cooled by the application of ether. Each successive day's investigations suggest further experiments, and, be it remembered, that although to Mr. Crookes was left the initiative, there are at the present time numerous investigators at work in every civilised country developing his discoveries; hence any record of the performances of the radiometer under different conditions must necessarily be incomplete, and any theory advanced to elucidate its action must similarly be provisional merely, and subject to modification when the *data* are more complete. For the latter reason it would be unprofitable to discuss here the conclusions of Stoney, Schuster, Neesen and others who refer the movements of the radiometer to currents established by radiation in the exhausted vessel; and until physicists exhibit greater unanimity there can be little advantage in modifying the terms 'repulsion by radiation' and the 'mechanical action of light' as employed by Mr. Crookes.

But we should be doing scant justice to the ingenuity of Mr. Crookes if we concluded this article without further reference to the remarkable experiment which is popularly known as 'weighing a beam of light.' Exception is sometimes taken to the use of the word 'weigh' in the preceding sense; but we think there is little weight in the objection, as the partially figurative sense in which the word is used is perfectly obvious, whilst it has certainly served the useful purpose of arresting the attention of investigators and the general public more forcibly than would the word 'pressure,' which means a balanced force; or the word 'force,' which after all must be expressed in terms of the 'weight' of some given mass.

To 'weigh,' then, the beam of light, a torsion balance is employed identical in principle with that

already described as resembling in form an inverted L. In this instance, however, the exhausted tubes are laid horizontally, and the glass fibre is stretched by a spring instead of by the weight of the straw or glass beam. An extension of the tube containing the fibre past that holding the beam gives the whole balance the appearance of a horizontal cross. One end of the torsion fibre is secured to a short piece of silk, which in its turn is attached to the spiral spring; the other end is fastened to an air-tight glass stopper capable of rotation in the neck of the longer tube of the cross. A light glass beam having a thin piece of pith, exposing two square inches in area of blackened surface attached to one extremity, balanced by a bulb of glass at the other, and carrying further a little mirror at its centre, is secured to the longitudinal fibre at the point where the cross tube affords the necessary space for the beam.

The mode of procedure is as follows: A piece of iron weighing 1-100th grain lying loose in the exhausted glass case is lifted by a magnet on to the surface of the pith, and, as this necessarily causes the beam to descend, the stopper and the attached fibre are rotated until the torsion put upon the latter restores the beam to a horizontal position. The number of turns required to effect this is duly noted, and then the iron is removed, the fibre unwound, and a ray of light suffered to fall upon the pith, which once more causes the beam to descend. Equilibrium is restored, as before, by twisting the stopper; and the elasticity of the fibre being unimpaired, the 'weight' upon the pith will be precisely proportional to the number of revolutions of the stopper. About 28 turns are required to balance the 1-100th of a grain of iron, and about 1-6th that number to balance the pressure of the ray of light from a standard

candle placed 6" off. follows: at the intensity the pressure will be equal to 1-600th of 1.

To balance in like manner the 'weight' of the sun's rays on a square foot of surface, M. estimates that 32 grains are required, which is equivalent to 57 tons per square mile of surface. How far this pressure of light would be maintained upon a retreating body before the ray is absorbed happens with the pith disk radiometer, is an important question which has not yet been decided. It is stated by *Engineering* that such pressure be maintained at a velocity only one-millionth of the velocity at which light is propagated. The efficiency of the radiometer as a prime mover would be equal to that of a high-class steam engine.

It would be vain to attempt to convey within the limits of the present article an adequate notion of the variety and completeness of the researches of Crookes with respect to the action of Radiation, and the action of Light. It will be passed unnoticed that the discovery which has led to such results was suggested to Mr. Crookes solely by some slight apparently trivial anomaly which came under his notice. To a scientist, no phenomenon, however trivial it may appear, is too trivial for investigation if it occurs on an experimental ground. A certain law may appear to be trivial, ridiculous, but we cannot pass it to be either until we are satisfied of the motives actuating the investigator. A few months ago persons were fined for taking little pieces of wood into the race between the seven. At the same time, our officials were doing the same thing—with the exception of betting; that, as a set-off, is

of ordinary observers exaggerated from his having sappers with chronometers the different races.

not heard that Captain m was fined; on the contrary has been awarded the the profession; and yet were the proceedings of as apparently the same, immediate object was the solely, to ascertain the a race between certain of wood. The essential between the two cases is d in the motive, which instance was the decision, and in the second the of the laws of fluid

r proof could be desired consequences which may rise from the apparent in the force of gravity gested these researches okes, nor better illustrated of the great results from little causes, than l by the laws of fluid The race between the s of wood indicated that ng threads of water were different velocities, and difference of velocity, and which gives water the holding in suspension avier than itself. Fill a the muddy water of some launch it down the stream. in the boat is the same tside, and it is travelling ie general velocity, yet in ne the mud will be lying tom of the boat, and the nt water will be clear as If each thread of water in were moving at the same elocity, the sediment would ted in like manner; how efore, are the consequences egular motion which sug- the betting men and the

scientific observer the race between the little bits of wood. Herodotus observes that the land of Egypt is the 'gift of the river,' and with reason; for from measurements made by Mr. Fowler, the Khédive's engineer-in-chief, it has been estimated that the quantity of sediment brought down by the Nile since the building of the great pyramid would suffice to fill up the English Channel and join England to the Continent from Dover to the Land's End. Had the waters of the Nile flowed at one uniform velocity, in place of Egypt would have been a mere bay of the Mediterranean; the 'gens fortunata Canopi,' as Virgil termed the ancestors of the present *fellahin*, would never have lived to rouse the righteous indignation and attract the disinterested sympathy of 'bears' of Egyptian stocks; for not in Egypt alone, but wherever a great river

Winds in progressive majesty along
Through splendid kingdoms,

does the very possibility of the existence of a population chiefly hinge upon this apparently small matter of the varying velocities of adjacent threads of water.

To the true labourer in the field of science, no phenomenon is too trivial for investigation, no anomaly too insignificant to be pursued, even when all hope of tracking it seems gone. As in the slight anomaly observed in the flow of water has been found the first cause of the formation of not a few provinces and kingdoms, so in the long undetected anomaly observed by Mr. Crookes when weighing little pieces of glass in an exhausted vessel may yet be found 'the key of some as yet unsolved problems in celestial mechanics,' and the first cause of many hitherto unexplained cosmical phenomena.

B.



INDIA'S EXPECTATIONS.

IT is impossible to question the fact that the visit of the Prince of Wales to India has been a great success. He has been everywhere received by all classes with the most lavish demonstrations of respect and loyalty. All the resources of Oriental wealth have been displayed with unparalleled splendour and magnificence to do him honour; and in the opinion of the princes and chiefs of the country the political importance of the visit could not possibly have been enhanced. Personally the Prince has won from all who have approached him golden opinions, and has left behind him nothing but good-will. India is more than satisfied—she is proud of an event altogether unprecedented in the history of the world; and no doubt his Royal Highness will in future always take a deep and intelligent interest in her affairs.

Few people are capable of realising the vast extent of territory, inhabited by different races and nations speaking distinct languages, and varying in religion, customs, and laws, which is ruled with Imperial sway by a mere handful of Englishmen in India. It is commonly said, in order to give an idea of its immensity, that the country is as large as the whole of Europe exclusive of Russia. And so it is; but it is impossible to convey in a few words any adequate idea of the greatness of India; of the beauty and grandeur of its scenery; of its varied and surprising wealth, and of its marvellous magnificence. From the Hindoo Koosh and the Kyber Pass to Cape Comorin; from the wild frontiers of the Beloochees and the Afghans, rugged and untamable as their countries, to the snowy range of

the Himalayas and Chinese to two hundred millions of people, either directly or indirectly allegiance and yield submit to the British Crown. Lower India alone is larger than France, more densely populated than Great Britain, and might easily be carved out of the Bombay Presidency, and still would be left slices of territory sufficiently large to make a good-sized German principality. Prussia and Denmark together not larger than the Madras Presidency, and the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab could up the whole of Spain and Portugal. In addition to these enormous territories there are the several states, governed by independent but feudatory princes, even paying allegiance to the British Crown—each state containing several millions of inhabitants, and wealthy capitals and great armies—the area of the whole surmounting about 670,000 square miles. In other words, these native states are as large as the Austrian Turkish Empires, Italy, Spain, Holland, Denmark, Prussia, and Norway combined.

Such, roughly sketched, is the Empire which has recently welcomed the Prince of Wales with a display of cordiality and enthusiasm that must be gratifying to every Englishman. Among all classes, the native princes and the nobles resplendent with gold, down to the humblest gentlemen, all did their utmost to vie with one another in the wealth and splendour of their reception. We have seen all but equal display of a series of surprising and magnificent fêtes, and grand meetings, illustrating the spirit of

zling magnificence of the East.'

ing contrast with this ing sense of splendour, of the people have acquired their wont silently, but wholly without excitement, this extraordinary disandeur, much marveling od or evil might betide having in their midst al heir to the throne. timid but intellectual he high-spirited Rajpoot the haughty Pathan, or warrior chiefs of the ontier benefit thereby?

visit in any degree prove the social status ated classes throughout ? Will it have the effect ing on them a reasonable isible share in the adn of their own affairs? to high-born, ambitious, aturous spirits careers emulation, in which the ents might be fittingly nd reputations achieved the aspirations which ing the young nobles of t be justly excused for 3?

t can be felt as to the tentment now prevalent masses of the people in obably few prosperous the better class would exchange the assured our government for the out sometimes cherished h might be realised by ll. But it is too true l charge urged against nains as strong and well ever. We have cut off ightened and aspiring oughout the country all tisfying their legitimate we rigidly exclude them ons in which their fore-er the emperors of the asty, or their kingly suc- ned wealth, honour, and

renown. All ranks alike are placed, in this respect, on the same dead level. According to our present system, no native of noble birth or of liberal education can ever hope to attain a position of eminence either in the military or civil service of his country. Men who would become the most devoted adherents of our rule are utterly without a hope of distinction, and have no alternative but to sink into a sordid slough of sensuality, or to become our concealed, but not the less active and bitter, enemies. Can it be wondered at, therefore, if the most promising of the rising generation now enquire whether the Prince's visit is to bear the auspicious fruit they desire, and which they might enjoy with pleasure and profit to themselves and with advantage to the State? And does it not much more behove us to ask the same question, and to consider seriously the state of feeling which will probably be engendered if, after the pomp and magnificence which attended the Prince's visit have become a memory of the past, nothing is done to satisfy the craving desire of the native mind for occupation of a responsible and dignified character?

A better time than the present for inaugurating in this respect a radical change in our Indian policy could not be desired. The country has long been at peace, and as much confidence is reposed in our good intentions both by prince and peasant as under present conditions we can reasonably hope to instil into their minds. A change of system which would be received with universal rejoicing could in no way be open to misconception. We have nothing to fear, and a great deal to gain. Our rule both physically and morally has never been established on firmer foundations. We have overcome greater dangers internally than we are ever likely to encounter again. Hence,

at this moment we are free to offer what might in a captious and ungenerous spirit be designated 'the bribe of office' to the natives of India, without the least fear of being misunderstood. We can afford to be generous. We have stood too long alone, forbiddingly unsympathising, and with icy coldness of manner, relying solely on our own strong right arm for the maintenance of our power. Repeatedly we have shown how sternly we can subdue. Let us now teach the natives of India that we can also conquer them with kindness, by reposing confidence in them where it is deserved, and by inducing them to assist us in the responsible duty of ruling their own country.

It has been the good fortune of the Prince of Wales to make manifest in a remarkable manner the highly satisfactory results of the general policy which has been adopted towards the natives since the suppression of the great Mutiny and Rebellion of 1857-58. A quarter of a century ago, when Lord Dalhousie reigned with iron will and with purpose fixed as fate, the ever-present dread of annexation made the Indian princes tremble in their capitals, and such scenes as have been lately witnessed would have been impossible. Native rulers and powerful maharajahs would not at that time have willingly visited the Presidency cities to vie with one another in the wealth and magnificence of their royal state, and in the extent and splendour of their retinues. They would rather have buried their profuse stores of priceless gems instead of ostentatiously exhibiting them to all beholders; not unmindful of the dark days when the jewels and gorgeous personal paraphernalia of the recently deceased Nawab of Nagpore were sold by public auction in Calcutta, after his principality, contrary to ancient custom and immemorial right, had been annexed

to the British Crown. Times when no prince felt and independence over personal possessions free spoiler. Nor were the the soil, by whatever titled whether landlords or zamindars or talookdars danger of being deprive rights. In short, the spination and confiscation shadowed men's minds, native of rank and wealth confident in the possession of had always before been a to look upon as inalienable own.

Properly to understand and appreciate the feeling of which now happily prevails as well as to show how feeling might be fostered, and perhaps converted into devoted loyalty, a review of the immediate past is indispensable. Within the space of less than twenty years a revolution of a marvellous kind has been wrought by a mere common-sense home policy. What may yet be accomplished is equally obvious, but of a different kind. At any rate, the aim, will be shown in the course of this paper. At any rate, the difference between the present condition of affairs and the condition of affairs immediately preceding the Mutiny and Rebellion of 1857 is as great as the difference between light and darkness, between sorrow, or utter ruin and of good fortune. No doubt in opinion now exists as to the causes which gave rise to the convulsion of twenty years was not that caste was inferior nor that the people and the natives felt the want of liberty and independence: unquestionably the principal cause of the Rebellion was the treatment of the native princes of the British nobility and the owners of the country. The British government has spised the native man; we rights and privileges at

their states and confiscated properties in vainly imagined, to the people; and when overtook us, the people policy had enriched de- their chiefs whom we d.

the generation preceding utiny, a vast agrarian ollowed swiftly in the triumphant arms, and a flood over the whole North-Western Prodia. In those days Civil Service of the Company a class of ent officers to whom it igher importance that heory of communistic uld be rigidly enforced, ancient right and cus- hat the people of a ter in extent than the should be converted and faithful friends of he Birds and the Tho- the chief teachers and the new school, and so s their belief in its at, to quote Sir John regarded all who dif- them 'with feelings dering compassion, as od had given over to sion, that they should

It may easily be con- the disciples and fol- ch men were animated often tempered by dis- much so that 'to oust or native landowner, ong them to be 'as ievement as to shoot a appointment of such with unbounded faith ence of their work, to ng to their doctrines enue of Upper India, a marked and radical e relations existing be- d and tenant, and in

the possession of landed property. Countless estates were transferred by a stroke of the pen from the old land- owners, to whom they had descended from father to son for many gene- rations, to their tenants-at-will who cultivated the soil. It was believed that 'the obliteration of the aris- tocracy of the land was the greatest benefit that could be conferred on the people;' and hence men of high birth and ancient lineage, whose ancestors had been great chiefs in the land—'men who had been pro- prietors of vast tracts of country as far as the eye could reach, shrivelled into tenants of mud-huts and possessors of a few cooking- pots.' The old landowners, a numerous and still a powerful class, exercising considerable influence over their former retainers, suddenly found themselves overwhelmed in irretrievable ruin. It was a vast, silent, and utterly 'unrighteous re- volution, which thirty years after- wards bore terrible fruit amidst scenes of universal bloodshed, mas- sacre, and rebellion.

It does not enter into the scope of this article to discuss even re- motely the vexed question of Indian land tenures; but a few words as to the recognised rights of these talookdars, or native landowners, and the position they occupied, will probably be acceptable by way of explanation. Several well-known and officially authenticated cases might be cited to prove the truth of the general statement above given, as well as to illustrate the disastrous consequences of the policy which was then in the ascendant, of recog- nising no class connected with the land between the prince and the peasant. Sir John Kaye, in the first volume of his *History of the Sepoy War*, p. 160, summed up the matter in these words:

Let us explain their position as we may, these talookdars constituted the landed

aristocracy of the country; they had recognised manorial rights; they had, in many instances, all the dignity and power of great feudal barons, and doubtless often turned that power to bad account. But whether for good or evil in past years, we found them existing as a recognised institution; and it was at the same time a cruel wrong and a grievous error to sweep it away as though it were an incumbrance and a usurpation.

Such was the phrase in vogue at the time, and it was opposed by confiscation, though how well it became English officials in India to talk of usurpation is strikingly exemplified in the case of the Rajah of Mynpooree, cited by Sir John Kaye (vol. i. pp. 161-65) in illustration of the policy then adopted.

Another illustration not so well known, but equally typical in character, may be adduced from the *Chronicles of Oonao*. The Rajah of Sheorajpore possessed vast estates in the district of Cawnpore. The Chundele clan, of which the Rajah's ancestors were the chiefs, settled in Sheorajpore shortly after the fall of Canouj (A.D. 1018), nearly half a century before the Norman conquest of England, and when the Imperial sceptre passed from the hands of the Hindoos to those of the Mahomedans. As many as sixty-three villages were occupied by this clan, at the head of which was the rajah, who possessed all the dignity and power of any one of the great barons who were his contemporaries in England. When more than five centuries later Akbar ascended the throne (A.D. 1556), he found the Chundele chief still in possession of the estates of his ancestors; and accordingly the emperor, when he made his famous land settlement, recognised the rajah's claim as proprietor of the estates over which he exercised exclusive rights of ownership. Nearly three centuries afterwards, however, the firman which acknowledged and

confirmed these rights was proved by our own officers to be a mere proof that the rajah was more than a middleman, whom the Government had put into possession of the land solely for the purpose of collecting its revenue from tenants and cultivators who claimed the rightful proprietorship. One of the oldest and greatest estates in the country was stripped of its hereditary rights, and passed through eight centuries of possession by a distant land, who had recently acquired by right of Imperial sway in India, he worked with fervent zeal to what they deemed to be the benefit of the people, and they were extirpating a powerful nobility, confiscating their estates, and all the ancient families, thought at the time, to a powerlessness. No conquest had ever been attended with more sweeping agrarian results, and few have been followed by more disastrous results. The policy sanctioned such wholesale confiscation was not only a grievous wrong, it was the gravest of political errors. For it 'converted into bitter those whom sound policy have made the friends and supporters of the State.'

Acute observers, of great experience, foresaw that we were laying up for ourselves a store of trouble, and that we should reap the harvest of all this delay and oppression. The natives we had displaced could not be forgotten in the memory of the past. And their descendants may be said Mr. Tucker, wisest and prescient of the old East India Company's Directors, 'because natives of India are accustomed to endure and to submit to their rulers.'

But if an attempt is made to appear on the Western side, if an attempt is made to

shall find the talookdars
erse ranks, and their ryots
ers ranged under the same

Other authorities might
, equally prophetic in the
they uttered long before
ed in 1857-58 our harvest
and disaster. But these
were at the time unheeded.
lhousesie's Administration,
splendidly successful, was
series of high-handed
injustice, marked by con-
and annexation. At length,
drop of intense bitterness
d to the deep and broad
disaffection, and it forth-
flowed its banks.

nnexation of the powerful
of Oudh was accomplished
1856. Everything had
fully and quietly prepared
event. A brand-new,
-span administration had
anised, consisting of the
of men who had 'settled'
aub, the descendants of
and the Thomasons, all of
ding the orthodox land-
cories of the past genera-
an instant's notice they
ito possession of the land,
ously began their new
The administration of the
25,000 square miles in
nd containing 5,000,000
ts, passed from the hands
ive rulers into those of our
ers as noiselessly and com-
s if it had been a mere
f relieving a sergeant's
Everything went on like
k, without a hitch. Never
ren in India, the land of
d-ready administrators, had
a governmental body, as
as it was perfect, sprung up
taneously and thoroughly
for work as did this
inistration from the busy
the Marquis of Dalhousie.
t was electrical. No one
of opposition. The whole
seemed stunned by the

suddenness of the blow; and the
transformation scene was not un-
deservedly regarded from an artistic
point of view as the most signal
success in the singularly successful
career of a great Governor-General.

Not less rapidly and effectively
did the new Administration re-
organise every department of the
State—law, police, and revenue,
including the settlement of the land
in accordance with the theories
which had found favour a quarter
of a century before in the North-
Western Provinces. The land-
owners of the country were sum-
moned by the settlement officers to
show cause why all their tenants
who had held their farms for a longer
period than twelve years should
not be entered in the 'Record of
Rights in the Soil' as possessors of
under-proprietary rights, or perma-
nent rights of occupancy in the
land which they rented. A suffi-
cient number of ruling cases having
been definitively decided, it was
held that these should govern the
same class of land tenures through-
out the province; and thus the
talookdars before the end of the
year practically found that their
proprietary rights in their estates
had been confiscated. The old pro-
prietors, whose rights had hitherto
been deemed indefeasible, were by
the *ipse dixit* of a settlement officer
converted into *quasi*-revenue col-
lectors, and their tenants were
invested with proprietary rights
hitherto unknown to them. Sir
William Muir, who when this
question was last mooted by Lord
Lawrence was Secretary to the
Government of the North-Western
Provinces, described the effect of
this momentous decision in the fol-
lowing words. 'Twelve years ago,'
wrote Sir William—and it is only
twelve years ago that the words
were written—

A landlord, having in the exercise of his
legal rights ejected a tenant-at-will, let
his holding to another. At that period the

landlord might have disposed of his land in any manner he chose; he might have appropriated it to his own use, or built upon it, or quarried the materials below the surface, or planted an orchard on it; or he might have let it out for the growth of a particular staple, or on any other condition; in short, the land was his own to make the utmost possible use or gain out of it. *But twelve years have elapsed, and all these rights have passed away. The ryot, whom he himself introduced, has become the master of the land. The landlord has lost all control over it, and even his claim to rent is restricted. He cannot resume it for his own use; he cannot let it to any other tenant who would introduce the staples he desires to cultivate; he cannot raise the rent. The person whom he put in as a cultivator twelve years ago has grown up into the privileged class, and the title thus created will descend indefinitely.*

Imagine the estates of the Dukes of Cleveland and Northumberland, or of the Duke of Argyll, being treated after this fashion; and under the pretence of 'protecting the rights of the occupants of the soil,' the Government declaring all their tenants the actual proprietors at fixed rates of rental of the farms they are cultivating! What would be thought of such an edict in this country?

Whether rightly or wrongly, the landowners of Oudh regarded this measure as a sweeping act of confiscation, and it is not difficult to imagine the indignation and consternation which it caused among them. Alarm and anger, discontent and a dangerous feeling of opposition, not the less dangerous because it was smothered and found no public expression, spread rapidly throughout the country. This is not the place to narrate what followed, or to describe events which still occupy the attention of Sir John Kaye. But it will be useful to bear in mind that the Kingdom of Oudh used to be the most prolific recruiting ground of the Bengal Army, and that it was chiefly through the instrumentality of the Poorbeah sepoy—the sons and brothers and cousins of the talookdar's tenants—that a

spirit, t of alarm for the and su ntly of discontent, and allion, was first manifested early in 1857 t out every sepoy corps in the and the whole of Upper In is also a fact, which need mentioned, that when the Mutiny took place within a year after the annexation it was not only the native but the whole of the annexed kingdom, and the Western Provinces general rose in arms against our rule whole of the Gangetic valley ing many great provinces, as nearly the whole of India, slipped like hot sand our grasp, and with a utterly bewildering either to native rule, or else to scene of wildest anarchy civil power instantly a Our authority was maintained under the shadow of our b So complete and wondrous rapid change from a tranquil prosperous order of government firmly established, as was supposed, to a scene of rebellion amidst which our power was utterly p that the English people is d of the country, hundreds from the sea—as the war pened to be at that time with difficulty credit and up what they beheld around Another transformation as thus presented even more than the one which had taken place in Oudh. A policy of confiscation was the avenged.

At length when the war lifted, and order had been a singular state of affairs apparent. During the most of the landowners had been deprived of their estates restored to their ancient rights and privileges their tenants were fairly satisfied

ently bestowed upon them, acknowledging the authority of the talookdars. This was unique in the case in Oudh, where there had been only a few talookdars in operation, and it also applied in some parts of the eastern Provinces, whence the talookdars had been ousted for many generations. It was evident that these pregnant facts would not have due weight as to them when the question of the policy which should be followed in Oudh in regard to the settlement of the land. There were wanting advisers who endeavored to persuade Lord Canning that the only course which should be pursued, with due regard to the competency and the dignity of the Government, was to re-establish the land settlement which had been made during the year before the Mutiny. Fortunately, Lord Canning's strong practical common sense decided otherwise, and thereby laid the foundation of the happy confidence and security which now exists. The arguments advanced by the Governor-General for the reversal of the old policy and to establish instead of it a policy of a directly opposite character were well worthy of notice, and they may still be based upon the policy of the future. It was pointed out to Lord Canning, as a matter of apology for the village talookdars, that they had renounced the rights conferred upon them by the Government, and that they had not influence and authority enough to retain what had been granted to them, much less to assist in restoring order; an obvious argument, of which Lord Canning did not fail to take advantage. Lord Canning wrote, 15th May, 1858:

Village holders acknowledged the authority of the talookdars as soon as the British Government was subverted. They acted, as though they regarded the settlement as made at the Settlement as it was.

valid, and to be maintained just so long as British rule lasted, and no longer; and as though they wished the talookdar to reassert his former rights and resume his ancient position over them at the first opportunity. Their conduct amounts almost to an admission that their own rights, whatever these may be, are subordinate to those of the talookdar; that they do not value the recognition of those rights by the ruling authority; and that the talookdaree system is the ancient, indigenous, and cherished system of the country. If such be the case in our older provinces, where our system of government has been established for more than half a century, during twenty years of which we have done our best to uphold the interest of the village occupant against the interest and influence of the talookdar, much more will the same feeling prevail in the Province of Oudh, where village occupancy, independent and free from subordination to the talookdars, has been unknown. Our endeavour to better, as we thought, the village occupants in Oudh has not been appreciated by them. It may be true that these men 'had not influence and weight enough to aid us in restoring order;' but they had numbers, and it can hardly be doubted that, if they had valued their restored rights, they would have shown some signs of a willingness to support the Government which revived those rights; but they have done nothing of the kind. The Governor-General is therefore of opinion that these village occupants, as such, deserve little consideration from us. On these grounds, as well as because the talookdars, if they will, can materially assist in the re-establishment of our authority and the restoration of tranquillity, the Governor-General has determined that a talookdaree settlement shall be made.

After acquiring such practical experience of the wishes and customs of the people, it is not surprising that, since the suppression of the Mutiny and Rebellion, an entirely new policy has been inaugurated, and that the days of annexation, confiscation, and spoliation have been declared to be for ever at an end. A great change has taken place in native feeling and opinion since that momentous period; a change which has been brought about slowly, it is true, and by imperceptible degrees, for confidence, especially in the East, is a plant of very slow growth. The native

princes, chiefs, and landowners were not easily reassured. They narrowly watched all the proceedings of the Indian Government for some undoubted proof of the truth and reality of the gracious promises contained in her Majesty's Proclamation. But even under the government of Lord Canning, by whom the new policy was loyally inaugurated, grave questions now and then arose which excited the anxious suspicions of the feudatory princes, who still only half believed that the new policy was intended to be acted upon as an invariable rule. The succession to the petty Principality of Dhar, and to the very considerable State of Travancore, was long held in suspense, and gave rise to many agitating doubts among the native states. And still more recently the example of Baroda, though perhaps in all respects reassuring, was not calculated from one important point of view to have a beneficial effect. But if the Guikwar has been personally punished for a crime of which he was acquitted, it is pretty generally understood in India that he was dethroned on account of the misrule, oppression, and anarchy which prevailed under the sanction of his authority. For no better reason Oudh was annexed by Lord Dalhousie, and became an integral portion of the British dominions in India. But if we had dealt with that kingdom on the same principle which dictated the recent policy adopted towards Baroda, Oudh would at this moment have been a powerful and well-governed native state, second to none in India. So far, therefore, Baroda stands forth as a signal example of the great change of policy which during the last two decades has governed our relations with and our treatment of the independent native princes of India. The native landowners have also equal reason for self-gratulation. It is true that the

attempt to in 1854-6 present Lord Lawrence, the pupil of Thomas, the settlement in finally arranged by Lord after the Mutiny, gave while to the most painful sensations. Again it was that the security of all natives hold most dear in session of the soil was also sacrificed. But happily for and contentment of India not allowed. The origin prescribed first by Lord borough, confirmed by Lord and faithfully carried into Lord Canning, was scrupulously observed and honestly put its legitimate end. And for causes alone do we now be the present happy state of the cheering and hopeful confidence in our rule.

But more is wanted to the contentment and by the princes, chiefs, and India—of that large class who naturally yearn after power, such as some of the fathers enjoyed under the princes before the East India Company had acquired Empire in the country. It is not that the princes should be that their independence will never unrighteously be and that if they die child rights of their adopted will be inviolably respected it enough that the nobility landed gentry of the country feel that they are no longer mercy of any young despots who happened to propose new-fangled theory regard land-tenures of their country our duty, as it would be interest, to find for natives rank and distinguished suitable occupations in which might exercise their talents our advantage, while they for themselves as careers with

tion. Only by such we hope to attract to a devoted and loyal supportives of the highest order in time of peace worthily and usefully and perfectly contented, or in time of danger quarter would be bound by the ties of self-d gratitude. No other the world, if it could session of India, would be natives one-half the the material advantages possess under our rule. All within the reach of to employ and utilise ous high capabilities characterise many of the ndia, in a manner which ely contribute to their t, happiness, and pride, add immensely to the d security of our Empire. now arrived at an era t to mark the inauguraew, a lofty, and a grand he assumption by her e Queen of an Indian le; the auspicious visit nce of Wales; the ap- of a new Viceroy; the peace and the material of the country; the con- the happiness enjoyed ses of the people, will lebrate the commence- new reign. We have the highest point, and d by physical means all vithin our reach. We ecreely survey the ar- tions and troubles, the und dangers of the past, he unlimited field which tched before us as the ene of our moral con- he future. Every con- in fact, points to the he most fitting moment lay of unwonted trust- generosity on our part e native races of India.

The same change which during the past twenty years has taken place, in our policy in regard to the maintenance of the rights, the possessions, and dignities of the princes, chiefs, and people, should forthwith be inaugurated in a large, liberal, and gracious spirit, with regard to the employment of natives of rank, ability, and intelligence in high and responsible offices under the Crown.

At present the only careers open to Hindoos of the highest class and of unquestionable capacity are to be found in the native states of India. As a general rule, the coveted positions in the civil and military services are absolutely closed against them. One or two highly-educated Bengalees have succeeded in entering the charmed circle of the covenanted civil service—the official ‘hierarchy of the heaven-born.’ But the conditions under which this feat has been accomplished are so formidable and restrictive in character as to be practically prohibitive. If it be asked who are the most remarkable natives at present occupying exalted positions in India, we shall be told that they are all to be found in the service of the native states. Sir Dinkur Rao, who as the Prime Minister of the Maharajah Scindia of Gwalior performed priceless services to his own prince and to the British power during the Mutiny, is a native of the old school, wholly untutored in the learning of the West, but who would have made for himself a great name in any country. Sir Madahva Rao, before he occupied his present position as the virtual ruler of the State of Baroda, was the Prime Minister of Travancore, where he accomplished the boast of Themistocles, having by his remarkable administrative abilities made a small state both a great and a happy one. This eminent man is a type of the educated native of the present day. He was

trained and brought up in our Government College at Madras; but if he had entered the British service he would have been deemed fortunate if after many years of arduous occupation he had attained the subordinate and inferior position of an uncovenanted deputy collector or a Sudder Ameen—posts infinitely beneath those instantly obtained as a matter of right by the newly-arrived young English competition-wallah. The very lowest, the least informed and experienced, of the *covenanted* civil servants would have been his superior. Then again there are to be found such eminent examples of high renown achieved in the government of great and powerful states as Sir Salar Jung, the Prime Minister of the Nizam of Hyderabad, and Sir Jung Bahadur, the Mayor of the Palace and the Charles Martel of Nepaul. These great men have, it is true, been honoured by the Indian Government. They have had titles of honour conferred upon them, and Sir Dinkur Rao has been a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. But neither of them could by any possibility have acquired under our present system of administration the honours and distinctions they now enjoy, simply because the golden portals giving admission to such exalted careers would not have been open to them as servants of the British Crown. Does not this simple and undeniable statement alone condemn a system under which the exclusion of such men from high and honourable careers is deliberately practised?

It may be asked, where are the men whom we could employ, and how could we employ them? No lack of the right sort of aspirants need be feared. There are the sons and descendants of princes as well as of innumerable rajahs and of high-born and influential chiefs—all holding a great stake in the country, and

deeply interested in its progress—who, if not their own careers were to them, would make time to positions of distinction in our service. There are the highly educated young Hindoos—well as Mussulmans—who distinguished themselves in colleges, and who surely have been so excellently well fitted for the battle of life expressly to make the discontented. Why should we to diffuse the highest degree of knowledge and enlightenment successive generations of young men, and yet exclude them from taking any part in the administration of the affairs of their own country?

As a general rule, we have assumed that it would be necessary that natives of high great ability should possess special mental training peculiar intellectual acumen of young military and civilian competition-wallahs when they entered the service of the State. Character and aptitude for work of a special kind should weigh more than the learning of all the arts as although such knowledge is allowed its due weight, a spirited young Sikh, or a Rohilla, with a passing acquaintance of English, and with such as is usually acquired by an informed native—such example, a youthful but Akbar or Sevajee might—ought always to bear the person a certain passport to a high, respectable office. If Diwan and Mr. J. N. Rao were a competitive examination would probably be the experienced Indian civilians would be

proved their superior. require in native officials trained and evenly balanced knowledge and experience and affairs, and marked native ability combined with and decision of purpose; these are qualities which we foster and employ wherever are to be found. It may be that such qualities are rarely to be found among the natives; but those who know India are well acquainted with such men as, for example, Mahan Singh, of Shahjahanpur, and many others who might be found, who at once came to the aid during our time of trouble, and these qualities in a high degree are anything but rare in the country. A native ought not to be advanced to a command simply because he happens to be the son or relative of a great nobleman; but every hopeful promise, high rank and well-tryed experience are matters in what rank or position, it would be a mistake to make use of them to the advantage. A staff of two will suffice to show how these views might be put out in practice. No reason can be assigned, for why young natives of high birth and fortune, provided they possess the necessary ability and a passion for the pursuit of arms, should not be appointed as commissioned officers in our regiments, whether of artillery, or infantry. Well-approved and long serving thoroughly mastered duties and given evidence of fitness fitting them for higher positions in the service, these young men might be promoted and placed according to their deserts in important and responsible positions. It would not be too much to expect that some of them might be appointed as second or

chief in command of a native irregular cavalry corps, precisely on the same footing and equality as English officers occupying similar positions. And indeed it is quite within the bounds of possibility that distinguished native officers should command infantry as well as cavalry regiments, and in course of time rise to even yet higher commands—with brigades under their orders containing English regiments with English lieutenant-colonels at the head of them.

No doubt this will be deemed 'a pestilent heresy' by some military men, and possibly by some Indian statesmen; but we venture to say that the soldier-statesmen of highest repute, both of the past and of the present time—men like James Outram and Henry Lawrence, Herbert Edwardes and Neville Chamberlain, Lord Lawrence and Lord Napier of Magdala—would approve of such a measure. From a purely military point of view such commands held by natives of great personal distinction, and of weight and influence among their countrymen, would entail no risk, while it might be confidently expected that the duties attached to them would be efficiently performed. No danger could by any possibility arise, while the greatest amount of good might result, from reposing so much confidence in distinguished Hindoos. From a political point of view the result would probably be highly beneficial. The meritorious recipients of such appointments could not but feel personally the highest gratification at occupying positions of exalted military rank and responsibility, while their countrymen would also feel honoured by their elevation. Of course this ideal would take a long time practically to realise, and probably but few of such high appointments would be exercised by natives at one and the same time; for they would necessarily be of an excep-

tional character. But this limitation in no way affects the general principle which underlies the proposal, that native officers should be men having power and responsibility, and not men of straw—feeble and powerless for good, and always ready puppets in the hands of bold, designing sepoys.

It must be remembered that this principle was actively enforced to the best possible advantage by Lord Clive more than a century ago. In those early days of our rule, when we had yet to carve out our empire, the native officers possessed real authority and were respected accordingly. But a seniority system, aggravated by dangerous concessions of various kinds, had produced in the days before the Mutiny an effete body of native officers who, after thirty years' service, had risen from the ranks—a body of pitiable old imbeciles who were fain to be commanded by the European sergeant-majors of their regiments. Ignorant sepoys thus grew in process of time into jemadars and subahdars; when they had lost all energy of mind and body they assumed the golden-cowrie necklets; they were promoted to positions of rank devoid of authority; and, being from long-continued subordination utterly devoid of spirit and self-reliance, they were necessarily destitute of influence, and were even despised by the class of men from whom they had sprung. During the great Mutiny these men were, as a

rule, thrust aside, an adventurous sepoy or sergeant, men in the who generally seized command. In future let the native officers advance on after that fashion; a superior class of men work their way upward with, and on the same equality as, their English in arms, and we shall but be considerably gain by. Give the spirited doos of good birth a fair field and no favour where they can climb to promotion, and let the themselves—it will be fault if they do not find uppermost. Let the distinguished among them and faithful service be fill dignified posts on the Commander-in-Chief Viceroy.¹ And we venture the result would be the of some of the most distinguished native officers as cavalry leaders, world has ever seen. They have ever been noted for it. What has been in the possibility of the future the Saracen was a foe worthy of Richard the Lion of England.

In the same manner high character and energy might be advanced to the most enviable offices in Service. The old project

¹ Since this article was in type it has been announced that two reseldars, Bengal Lancers, Mahomed Afzal and Annoop Sing, are now accompanying the Duke of Wales to England as native aides-de-camp. 'The first-named,' says the correspondent of the *Times*, 'is of a very good family, being connected with the Cabul. He was with Biddulph in Yarkund, and is a very gallant fellow. He served under General Probyn. He had five horses killed under him, and many wounds.' Herein his Royal Highness has set an admirable example. This is the beginning, and partly exemplifies in practice the views advocated in the article. It may be observed, however, that reseldars are not commissioned officers, and do not stand on an equality with even the lowest grade of English commissioned officers in the army. A young English cornet or sub-lieutenant who had never been under command a veteran reseldar, even if he had highly distinguished himself in engagements.

nts worn thread-bare to reverse of this proposition well known. But the native corruption would under the strong light should be reflected upon high public distinction. associated with English is in the most responsible of administration, native first rank in birth and should thoroughly understand maxim, *Noblesse oblige*. could be more scrupulous of their reputations, sensitive of appearances, high-class natives of India. will be asked, are they fitted to the Civil Service would be absurd to competitive examinations is. The Viceroy has opportunities of disseminate most suitable candid civil employment from of his numerous agents, and governors. All the promising young native country—fine raw material—engendering our political on—are growing up observation of our own local officers; and out of it for selection the result will be altogether disappointing. Anyhow, it would not be wise proceeding to make a change. Let the experience gradually and even most tried. Let it be understood generally known that reserves of talent belonging to the native class may be applied to the Civil Service on a par with our own best men they may commence their career in the grand arena introduced our most distinguished Indian statesmen, our own Metcalfs, and our that will be quite a spell would soon work it would be the inauguration of a new era, full of hopeful

promise and bright rejoicing, and would take its origin from the happy period remarkable for the auspicious visit of the Prince of Wales to India.

A third and last point—probably the most important of all—remains to be noticed. According to law the great landowners of India are now powerless to interfere for the preservation of order, either to punish a breach of the peace or to redress any wrong that may be committed in their immediate neighbourhood. They cannot exercise the powers entrusted even to a young English 'boy' deputy-magistrate. The latest arrived civilian, the youngest and least experienced of the competition-wallahs, may have magisterial control over a district equal in extent to half an English county; and the two or three great native landowners whose word would be law among their people, and to whom the whole of that district belongs, have to submit all their differences to the decision of the youthful and oftentimes the ignorant and inexperienced stranger. It is true that many of these landlords exercise a kind of feudal influence over their tenants and retainers, and that frequently they establish their right to administer justice among them in an informal manner; but practically in the eye of the law they are powerless, and it is still possible to travel for days through vast tracts of country wholly occupied and possessed by powerful landowners, not one of whom can exercise the rights of a deputy or of a joint magistrate.

Why should not our Government in India entrust to these influential natives the authority of justices of the peace? Why should they not be invited to assist the paid and official magistracy of their several districts in the preservation of order and in the repression of crime? Why should the men who are most

powerful for good be deliberately banned and interdicted from all interference with civil government, unless indeed to make them powerful for evil—to drive them into the wilderness of distrust, and compel them to become our secret and bitter enemies instead of our avowed and steadfast friends? Are these the men whom we ought to fear or of whom we ought to be jealous; and if we cannot safely entrust to them the ordinary magisterial powers which every English gentleman of landed estate may exercise in his own country, what opinion can we entertain of the good-will of the people, and of the security of our hold upon the country?

It is needless to seek for illustrations of the exceeding folly and the terrible mischief of such a policy of unwise and undeserved mistrust. The history of the great Mutiny is full of them. Baboo Kower Singh of Jugdespore, who welcomed with open arms the Dinapore mutineers, who besieged the heroic little garrison at Arrah, and carried on open war for months against our flying columns, was one of the men whom our system had politically excommunicated, and whom we gave over to be ruled by fledgeling deputy-magistrates. The Nawab of Furruckabad, who hounded our officers and their wives and children down the river Ganges from Futtygurh to the slaughter-house at Cawnpore, was another man of the same class. It is sad to think what might have been done by such men to save the lives of our people in the day of their great trouble, had they only desired to throw into the scale their influence for good and not for evil. But we have now to think not what these men became, but what it may be in our power to make men of the same class at the present day.

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THE IRISH CENSUS OF 1871.

IT may seem rather late to offer any remarks on a Census taken so long since as the year 1871, but it was not until February 1876 that the Irish Census Commissioners¹ presented to Parliament their 'General Report' of the Census taken in Ireland in that year.

The dry records of such works are uninviting to the general reader, and but few persons are found to undertake the labour of their perusal; and yet upon many matters of vast import to the Empire they afford a most valuable amount of information. With us, the narrative recorded in their pages is one of steady progress, a progress varying only in degree; but in Ireland events have not run in so even a course. Since the first Census, Ireland has passed through what may be designated as almost a social revolution, a fact which would of itself be sufficient to give a special interest to the Census records of that country; but when we consider the double contest which is unintermittingly being fought there—the one a contest between Imperialism and what, for lack of a more exact term, we must call Nationalism; the other a contest between the principles of Romanism and those of Protestantism or Liberalism—then indeed the interest is heightened, and we turn with eagerness to the Census Commissioners for some light upon the strife, and for some information which will enable us to ascertain the side to which victory is inclining.

The Irish Census is therefore

mainly of importance in its aspect, and it is from this view that we propose to place the materials which have been placed at the disposal of the public. To the great body of the tables, the maps, and the statistics we freely accord the highest value; but as regards the 'Report' we regret that we are by no means able to speak so favourably.

The variation in the population is naturally a matter to be noticed. In the year of the first authentic Census Ireland had 6,801,827 in population. Up to that time the population had been steadily growing, but the increase had indeed been retarded by the political agitation in 1792 by the Irish Parliament, and had been retarded by the peculiar nature of the life of the people; and although in 1825 and 1828 measures were taken by the Imperial Parliament to correct the former errors, their effect could be but slow. By 1841, in spite of emigration, which was already considerable, the population was 8,175,000. Five years later it was still higher, being, according to the best estimates, over 8½ million. Then, in 1846, the crisis came, and the two subsequent years will ever be remembered as the darkest in the modern history of Ireland. It was then that the fearful effects of famine and its attendant pestilence upon the land, and millions of people without food. The sad and too familiar to need repetition scene of people streaming from the

¹ William Donnelly, C.B.; Sir William Wilde, F.R.C.S.I.; and George Abraham, LL.D.

by setting their faces towards the West, where fruitful and fertile plains offered them a more bounteous sustenance. Before was such an exodus. In five years the actual decrease in the population was computed close upon two and a half million persons, whilst the population had sunk in 1851 to a half millions.

A movement which was at first regarded as affording the most ready remedy for the unfortunate circumstances of Ireland soon, however, began to be regarded with alarm, and fears were expressed that the country would be depopulated. The Census of 1861 showed that the decrease was still going on; although the facts published were not such as to justify extreme alarm, still they were not such as to show that all fear was unfounded. However, the case is different. The Census of 1871 shows, it is believed, a further reduction in the population, but the rate of decrease is considerably less.² The population diminished in the last twenty years by 386,590, and in 1871 was 1,717,000.

Why then, we think, be assumed that the returns of the Census of 1871, and in this assumption we are justified by events which have occurred since that date—that the wave of Irish emigration has spent itself—that the population, so to speak, of Ireland and the emigrants have nearly found their level. Already it is observed that the number of persons emigrating is a great measure dependent on the state of the labour market at home; and having regard to the state of that market, and to the material prosperity of the country, it would appear that no

further violent fluctuation in the population of Ireland is probable. The state of things which caused it no longer exists, and is not likely to recur. Emigration will, of course, continue, but it will be more normal and not of such a character as to cause any fears as to the undue depopulation of the country.

Anyone familiar with the views of the Irish popular party, knows how sore a subject this one of emigration has been and is to them. The reduction of the population is, of course, mainly deplored by those who wished to make political capital out of the numbers of their followers. They apparently considered it preferable that the people should remain in poverty at home than be in comfort if not affluence elsewhere, and they professed to regard the large population of Ireland in 1845 as evidence of great national prosperity. How, in the face of the condition of the people in those years, such a view could be maintained, is a problem which we have not yet been able to solve. The great mass of the people were living on the constant verge of starvation. A miserable cabin, a small piece of ground, and a supply of potatoes which under favourable circumstances gave them food for the year, was the condition of, we do not exaggerate when we say, millions. Frequent partial famines had over and over shown the perilous position in which they were placed. The final assault proved it beyond all question. It is only quite recently, and after the lapse of many years, that the condition of the people has reached a comparatively satisfactory state, and this only when amelioration has been facilitated by that very reduction which has been so deplored.

rate of decrease between 1851 and 1861 was 11·50 per cent.; between 1861 and 1871 it was 6·67 per cent.

trained and brought up in our Government College at Madras; but if he had entered the British service he would have been deemed fortunate if after many years of arduous occupation he had attained the subordinate and inferior position of an uncovenanted deputy collector or a Sudder Ameen—posts infinitely beneath those instantly obtained as a matter of right by the newly-arrived young English competition-wallah. The very lowest, the least informed and experienced, of the *covenanted* civil servants would have been his superior. Then again there are to be found such eminent examples of high renown achieved in the government of great and powerful states as Sir Salar Jung, the Prime Minister of the Nizam of Hyderabad, and Sir Jung Bahadur, the Mayor of the Palace and the Charles Martel of Nepal. These great men have, it is true, been honoured by the Indian Government. They have had titles of honour conferred upon them, and Sir Dinkur Rao has been a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. But neither of them could by any possibility have acquired under our present system of administration the honours and distinctions they now enjoy, simply because the golden portals giving admission to such exalted careers would not have been open to them as servants of the British Crown. Does not this simple and undeniable statement alone condemn a system under which the exclusion of such men from high and honourable careers is deliberately practised?

It may be asked, where are the men whom we could employ, and how could we employ them? No lack of the right sort of aspirants need be feared. There are the sons and descendants of princes as well as of innumerable rajahs and of high-born and influential chiefs—all holding a great stake in the country, and

deeply interested in its prosperity—who, if high and honourable careers were thrown to them, would make their time to positions of great distinction in our service. Besides are the highly educated and intelligent young Hindoos—Brahmins as well as Mussulmans—who have distinguished themselves in our colleges, and who surely have been so excellently well trained for the battle of life as to be expressly to make them feel discontented. Why should we not diffuse the highest degree of knowledge and enlightenment among successive generations of young men, and yet deliberately exclude them from taking a adequate part in the administration of the affairs of their own country?

As a general rule, it may be assumed that it would not be necessary that natives of high rank and great ability should possess special mental training or peculiar intellectual acquirements. Of young military cadets, and of civilian competition-wallahs, they entered the service of the State. Character and natural aptitude for work of a special kind should weigh more than a meddling of all the arts and sciences, although such knowledge should be allowed its due weight. A spirited young Sikh, or Rajput of Rohilla, with a passable knowledge of English, and with such learning as is usually acquired by the most informed natives—such as, for example, a youthful but untutored Akbar or Sevajee might have been—ought always to bear in his person a certain passport to employment which, in course of time, might lead to high, responsible and honourable office. If Dinkur Rao and Madahva Rao were tested by a competitive examination, would probably be 'plucked' the least experienced among Indian civilians would in the

proved their superior. We require in native officials well-trained and evenly balanced knowledge and experience in all affairs, and marked executive ability combined with energy and decision of purpose; these are qualities which we cannot foster and employ wherever they are to be found. It may be that such qualities are rarely met with among the natives; but those who know India are well acquainted with such men as, for example, Maharajah Maun Singh, of Shahpore, and many others who might be named, who at once came to the aid during our time of trouble, and displayed these qualities in a high degree and are anything but rare in the country. A native ought not necessarily to be advanced to high office simply because he happens to be the son or relative of a nobleman; but never hopeful promise, high ability or well-tryed experience are no matter in what rank or age, it would be a mistake not to make use of them to the advantage.

Illustration or two will suffice to state how these views might be tried out in practice. No reason can be assigned, for example, why young natives of birth and fortune, provided they possess the necessary ability and have a passion for the pursuit of arms, should not be appointed commissioned officers in our regiments, whether of artillery, or infantry. Well-approved and long serving, having thoroughly mastered the duties and given evidence of abilities fitting them for higher posts in the service, these young men might be promoted and advanced according to their deserts to an important and responsible position. It would not be too much to expect that some of them might be appointed as second or

chief in command of a native irregular cavalry corps, precisely on the same footing and equality as English officers occupying similar positions. And indeed it is quite within the bounds of possibility that distinguished native officers should command infantry as well as cavalry regiments, and in course of time rise to even yet higher commands—with brigades under their orders containing English regiments with English lieutenant-colonels at the head of them.

No doubt this will be deemed 'a pestilent heresy' by some military men, and possibly by some Indian statesmen; but we venture to say that the soldier-statesmen of highest repute, both of the past and of the present time—men like James Outram and Henry Lawrence, Herbert Edwardes and Neville Chamberlain, Lord Lawrence and Lord Napier of Magdala—would approve of such a measure. From a purely military point of view such commands held by natives of great personal distinction, and of weight and influence among their countrymen, would entail no risk, while it might be confidently expected that the duties attached to them would be efficiently performed. No danger could by any possibility arise, while the greatest amount of good might result, from reposing so much confidence in distinguished Hindoos. From a political point of view the result would probably be highly beneficial. The meritorious recipients of such appointments could not but feel personally the highest gratification at occupying positions of exalted military rank and responsibility, while their countrymen would also feel honoured by their elevation. Of course this ideal would take a long time practically to realise, and probably but few of such high appointments would be exercised by natives at one and the same time; for they would necessarily be of an excep-

It is sufficiently obvious that had that reduction not taken place, wages would have been lower than they are now, the competition for land keener, and the amelioration of the condition of the people proportionately retarded. A diminution of the population was, in fact, absolutely necessary before any extensive improvement could take place in the condition of the people; and it appears to us quite clear that the ultimate prosperity of Ireland was to be attained with greater rapidity by this than by any other course.

The secret of the regret of the Irish popular party in this matter was to be found in the fact that the emigration of such numbers—especially since they belonged almost all to one side—effectually determined the ultimate results of the contest between Imperialism and Nationalism; and it is evident now that, even if emigration were to cease acting powerfully in this direction, there are at present other forces at work, which in a more gradual, though in a not less ultimately decisive way, will bring about the triumph of Imperialism. Amongst these forces is one noticed by the Commissioners. Speaking on facts which they had ascertained, they say:

No one can fail to be struck with the large and sustained increase from decade to decade in the several non-native elements in the population. It is quite certain that large numbers of Englishmen and Scotchmen find advantage in the transfer of their residence as well as of their capital and industry to Ireland.

It would have been better if the Commissioners had confined their observations to facts collected by themselves; but in the earlier part of their Report (p. 8) they offer some remarks upon the race elements of the Irish population, a branch of the subject highly interesting in its way, but not one

upon which they had ascertained anything new.

They say:

We are led, therefore, to the conclusion that about 50 per cent. of the Irish population of Ulster are of Scottish and English origin, the Scottish element largely predominating; while the other half, the Catholic moiety may, we think, be regarded as mainly, nay, almost wholly Celtic. Taking the people by and by, we may treat the inhabitants of the west as a mixed race, more largely Celtic, English, Scandinavian, and even elements upon the sea-board, and off into purer Celts as they go inland. The same observations are applicable to the south, though in a less degree to Munster sea-board and the interior of Munster; but the population of the eastern province may be regarded on the whole as substantially Celtic. Of the Celtic proprietary is, no doubt, largely of English origin without distinction of race, but the ethnical basis is as true now as at any period within the range of history.—Pp. 8, 9.

We cannot but think that the Commissioners in their evident anxiety (we say 'evident,' for it is evident) to give a special aspect to the Census, have estimated considerably the proportion of the population, or we ought to say have estimated the admixture with the population received from other sources. In 1672 the population was estimated by Sir William Petty at low as 1,100,000. Of that almost, if not quite, one-third was English or Scotch. A native population at times large, at times small, always constant, and but larger as the means of transport were developed, has been imported from Great Britain to Ireland for centuries. That a large admixture of English blood was constantly taking place is too plain a fact for its sequence to be questioned. It is indeed evident in the appearance of the people themselves, in whom are far removed from the true Celtic type now existing in the extreme west. We

arguments worn thread-bare to see the reverse of this proposition are well known. But the fear of native corruption would appear under the strong light which would be reflected upon positions of high public distinction, even associated with English stationaries in the most responsible offices of administration, names of the first rank in birth and ability would thoroughly understand the maxim, *Noblesse oblige*. These people could be more scrupulously careful of their reputations, more sensitive of appearances, than the high-class natives of India. Now, it will be asked, are they to be admitted to the Civil Service? It would be absurd to allow competitive examinations to Hindoos. The Viceroy has abundant opportunities of discerning the most suitable candidates for civil employment from reports of his numerous agents, agents, and governors. All the useful and promising young natives in the country—fine raw material for strengthening our political administration—are growing up under the observation of our own political officers; and out of this is a field for selection the result would hardly be altogether disappointing. Anyhow, it would not be a hazardous proceeding to make a beginning. Let the experiment be gradually and even most cautiously tried. Let it be understood and generally known that young natives of talent belonging to the ruling class may be appointed to the Civil Service on a par of equality with our own best—that they may commence their careers in the grand arena which has produced our most distinguished Indian statesmen, our Colms, our Metcalfs, and our Rennells: that will be quite enough. The spell would soon work wonders. It would be the inauguration of a new era, full of hopeful

promise and bright rejoicing, and would take its origin from the happy period remarkable for the auspicious visit of the Prince of Wales to India.

A third and last point—probably the most important of all—remains to be noticed. According to law the great landowners of India are now powerless to interfere for the preservation of order, either to punish a breach of the peace or to redress any wrong that may be committed in their immediate neighbourhood. They cannot exercise the powers entrusted even to a young English 'boy' deputy-magistrate. The latest arrived civilian, the youngest and least experienced of the competition-wallahs, may have magisterial control over a district equal in extent to half an English county; and the two or three great native landowners whose word would be law among their people, and to whom the whole of that district belongs, have to submit all their differences to the decision of the youthful and oftentimes the ignorant and inexperienced stranger. It is true that many of these landlords exercise a kind of feudal influence over their tenants and retainers, and that frequently they establish their right to administer justice among them in an informal manner; but practically in the eye of the law they are powerless, and it is still possible to travel for days through vast tracts of country wholly occupied and possessed by powerful landowners, not one of whom can exercise the rights of a deputy or of a joint magistrate.

Why should not our Government in India entrust to these influential natives the authority of justices of the peace? Why should they not be invited to assist the paid and official magistracy of their several districts in the preservation of order and in the repression of crime? Why should the men who are most

believe, by the landed proprietary alone, but by the farmers also—was too powerful to be diverted from its purpose.

Unfortunately the Census records of 1841 do not give enough information for us to trace in full the effects of the revolution, so far as they are to be seen in the number and sizes of farms. They enable us, however, to form a sufficiently definite idea on the subject, as the following table will show:

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In addition to this, the returns give some interesting information as to the amount of capital invested in live stock, which shows plainly the direction that the agricultural producing powers of the country have taken.

In 1841 a scale of value of live stock was fixed in accordance with the opinions of several experienced agriculturists. A horse or mule was valued at 8*l.*, asses at 1*l.*, cattle at 6*l.* 10*s.*, sheep at 1*l.* 5*s.*, poultry at 6*l.*, and in that year all the live stock was enumerated and their total value given as 21,105,000*l.* Each succeeding decade showed a considerable increase, and in 1871 the live stock had so increased in numbers as to be valued at 37,515,000*l.*, a figure which we need scarcely say is far from representing the actual increase in value which has taken place.

So far, then, as regards the agricultural condition of the country, the Census of 1871 shows that things are continuing in the direction that was so apparent in 1861; the preference for larger farms is still observable, and the agricultural energies of the country are still directed to the production of live

stock. Whether these circumstances are proofs of the progress of the country is hotly disputed in Ireland: the agriculturists themselves, however, are the best judges in the matter; no constraint whatever is put on them, and it may safely be concluded that they would not continue in the course they are taking if they did not find it advantageous.

The population of Ireland having been almost wholly an agricultural one, the decrease which took place consequent upon the famine was of course in the main in the agricultural portion of it, though it was to a certain extent perceptible in the civic population. Now, however, though the agricultural population is still diminishing, the civic population is somewhat increasing; and it is satisfactory to find that the principal places that show an increase in the decade are towns which are becoming the highway of the trade of the country, and where manufacturing industry is growing and prospering.

The only information which the Census affords as regards the physical comfort of the people is as to their house accommodation; and inasmuch as the houses of a country are an index to the condition of its inhabitants, it is very satisfactory to find a considerable improvement recorded. In 1821 the Census Commissioners stated that there were 1,142,602 inhabited houses. Subsequent Commissioners found, however, that the mere number was of very little use, and so in 1841 the houses were classified. In the fourth or lowest class were comprised all mud cabins, having only one room; in the third class a better description of cottage, still built of mud, but varying from two to four rooms and windows; in the second good farmhouse, or in towns a house in a small street having from five to nine windows; and in the first class all houses of a better description.

l quickly followed; but out as come good. The country a regenerated, and we now ere see contentment and ty among the people, and ce and loyalty among their

No cloud is on the horizon, e and rejoicing are in every Never have the prospects e seemed more reasonably

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prospects is that we are still too widely separated in feeling and opinion, and in the ordinary every-day business of life, from our Indian fellow-subjects. Probably for two or three generations to come caste will still succeed, even among the upper ten thousand of the natives, in keeping the two races too much apart. But it is possible for the rulers and the ruled, in the manner here suggested, without actually eating one another's salt at the same table, to acquire habits of mutual esteem and confidence, and to cultivate intimate personal friendship, to each other's advantage and to the benefit of the State. And if this should happily be the result of the Prince's visit, the Hindoos may at some far distant future be taught to look back upon the appearance of his Royal Highness in India as a more auspicious event than any Avatar known to their mythology.

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powerful for good be deliberately banned and interdicted from all interference with civil government, unless indeed to make them powerful for evil—to drive them into the wilderness of distrust, and compel them to become our secret and bitter enemies instead of our avowed and steadfast friends? Are these the men whom we ought to fear or of whom we ought to be jealous; and if we cannot safely entrust to them the ordinary magisterial powers which every English gentleman of landed estate may exercise in his own country, what opinion can we entertain of the good-will of the people, and of the security of our hold upon the country?

It is needless to seek for illustrations of the exceeding folly and the terrible mischief of such a policy of unwise and undeserved mistrust. The history of the great Mutiny is full of them. Baboo Kower Singh of Jugdespore, who welcomed with open arms the Dinapore mutineers, who besieged the heroic little garrison at Arrah, and carried on open war for months against our flying columns, was one of the men whom our system had politically excommunicated, and whom we gave over to be ruled by fledgeling deputy-magistrates. The Nawab of Furruckabad, who hounded our officers and their wives and children down the river Ganges from Futtygurh to the slaughter-house at Cawnpore, was another man of the same class. It is sad to think what might have been done by such men to save the lives of our people in the day of their great trouble, had they only desired to throw into the scale their influence for good and not for evil. But we have now to think not what these men became, but what it may be in our power to make men of the same class at the present day.

We may take it for granted that these are the people whom we ought by every means in our power to

is in the preservation and throughout the Confidence would not be away upon them; and possible they should receive the officials of the Government every mark of honour and Such is not often the case! But the universal practice be—whereas it is now the exception—that wherever of purpose and fidelity State, and a desire to take public affairs, were manifest natives of rank or by the of great estates, they should be invited to assume the functions of honorary magistrates in the districts, and to aid by their influence and presence in practicable the Civil Service of the Crown.

Twenty years have passed since Lord Dalhousie handed to Lord Canning the government of our Indian Empire.

India at peace—a most peace, it is true. Not a big as a man's hand was to be seen on the political But, as the retiring Viceroy one could tell when the might not appear and spread gloom over the whole bringing with it the des hurricane of war. Ominous Direct foreboding soon to be beyond saddest and darkest tions! The broken-down state with intellect still bright and getic, went home to die, behind him a dreaded as only the shadow of his great The oppressive political and stagnation that enshrouded the coming storm. definable sense of impending mity seemed present to every The reins of power had passed the nerveless grasp of his successor. And with his terminated for ever the but brilliant era of ascendancy

A terrible revenge and a

quickly followed; but out of some good. The country has been generated, and we now see contentment and loyalty among the people, and a cloud is on the horizon, and rejoicing are in every corner. We have the prospects opened more reasonably. The Prince's visit has with splendid effect this effect of affairs, and created expectations of yet a new era of happiness to come among the people. Again the Governor-General has been a glorious prospect of the victories of peace renowned than those of the promising harvest we may be reaped, and the expectations of the people legitimately fulfilled, I have endeavoured to show. I have a anxious thought that disconcerts the serenity of our future prospects is that we are still too widely separated in feeling and opinion, and in the ordinary everyday business of life, from our Indian fellow-subjects. Probably for two or three generations to come caste will still succeed, even among the upper ten thousand of the natives, in keeping the two races too much apart. But it is possible for the rulers and the ruled, in the manner here suggested, without actually eating one another's salt at the same table, to acquire habits of mutual esteem and confidence, and to cultivate intimate personal friendship, to each other's advantage and to the benefit of the State. And if this should happily be the result of the Prince's visit, the Hindoos may at some far distant future be taught to look back upon the appearance of his Royal Highness in India as a more auspicious event than any Avatar known to their mythology.

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THE IRISH CENSUS OF 1871.

IT may seem rather late to offer any remarks on a Census taken so long since as the year 1871, but it was not until February 1876 that the Irish Census Commissioners¹ presented to Parliament their 'General Report' of the Census taken in Ireland in that year.

The dry records of such works are uninviting to the general reader, and but few persons are found to undertake the labour of their perusal; and yet upon many matters of vast import to the Empire they afford a most valuable amount of information. With us, the narrative recorded in their pages is one of steady progress, a progress varying only in degree; but in Ireland events have not run in so even a course. Since the first Census, Ireland has passed through what may be designated as almost a social revolution, a fact which would of itself be sufficient to give a special interest to the Census records of that country; but when we consider the double contest which is unintermittingly being fought there—the one a contest between Imperialism and what, for lack of a more exact term, we must call Nationalism; the other a contest between the principles of Romanism and those of Protestantism or Liberalism—then indeed the interest is heightened, and we turn with eagerness to the Census Commissioners for some light upon the strife, and for some information which will enable us to ascertain the side to which victory is inclining.

The Irish Census is therefore

mainly of importance in aspect, and it is from view that we propose the materials which be placed at the disposal. To the great body of tables, the maps, and th we freely accord the hi but as regards the 'regret that we are by able to speak so favour

The variation in the the population is natur matter to be noticed. year of the first authen Ireland had 6,801,827 i Up to that time the pop been steadily growing i increase had indeed b raged by the political i ginated in 1792 by the liament, and had been by the peculiar nature e of the people; and al 1825 and 1828 measures v by the Imperial Parliam to correct the former errors, their effect coul but slow. By 1841, in sp igration, which was als derable, the population 8,175,000. Five years h still higher, being, accord best estimates, over 8½ mil then, in 1846, the crime and the two subsequent ever be remembered as i in the modern history of it was then that the fearful of famine and its attend upon the land, and million without food. The sad d too familiar to need repeti people streamed from th

¹ William Donnelly, C.B.; Sir William Wilde, F.R.C.S.I.; and Gen Abraham, LL.D.

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a bounteous sustenance.
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ive years the actual de-
he population was com-
close upon two and a
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remedy for the unfortu-
stances of Ireland soon,
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Census of 1861 showed
crease was still going on;
the facts published were
as to justify extreme
they were not such as
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spent itself—that the
to speak, of Ireland and
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ady it is observed that
of persons emigrating
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ate of the labour market
; and having regard to
that market, and to the
material prosperity of
would appear that no

further violent fluctuation in the
population of Ireland is probable.
The state of things which caused
it no longer exists, and is not
likely to recur. Emigration will,
of course, continue, but it will be
more normal and not of such a
character as to cause any fears as
to the undue depopulation of the
country.

Anyone familiar with the views of
the Irish popular party, knows how
sore a subject this one of emigration
has been and is to them. The reduc-
tion of the population is, of course,
mainly deplored by those who wished
to make political capital out of the
numbers of their followers. They
apparently considered it preferable
that the people should remain in
poverty at home than be in comfort
if not affluence elsewhere, and they
professed to regard the large popu-
lation of Ireland in 1845 as evi-
dence of great national prosperity.
How, in the face of the condition of
the people in those years, such a
view could be maintained, is a
problem which we have not yet
been able to solve. The great mass
of the people were living on the
constant verge of starvation. A
miserable cabin, a small piece of
ground, and a supply of potatoes
which under favourable circum-
stances gave them food for the year,
was the condition of, we do not exag-
gerate when we say, millions. Fre-
quent partial famines had over and
over shown the perilous position in
which they were placed. The final
assault proved it beyond all question.
It is only quite recently, and after
the lapse of many years, that the
condition of the people has reached a
comparatively satisfactory state, and
this only when amelioration has
been facilitated by that very reduc-
tion which has been so deplored.

of decrease between 1851 and 1861 was 11·50 per cent.; between 1861
as 6·67 per cent.

It is sufficiently obvious that had that reduction not taken place, wages would have been lower than they are now, the competition for land keener, and the amelioration of the condition of the people proportionately retarded. A diminution of the population was, in fact, absolutely necessary before any extensive improvement could take place in the condition of the people; and it appears to us quite clear that the ultimate prosperity of Ireland was to be attained with greater rapidity by this than by any other course.

The secret of the regret of the Irish popular party in this matter was to be found in the fact that the emigration of such numbers—especially since they belonged almost all to one side—effectually determined the ultimate results of the contest between Imperialism and Nationalism; and it is evident now that, even if emigration were to cease acting powerfully in this direction, there are at present other forces at work, which in a more gradual, though in a not less ultimately decisive way, will bring about the triumph of Imperialism. Amongst these forces is one noticed by the Commissioners. Speaking on facts which they had ascertained, they say:

No one can fail to be struck with the large and sustained increase from decade to decade in the several non-native elements in the population. It is quite certain that large numbers of Englishmen and Scotchmen find advantage in the transfer of their residence as well as of their capital and industry to Ireland.

It would have been better if the Commissioners had confined their observations to facts collected by themselves; but in the earlier part of their Report (p. 8) they offer some remarks upon the race elements of the Irish population, a branch of the subject highly interesting in its way, but not one

upon which they had seen anything new.

They say:

We are led, therefore, to the fact that about 50 per cent. of the population of Ulster are of Scottish and origin, the Scottish element being dominating; while the other 50 per cent. Catholic moiety may, we think, be regarded as mainly, nay, almost as Celtic. Taking the people by and large, we may treat the inhabitants of Ireland as a mixed race, more largely of English, Scandinavian, and other elements upon the sea-board, and passing off into purer Celts as they go inland. The same observations are applicable to the south-west of Munster; but the population of the eastern province may be regarded as substantially Celtic. Of the propriety of this, no doubt, large numbers in origin without distinction of but the ethnical basis is as true now as at any period within the range of history.—Pp. 8, 9.

We cannot but think that the Commissioners in their evident (we say 'evident,' for it is not displayed) to give a special aspect to the Census, have estimated considerably the portion of the population, or we ought to say have estimated the admixture of population received from other sources. In 1672 the population was estimated by Sir William low as 1,100,000. Of that almost, if not quite, one-third was English or Scotch. A third at times large, at times small, always constant, and increasing as the means of transport were developed, has been passing from Great Britain to Ireland for centuries. That a large admixture of English blood was taking place is too plain a consequence to be questioned, indeed evident in the appearance of the people themselves, and in the fact that they are so far removed from the true Celtic type now existing in the west. We

to admit that the races amalgamate as freely as expected, but it is against and experience to suppose no connections were between them; and yet it on this absurd hypothesis conclusion could be admitted the Roman Catholic the inhabitants of Ulster are universally 'Celts.' It is a very gross fallacy to regard Roman Catholics as Celts. It is that no such sharp lines are marked out, and such lines as become each day fainter. It means to say that the difference between the races is ever, but we do say that it is closing a close, and that we have but one conclusion. The facilities of communication and the now constant intercourse between the countries, the change of modes of life and all tend to obliterate the differences of race; and though it is still distant when an examination of the race elements of the population of Ireland will be as practically useful as an examination of the population of England would now be, it is not the less certain. The struggle between the Celtic and English—is to a certain extent a type of that between the races; and the ultimate result of 'Nationalism' against 'Anglicanism' is—all things considered about as probable as the prevalence of the Celtic

in the first year in which a census is given of the Irish population, 1,524,286 persons (23.3 per cent.) were capable of speaking Irish, and there were 319,602 who spoke Irish only. The next year showed a considerable falling off: in 1861 there were 1,105,536 who spoke English and

Irish, and of these 163,275 spoke Irish only. In 1871 the numbers had further decreased, 817,875 spoke English and Irish, of which number 103,562 spoke Irish only. It would appear, then, that the Irish language is fast dying out. There is, indeed, nothing to induce its continuance, whilst there is much to discourage it. There is no modern Irish literature—as there is Welsh—to fix and perpetuate it, whilst to know Irish only is a serious disadvantage. A very small number of children now speak it, and it is probable that, except in some of the most inaccessible districts of Ireland, Irish as a spoken language will die out with the present generation.

Having thus noticed what some will think the most interesting feature of the Census, we may proceed to enquire as to some of the changes which have taken place in the distribution and condition of the people.

Far apart as at first sight the cause and effect may appear, it is indubitable that to free trade must be in the main attributed those changes which have effected such a marked alteration in the state of Ireland. The adoption of that policy gave a new direction to the agricultural producing powers of the country, and let them fall from an artificial into a natural channel. The transition from a corn-producing system of agriculture to a cattle-producing one resulted in the consolidation of farms and in the reduction of the rural population—the new system standing less in need of a large agricultural population than the former. It was in vain that the people resolutely and sternly set themselves against the change, trying to bolster up the existence of a state of things no longer possible under the altered circumstances of the times; but the force of self-interest—a self-interest evinced not, as Irish agitators would have us

believe, by the landed proprietary alone, but by the farmers also—was too powerful to be diverted from its purpose.

Unfortunately the Census records of 1841 do not give enough information for us to trace in full the effects of the revolution, so far as they are to be seen in the number and sizes of farms. They enable us, however, to form a sufficiently definite idea on the subject, as the following table will show:

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	1841	1871
.	40,080	60,483
.	264,184	381,114
.	533,297	363,042
.	491,278	156,741

is considered that the ber of a family in Ire- , we at once see how rtion of the population l its condition in this spect.

pations of the people m an important part of out for obvious reasons e not so tangible as in s. The classification is has been frequently d no extended or ac- arisons are therefore rthermore, the inherent ' classification and the correct information are , prevent our attaching to the information it has been ascertained. portion of the Census iven up to this branch t; but from the neces- lusive nature of the obtained, it is doubtful result is a sufficient for the labour be-

and education of the people—a part which is very interesting, but from want of some supplemental information not falling within the province of the Census Commis- sioners, not so valuable as it other- wise would be.

The first approximately accurate enumeration of the people, accord- ing to their religious belief, was made in 1834, and the result was as follows:

Members of the Established Church		853,160
Presbyterians		643,058
Protestant Dissenters		21,822
Roman Catholic		1,518,040
		6,436,060
		7,954,100

No very great degree of con- fidence is to be placed in the accuracy of these figures, and it was not until 1861 that the first really accurate account was obtained. There were in that year:

Roman Catholics	4,505,265
Established Church	693,357
Protestant Dissenters	581,154

And now we have another accurate account. The figures are:

Roman Catholics	4,150,867
Established Church	667,998
Protestant Dissenters	566,000

we are with the Census he political than the of view, we shall not of branch of the sub- ve we space to ad- t may be called the the Census. Strange e found as regards the e people, and their Much information is as regards their in- their misfortunes; the b, the blind, the mad are numbered and set ir increase or decrease e will proceed at once portant part—namely, ed with the religion

And the changes are thus summed up by the Commissioners:

In each of the three great Churches, Roman Catholic, Episcopal Protestant, and Presbyterian, there has been an absolute decrease for the whole country, between 1861 and 1871 of 354,398 Roman Catho- lics, 25,359 Episcopal Protestants, and 25,643 Presbyterians. In virtue of its greater proportionate losses, the Roman Catholic population has declined during the decade 1 per cent. The Protestant Episcopalian population, in virtue of its more moderate losses, has advanced 4 per cent., and the Presbyterian 2 per cent.

It is evident, therefore, that an alteration has taken place in both the absolute and relative numbers of the various denominations within

the decade, whilst it is equally manifest, though not quite so capable of proof, that a very decided one has taken place since 1845—the proportion of Roman Catholics to Protestants in Ireland is now not quite so much as four to one. Although this alteration in the decade is thus faithfully recorded, we have no means of ascertaining exactly how the changes have been effected, or whether any change is taking place in the religious convictions of the people. The Census Commissioners consider that the decline of the population in each of the great Churches has been in the ratio of the element which each contained of poor and struggling members; and their conclusion is, no doubt, in the main correct. The emigration returns could settle the point if they gave the religion of the emigrants, which they, unfortunately, do not. It may however, we think, be concluded that no religious movement of any importance has taken place. Whatever the reason, it appears almost as if the days have passed when any rapid change of religion on an extended scale is probable. Certain it is, with us at least, that the days have passed when efforts are made to alter the religion of the people by legislation. The matter has, in fact, passed out of the control of the State into the hands of the rival sects themselves.

The Census Commissioners should have confined themselves as closely as possible to facts they had ascertained. Had they done so they would not have laid themselves open to the charge of partisanship. We may quote the two following passages, which are neither more nor less than an effort to excite sympathy in behalf of one class of the population of Ireland as against the other. They say:

When we have regard to the fact that historical causes, which it is outside our province to discuss, have placed one sec-

tion, and at the largest, at a stage as regards that is causes account of this class section all possi of property, position, and a to a date almost within men

And further on they:

Thus, the Roman Catholic, which, without relation to the ment of its adherents by through confiscation of prop, clusion from office, professions &c. &c.

Passages such as these blemishes in the work, they undoubtedly do, a tisan tinge. They at found no place in a State which, from its very nat be an uncoloured statement and the Census Commis pear to us to have co limits of their duty is to matters not within t sance.

Blamable, however, as passages, when we co subject of Education we more strongly to be e In the matter of pris tion their remarks are f and the facts recorded resting. The system e Education, which was i in 1831 by Lord Derby, be bearing fruit, and th sioners

feel persuaded that Ireland is a road perhaps to the redemption within the narrowest attainable most countries in Christendom

In 1841, of every 1000 persons 53 were illiterate; the percentage had dropped in 1861 it was reduced to 30; in 1871 it had fallen to 15. The decrease of illiteracy, however, is not a satisfactory way of measuring the advance in education; has been a decrease of 10 per cent. in the population; but other signs of advance have been shown. During the decade the number of persons who could read and write increased 8 per cent.; and

tion of 5,400,000 persons, re under instruction.

results are undoubtedly far as they go, and speak in favour of the present f national education in

ommissioners do not, howe so favourable an account ogress of higher education. :

e head of superior instruction— ich, according to old Census prises all teaching not strictly —the movement, which un- are unable to call progress, 51 and 1871 is, upon the whole, of gratifying.—P. 162.

received 'superior' in- in 1861; in 1871 the was 24,170.

; stated this fact, the Com- s say, 'Commentary would eaken the emphasis of ch as these,' and then they assault all along the line present system of superior n in Ireland. No pains to conceal a bitter animus he State universities and he endowed schools; no ty is lost of soliciting a behalf of the Roman institutions. We have not many extracts. Referring crease of 785 they say :

ts all that has to be registered State universities lavishly en- an establishment* which without gnition administers university and is generously supported by y tax; for schools of royal 'having a more than respectable m endowment and from fees; colleges and schools whose bare s a proof of energy and sacri- or individual efforts whose strain he reach of any test that can be t by us.—P. 163.

, when they proceed to be figures with reference eligious elements of the n, they say :

This increase (of 335 in the number of Roman Catholics receiving superior instruction) is confessedly a slender contribution from a population comprising more than 4,000,000; but, if we take into account that, as regards intermediate education, the Roman Catholics are absolutely destitute of State provision, and that, as regards university teaching, a great majority of their number hold themselves debarred from the advantages of university instruction as administered by the State, some credit will perhaps be thought due to the Roman Catholics.

The number of Protestant Episcopalians receiving superior instruction has decreased 269.

Surely this is a remarkable fact. Up to within a very recent period university instruction existed in the national university for their almost exclusive advantage, and in the Queen's University they had, as they still have, an establishment from the benefit of whose teaching they are shut out by no conscientious scruples; while in the domain of intermediate instruction they still possess the absolute monopoly of State endowment, which has been theirs for close upon two centuries.—P. 165.

The number of non-Episcopal Protestants receiving superior instruction shows the largest increase (719). Still, say the Commissioners :

It is evident, upon the whole, that the progress of higher instruction in Ireland is painfully slow, and that something must be done to stimulate it.

It is not our intention at present to enter on any discussion of the education question, but it is not the less necessary to point out that the conclusions of the Commissioners are based on imperfect materials. Any figures bearing upon the progress of the people of Ireland in higher education must be incomplete, from the fact that very large numbers of Irishmen resort to England for their education, of which numbers the Commissioners have no possible cognisance. Any one with any knowledge of Ireland knows that the majority of people who can afford to send their

* The 'Catholic University.'

children to England for their education prefer to do so. In the presence of this fact, and in ignorance of the numbers, the Commissioners were not justified in venturing on such conclusions.

It is not improbable that the subject of higher education in Ireland will again soon be agitated, and these passages of the Census Commissioners may be quoted as of considerable weight; we have therefore thought it but right to show that in this matter their statements are valueless. How far the Commissioners are justified in perverting an important State document of such a character as the Census into the medium of a partisan attack upon existing institutions we leave it to others to decide. We will only say that a very careful perusal of their Report suggests at once very grave considerations as to the propriety of leaving them on future occasions that freedom which, as it appears to us, in the present case has been to no small extent abused.

We must, however, hasten to a conclusion. The work, with its good points and with its bad, is now unalterable, and in spite of these latter, we hope it will receive the attention it merits. Mainly, however, is the study of the details to be desired, for these details bring home very closely to each district the state of the people living therein. Great benefits might result if those who have an interest in the state of Ireland would inform themselves as regards their own neighbourhoods, and if they would endeavour to remove the evils now so clearly brought to view. Much we find that is satisfactory, but there are conclusions to be drawn from the work which are not only eminently unsatisfactory, but which should afford the highest stimulus to any individual, party, or Government, having at heart the interests of Ireland and the interests of her

people. What a fact to one-third of the population are illiterate! What Catholic bishops and fighting over the education of 40 per cent. of the Roman population are illiterate! Protestant Episcopalians, as to whether they were the national system or no per cent. of them are illiterate! Presbyterians nearly 10 per cent. are illiterate.

Look, too, at the housing of the people, whether in the town or country—in how many the dwellings utterly unfit for human beings. Surely something might be done in the way of improvement, in the power of the Government in the way of removing these evils will, we are sure, be readily done; but it lies mainly with those in authority in the localities, at the same time are helped by local knowledge to form it.

These are matters which materially affect the people, and are more or less within the scope of legislation and persons to remedy; but that legislation may not cause us to lose more general purport of information which has been our former knowledge, it relates to what lies almost beyond the reach of legislation, we will not say a moment, and in conclusion the history of Ireland as a whole (the Census returns) over a period than has been the present Report. That it may be likened to the course of a river which, taking its rise in the mountains, has been to multitudes through rough, dashing and foaming in its course, bending in its direction, now in a full, swelling conjecture as it was flowing. Suddenly

cliff diverts its waters, forward its course is Even now as we follow one is rapidly changing er, the distinctive features er landscape are fading istance, and soon, as it eloquently expressed in ase, the river

ided down into the plain to of the waters from which, as ountain, the united fortunes of (and Ireland) will flow on to n destiny.

islative union is three- f a century old. The nion of the two countries yet taken place, but fact, being rapidly ap- everything is tending in tion, and though legisla- behind, perpetuating, and eating anew, distinctions as unnecessary as they

are pernicious, there are great social, commercial, and moral forces at work, which with irresistible strength are impelling the countries towards the long-desired consummation. There are those who from perverted views still wish to keep the two countries apart, but all their efforts show only more clearly the feebleness of their powers and the hopelessness of their task. A more correct public opinion has latterly come to be formed upon Irish questions. It is clear now to all who are not blinded by ecclesiastical fanaticism or so-called national enthusiasm that the future prosperity of Ireland, material and political, lies in her union with Great Britain, and it is, we are happy to say, becoming ever clearer that the desired result will in process of time be actually attained.



Drayton.

names of all the principals except that of the hero. In Lodge's novel the three are Saladyne, Ferdinand, and Sir John de Shakespeare has transferred into Oliver, Jaques, and Sir Rowland de Bois, intimately connected with the Charlemagne cycle, and the scenes were laid in the twelfth century, while the names of Lodge's association with it. Some of the romance are also in the play. The wrestling before the Duke reads like a shadow of the fame of Charlemagne which are intimately connected with the Orlando and Angelica. The incident of Orlando's in the forest banquet to demand for his starving follower is founded upon the romance, in which then in the days of his and poverty, steals meat from the table of the Emperor to want of his mother. The also which Touchstone's Sir Oliver Martext—

O sweet Oliver!
O brave Oliver!

is one originally address
youngest and most amere
Paladina. In Lodge's
usurping duke is not dire
his purpose by the pie
of the old hermit, but i
and killed by the Twelv
France; and this no doe
link of association w
Shakespeare to these ro
The A lennes of Bel
the A of Warwick
both s in the canal
The x and of the Ma

. of what resounds
 In fables or romance of Uther's son,
 Begirt with British and Armoric knights,
 And all who since, baptiz'd or infidel,
 Jousted in Asramont or Montalban,
 Or whom Biserta sent from Afric shore, -
 When Charlemain with all his peerage fell
 By Fontarabbia.

The 'story of Troy divine' which seems to have possessed an especial fascination for that glorious imagination, was manifestly derived from Le Febvre's romance, rather than from more classical sources. Traces of the influences of Perceforest may be found in *Cymbeline* and *Lear*, and of Amadis in the *Winter's Tale*. Bevis also is quoted in *Lear*, and Cœur de Lion in *King John*. In like manner, we think that *As You Like It* presents a savour of the Paladin romances. In this delightful pastoral, Shakespeare has followed very closely his original, the *Euphues Golden Legacy* of Lodge, but he has changed the

of the *Paladin cycle*. Ariosto places the two love and hatred, which depend on adventures of charm or weary the in the forty-six books of *Furioso*.

One, and love him pained;
Other, and his love dis-

n which turned love
s built by Merlin of
ster, and, as described
anslated by Tofte,

, adorning it so bright
w sun-like made to shine.

ance will remember
iant shrine was the
weary peregrinations
ss Sir Tristram, al-
ys eluded his search.
the scene of the ad-
e famous Four Sons of
necromancer Mangis,
t of the Carlovingian
euse country abounds
ociated with this ro-
this day the Walloon
ve that Bayardo, the
ed of Rinaldo, lives
tnesses of the forest,
inter's nights may be
g across the desolate
district. A trace of
of Maugis may also,
und in Shakespeare's
blind, it will be re-
sonates a boy who is

. forest born,
tored in the rudiments
ite studies by his uncle,
s to be a great magician
circle of this forest;

rated *cruz*, the 'duc-
n in the song of
intended to ridicule
of spirits, a form of
popular in Elizabe-
table-turning is now.
l little ballad has
lar fortune to have
by John Bunyan in
st poetical lines ever

produced by his crabbed muse—the song of Mr. Valiant-for-Truth in the second part of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and is, we think, the only trace of Shakespeare to be found in his works. The particular turn which Bunyan gave to the third verse—

Hobgoblin, nor foul fiend
Can daunt his spirit—

seems to show that he understood the allusion in this light.

Of all the forests of Britain, that of Arden was the most illustrious, not excluding that of Calydon, so well known to the Knights of Arthur, or that named after the enchanter Darnant, whose dark and intricate glades were pierced by Perceforest. It was the land of Guy of Warwick and the fair Felicia, of Raynburn their son, of Sir Harold his preceptor, and last, not least, of the great St. George himself. The story of Guy is the *legenda aurea* of the Warwickshire woodland. Both Ritson and Ellis have been strangely unjust to the merits of this production, which, after the Arthurian legends, we hold to be by far the most attractive of the native romances; and none perhaps is so deeply tinged with the air of sadness which mediæval Christianity impressed upon the old heroic tales. The young knight wins the hand of his Felicia after a weary time of probation, in which he has performed the most redoubtable exploits but after a few weeks' enjoyment becomes smitten with a passionate penitence for the sins of his errantry. Giants and paynims had been slaughtered for earthly, not for heavenly love. In the hope of obtaining forgiveness he leaves his bride, and sets out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, from which he returns, after years of toil and struggle, a way-worn old man. Disguised as a palmer he enters his own castle, and receives alms from the hands of his wife,

who has spent the long years of his absence in deeds of piety and charity. Sick of the world and its honours, the old hero will not break in upon her holy life, but retires to a hermitage in the adjoining forest, and only makes himself known to her when he is at the point of death. The romance of Guy was very popular, and, together with its offshoot, Sir Harold d'Arden, had been at a very early period translated into Italian and Spanish. The scene also of a portion of *Tirante the White*,—one of the few romances spared by the Canon in the purgation of Don Quixote's library, is laid in Arden. The illustrious Tirante, journeying in the forest, loses his way, and allowing his horse to choose a road for himself, is led by a fortunate chance to the hermitage of Guy at the precise moment that the old knight is preparing to go to the assistance of the King of England, who was closely besieged in Warwick Castle by the King of the Canary Islands! In this way the adventures of Guy were dovetailed into the general system of the chivalric romances, and our Warwickshire forest and its legend were as well known to the dames of Naples and Castile as to those of England.

It was probably the halo of mystery and romance that hung over this district which induced the author of the *History of the Seven Champions* to select it for the scene of the story of St. George. With a courage beyond all praise, Richard Johnson rescued our national champion from the alien plains of Cappadocia, and gave him birth at Coventry. The saint afterwards, it is true, visited the East, but the neighbourhood of his native city was the scene of most of his adventures. It was at Coventry that he tore the fair Sabra from the stake, and to this city he was brought to die, after receiving a mortal wound in a

desperate encounter with 'the infectious dragon with a twisting' on Danesmore Heath thus revenged the death of a fellow of Egypt. Not far from this city, amongst the woods of Arden, was the 'desolate and some den' in which the fell enchantress Kalyb, 'the Lady of Woods,' had imprisoned the champions of Christendom.

The ancient forest of Arden is said to have extended from Trent in the North to the Sever in the South. The Warwickshire portion has long since been cleared and cultivated; but a colour of the old character still lingers over the land, which may be likened to a country-bred beauty, whose rustic breeding often peeps through the mask of town life and fashion. Woods and spinnies of old are scattered about the rich lands, and there is a wealth of timber in the wide double hedges which fringe the fields and the Every now and then, even in the best-cultivated districts, we come with a break of wild scenery on a miniature scale, some tiny overgrown with gorse and bracken or clump of antique oaks and old thorns, rescued from a future as a modern game preserve which remind one of the days when the red deer were the only bu of Arden. Here also flourishes great luxuriance the sessile flood oak, an almost certain proof of unbroken soil; for it is planted for timber, and has descended no doubt from the stock which flourished in the of Mercia. Massive beams and chestnut, mellowed by age, a warm brown tint, enter into the construction of the houses and farmsteads, and at a time when timber was cheap and abundant. Traces also of the liness and insecurity of former may still be found in the manor houses, once so com-

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furnace wholly doth devour.
In times a time when there
more wood left for fuel,

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fire shall be so sore distrest,
it draws the lank and empty

lips shall freeze unto the brest.

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Canarian latitudes in which it was
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the spot where Montanus and Cory-
don mingle their woes :

The ground where they sate was diapered
with Flora's riches, as if she ment to wrap
Tellus in the glorie of her vestments :
round about, in the forme of an amphi-
theater, were most curiously planted pine-
trees, interseamed with lymons and citrons,
which, with the thicknesse of their boughes,
so shadowed the place that Phœbus could
not pree into the secret of that harbour.

Compare this with the 'neighbour
bottom,' and

The rank of osiers by the murmuring
stream ;

or the old oak—

... whose boughs were moss'd with age,
And high top bald with dry antiquity.

Bojardo's *Ardenna* is rather less Arcadian than that of Lodge, but has little that reminds one of the Ardennes. The principal feature is a river, that 'parls of love apace,'

Amongst whose bankes all flowers by nature's hand

(As if the spring had been in prime) were plast,

And o'er the foorde for shadow there was scene

The beechen tree, the pine and olive greene.

The background of Shakespeare's picture, and all the accessories, are equally in keeping with the English forest. The 'acres of the rye,' the 'two gipsies on one horse,' the 'careless herd full of the pasture,' the 'butterwoman's rank to market,' are all scenes which must have been familiar to the poet in his youthful days. Of a similar character also are the allusions in the talk of Rosalind, to whom the poet, with a delicate touch of art, has given a pretty affectation of forest craft and the pastoral life, as when she compares herself to the coney, 'which dwells where she is kindled,' and promises Orlando to wash his liver 'as clean as a sound sheep's heart,' or scolds Sylvius for following Phoebe

Like foggy south puffing with wind and rain,

or chaffs Touchstone about 'graffing.' The forest shepherds, too, are genuine shepherds, whose hands are 'tarred over with the surgery of the sheep,' and not the fine-fingered gentlemen of the romances who only masquerade in pastoral attire. It may be said broadly that the Arden of *As You Like It* is more English or less in the proportion in which Shakespeare has adhered to or diverged from the original forest.

Much paper has been spoiled by the commentators about Touchstone's comparison of Orlando's verses to 'the right butterwoman's rank to market.' The allusion is no doubt explained by the farm-

wife's manner of carrying herter, which seems in some manner have been peculiar to the vale of the Avon—one of the richest counties in England. Ma the well-known writer upon culture, visited this district in and was so much struck by the process, that he has left an account of it.

The butter is brought to market in pound pats, packed up in square baskets which are invariably of one form, the long cube, with a bow handle in the middle, and with two lids hinged upon a cross-piece under the bow. The basket is put into a kind of wall poise at the opposite end of the scale, which being strapped tightly to the horse with the heavy end in the off-side, the dairymaid mounts, and her own weight preserves the balance.

With this explanation Touchstone's criticism becomes intelligible. He had, doubtless, often seen a number of these ladies on their way to Warwick or Evesham.

It was at Wilmecote or Wilmecote, an outlying hamlet in the parish of Aston Cantelow, 'on the fringe of the forest,' and within sight of the supposed native village of the poet, that John Shakespeare, father of the poet, found his wife Mary Arden. Her father, John Arden, was a substantial yeoman who farmed lands which he had longed to his ancestors since the Conquest. In England the only records of the family are safe from the devouring of Time are those relating to the property, and of this old farmer's personal belongings we know as much or more than of those of his illustrious grandson. Of Shakespeare's personal history we are almost entirely ignorant; no human being thought it worth his while to chronicle a specimen of his talk, or to leave on record a fact relating to the production of his works. But of his estate, his holdings, his leases and mortgages we have the most minute particulars.

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district, and of which specimen may still be seen at Lapworth, arrow, Baddesley, and Pack. In the time of Shakespeare forest had already been much cleared, but enough remained to make it the chief of the midland forests. The smiths of Birmingham were even then laying the foundation of the great iron industry and the charcoal-burners were busy at work to supply their needs. In the *Muse's Elysium*, Milton introduces an ancient prophet, who had been driven from his home by these proceedings, complaining that

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 merging the two characters into
 one!

With the exceptions mentioned,
 the scenery of Shakespeare's forest
 resembles that of the Warwick-
 shire one, presenting in this re-
 spect a striking contrast to that
 described in Lodge's work, which
 abounds in groves of myrtle and
 orange, the result probably of the
 Canarian latitudes in which it was
 written. Here is a description of
 the spot where Montanus and Cory-
 don mingle their woes :

The ground where they sate was diapered
 with Flora's riches, as if she ment to wrap
 Tellus in the glorie of her vestments :
 round about, in the forme of an amphi-
 theater, were most curiously planted pine-
 trees, interseamed with lymons and citrons,
 which, with the thickness of their boughes,
 so shadowed the place that Phœbus could
 not prie into the secret of that arbour.

Compare this with the 'neighbour
 bottom,' and

The rank of osiers by the murmuring
 stream ;

or the old oak—

. . . whose boughs were moss'd with age,
 And high top bald with dry antiquity.

Bojardo's *Ardenna* is rather less Arcadian than that of Lodge, but has little that reminds one of the Ardennes. The principal feature is a river, that 'parls of love apace,'

Amongst whose bankes all flowers by nature's hand

(As if the spring had been in prime) were plast,

And o'er the foorde for shadow there was scene

The beechen tree, the pine and olive greene.

The background of Shakespeare's picture, and all the accessories, are equally in keeping with the English forest. The 'acres of the rye,' the 'two gipsies on one horse,' the 'careless herd full of the pasture,' the 'butterwoman's rank to market,' are all scenes which must have been familiar to the poet in his youthful days. Of a similar character also are the allusions in the talk of Rosalind, to whom the poet, with a delicate touch of art, has given a pretty affectation of forest craft and the pastoral life, as when she compares herself to the coney, 'which dwells where she is kindled,' and promises Orlando to wash his liver 'as clean as a sound sheep's heart,' or scolds Sylvius for following Phœbe

Like foggy south puffing with wind and rain,

or chaffs Touchstone about 'graffing.' The forest shepherds, too, are genuine shepherds, whose hands are 'tarred over with the surgery of the sheep,' and not the fine-fingered gentlemen of the romances who only masquerade in pastoral attire. It may be said broadly that the Arden of *As You Like It* is more English or less in the proportion in which Shakespeare has adhered to or diverged from the original forest.

Much paper has been spoiled by the commentators about Touchstone's comparison of Orlando's verses to 'the right butterwoman's rank to market.' The allusion is no doubt explained by the farm-

wife's : or of carrying ter, which ems in some have be culiar to th the Avon—one of the ric counties in England. the well-known writer : culture, visited this distric and was so much struc process, that he has left account of it.

The butter is brought to market in a pound pate, packed up in a square which are invariably of one size for the long cube, with a bow has the middle, and with two lids upon a cross-piece under the bow. The basket is put into a kind of wheel, generally a smaller basket or other poise at the opposite end of it, which being strapped tightly to it with the heavy end in the off-side horse, the dairymaid mounts, and her own weight preserves the balance.

With this explanation Touchstone's criticism becomes intelligible. It had, doubtless, often occurred to these ladies on their Warwick or Evesham.

It was at Wilmecote or an outlying hamlet in the parish of Aston Cantelow, 'on the edge of the forest,' and within eight (supposed) native village of the forest, that John Shakespeare, father of the poet, found his Mary Arden. Her father, Arden, was a substantial farmer who farmed lands which had longed to his ancestors since the Conquest. In England the only records of the past are safe from the devouring of Time are those relating to property, and of this old farm the personal belongings we know more or more than of those of his famous grandson. Of Shakespeare's personal history we are almost entirely ignorant; no human thought it worth his while to chronicle a specimen of his talk, or to leave on record a fact relating to the production of his works. But of his early holding we have some most minute

Robert Arden; we know the number and value of the things in the back kitchen, for his inventory of his effects, preserved in the archives of the Exchequer Court of the City of Worcester. These dusty records enable us to picture the home of the Tudor days, a large half-timber home, set amongst green pastures, yellow corn-land, and by the dusky woodland which lined along the gentle banks of the Avon valley, and to picture the life with Robert and his wife Alice and Mary, and their daughter Agnes, as they lived in the house when the young trader came from Stratford.

On the farm counted the stock on the farm consisted of twenty-one head of cattle, including bullocks, 'kyne,' and calves, seven horses, fifty and nine 'swyne,' bees, and bees, which were worth shillings. His barn was stocked, for it contained 'barley' worth xvij li., 'wheat' valued at iiii li. vis. In addition, there was 'in the ffylde,' worth 7 li. His 'cart and cart gear, and plough geare,' were valued at 40s. This is suggestive of Arden: 'in the yard and the doffe' is valued at 30s., we may infer that he had a good stock of the former, the countryman in *All's* a woodland fellow that had a good fire.' The picture affords us glimpses of the 'peinted interior' of the peacock 'hall,' as the principal room called in this district, with 'peynted clothe,' or 'table-bordes,' three or four forms, three benches, 'arde,' two 'coshenes,' the table with shelves, 'amber,' or chief bed-room, other painted cloths,

two 'coffers,' and one 'wyche,' or chest, apparently containing good store of linen. The total value of the farm stock and household goods was estimated at 77 li. 11s. 10d. In this quiet home, which afterwards, through Mary Arden, became the property of his father, there can be little doubt that Shakespeare spent some portion of his childhood. The memory of it seems to have been a pleasant one, for he has mentioned Wincot in two of his plays. The scene of the induction of the *Taming of a Shrew* is laid near these, and 'Marian Hacket, the fat alewife,' to whom Christopher Sly was so grievously indebted, was no doubt a real character. In the scene at Shallow's in *Henry IV.*, Davy begs his master to countenance William Visor, of Wincot, against Clement Perkes, of the Hill; and it is interesting to find that both these names were borne by men living in the forest in Shakespeare's time.

There is little doubt that Shakespeare derived much of his rural imagery from this district, but Drayton, who was born at Atherstone, deep in its recesses, must be regarded as *par excellence* the poet of the forest. A warm lover of nature, and, above all, a thorough Warwickshire man, it is not too much to say that a flavour of Arden pervades every page of his writings. Of all the Elizabethans, Drayton is pre-eminently the naturalist poet. As a painter of human passion and struggle, he is often puerile, nearly always sententious and dull, but upon his favourite themes, the birds, the fields, and the trees, he is always charming. His poetry abounds in pictures of the woods and wolds before the enclosures and clearings had robbed them of so much of their animal life. The affluent English fauna of the old days, when the bittern haunted the marshes, and the kite was a terror to thrifty housewives, lives no-

where else as it lives in his pages. As the fellow-countryman and near neighbour of our great poet, it is surprising to find how much his work has been neglected, and how little it has been applied to the illustration of Shakespeare. There is a tinge of melancholy about most of Drayton's verse. We think of him as a kind of poetical Isaac Walton—a gentle good man, fond of quiet country pleasures, and standing aloof from the rest of the distinguished Elizabethans, one amongst the number, but not of them. Fuller speaks of him with a sort of conscious expression that he is describing a rarity, as 'a pious poet, being temperate in his life, slow of speech, and inoffensive in company.'

There is reason to believe that *As You Like It* was first represented about the year 1600. Drayton's *Polyolbion*, which contains his principal description of the forest, was not printed until 1613, and although Shakespeare's drama was not printed until ten years after this, there are certain points of resemblance which make it at least probable that Drayton was acquainted with it. The account in the *Polyolbion* has a green-wood freshness, which makes it one of the most pleasing episodes in a somewhat tedious book; and there is, in particular, an interesting picture of the chase, as it existed in these last days of the old forests, from which we get several glimpses of the old woodland life. The poet follows the fortunes of the poor hart from his 'lodge' amongst the broom and bracken of the forest glades. Alarmed by the cry of the hounds and the horns of the huntsmen, he breaks covert, and flies for life, crashing through the underwood, and shaking the tender saplings,

That sprinkling their moist pearl do seem
for him to weepe.

At dashing speed he makes for the

'cham' or open coe
down to the fenny low
wet bot s in fruitless
to 'foil' his scent; then,
tion, across the fallows an
through the herds and
the villages and farms,
chase is joined by abed
ploughmen with their
goads, and by all the do
forest, until the poor h
haunted and breathless,
bossed,' as it was called in
guage of ventry, is brow
against a bank, and to
his enemies, 'the churlish
hounds,' and still more
men. At last, overpowered
bers, he becomes 'mourne
own dying corse,' and like
deest,

Upon the ruthless earth his pre
lets fall.

The motley crowd press s
dying animal, and amidst
'Ware haunch!' the hunt
mounts to cut the throat
velvet victim. A most
sounded, and the most i
person present takes 'ay,
makes an incision across
and afterwards cutting off
gives it to the panting
Drayton, however, with n
instinct, has omitted the
details of the last scene.
also introduces a hardy
brave 'man at arms,' who
himself a dwelling in the f

One who of this world the vili
seen,

Retires him from it quite,

to live a 'sweet retired life
Jaques, he rails in grief
against the life of Cow
leading a contented exist

It stirs him not to think on th
vile.

Who see what he's not, del
he

The , rithed world.

But a slight animal

ceases. Drayton's her-
to herb-collecting, and
exit in a very unpoetical
of simples.

ars ago, Waldron pointed
e considered to be imita-
You Like It in Drayton's
rinted in 1604, and the
rich is also laid in 'sad
it beyond the fact that
made to indulge in a
melancholy reflections
to his legendary cha-
e does not appear to be
nd for the opinion. One
ases perhaps were bor-
n Shakespeare. Dray-
sh burgers of the field,
the birds, certainly re-
the

. . . poor dappled fools,
burghers of this desert city.

1 notice, that Drayton
connected the names of
nd Rosalind with the
wland was the pastoral
ed by Drayton himself,
introduced it into the
the name of the melan-
shepherd, 'Rowland of
the minstrel of the

age, forlorn with woe was he.

Spenser's obdurate mis-
ntroduced among the
the sheep-washing feast.

widow's daughter of the glen,
l, that scarcely brook'd com-

ere a mere random shot
of Drayton, it would
nificance, but to suppose
l scarcely accord with
now of his habit of
t not possible that the
d may have had some
with Arden? Mr. Col-
et's latest biographer,
t Spenser was a mem-
family of that name
ng settled at Kingsbury,
shire; and although

this theory must now be given
up in favour of that which assigns
the honour of his birth to Lanca-
shire, it is possible that the families
were related, and that Spenser may
have visited here. The only definite
statement that we have about
Rosalind is Aubrey's assertion made
upon the authority of Dryden, that
she was a relation of the wife of
Sir Erasmus Dryden, the poet's
grandmother. This lady was
Frances Wilkes, the daughter of
William Wilkes, of Hodnoll, in
Warwickshire, and in this neigh-
bourhood there was at least one
family of the name of Lindsey.
Could Rosalind have been Rose
Lindsey? The guess is at any rate
as good as many that have been
made at this riddle. But whether
the forest is to have the honour of
Rosalind or not, it can certainly
boast the possession of Idea, Dray-
ton's own mysterious mistress, for
in writing of the little river, the
Anker, he says:

Arden's sweet Anker, let thy glory be,
That fair Idea only lives by thee.

The scenery of Warwickshire
possesses a soft-lined and level
beauty which appears tame to
Northern eyes. It is a country of
gentle undulations, with few ridges
or even hills, and only occasionally
relieved by the shimmer of water;
for, although upon the great water-
shed of Central England, the streams
are very small, and affect the land-
scape only in the sinuous windings
of the willows and alders which
mark their course. Dr. Arnold,
fresh from his beautiful Westmore-
land home, was accustomed to dis-
parage 'the endless succession of
fields and hedgerows' which sur-
rounded his unlovely Rugby, and to
declare that, looking eastwards, there
was nothing fine or grand between
his schoolhouse and the Ural Moun-
tains. Christopher North ventured to
compare Stratford-on-Avon to a pan-
cake, and describes the neighbour-

hood as 'poor, flat, hearth-stone like.' This, however, is the character of the scenery which has inspired most of the natural descriptions of our poetry, for England is no exception to the law which seems to almost confine the production of poets to the lowlands. It is this aspect of nature which Drayton revels in depicting—woodland teeming with the luxuriant vegetation of the new red sandstone; valleys rank with 'dainty meads,' fat pastures 'clad in gaudy summer's green,' and 'powdered with Nature's favourite pearl,' the daisy; gentle slopes of rich corn-fields, long stretches of 'moist fen,' and 'ouzy pools,' threaded by silent, sluggish streams crawling lazily—

Amongst the flowery-flags, the bull-rushes,
and reeds,

with

. . . shady banks where slender sallies
grow,
And willows their shagg'd tops down to the
waters bow,

as they meander to the Avon, whose
often overflowing stream

Doth make these fruitful meads which with
their painted pride
Imbroider his proud bank.

These are the scenes which Drayton
delighted to paint, and to this day
they remain photographs of the
country.

Here is a description of a summer's day-break in the forest—drawn, it is evident, from Nature, for there are no fogs in Arcadia:

When from her burnisht gate the goodly
glittering east
Gilds every lofty top, which late the humorous night
Bespangled had with pearl, to please the morning's sight,
On which the mirthful quires, with their clear open throats
Unto the joyful morn so strain their warbling notes
That hills and valleys ring.

Outside the forest—

The mottled meadows then
by the sun,
Shoot up their spicy sweets up
that run
In easy ambling gales.

and the birds sing away
ing until the mounting sun

Through thick exhaled fogs his
doth run,
And through the twisted tops
covert peeps,
To kiss the gentle shade.

There is a charm also
picture of the delicious
which creeps over the
high noon, when exhausted
life seeks

The calm cincture of the amber
and even the hot bee, 'wither
laden thigh,' turns from his
To stay and dally with the
leaves.

Drayton excels in painting
birds—the implumed bird
is never tired of singing
them. He describes them
naturalist and poet, and is
seen from our quotations
the two rôles appear to be
much too good a naturalist
his natural history to be
mere technicalities of science
are a few of his pictures.

The thrush, one of the
birds—

The thrush with shrill song
poesely he sang
T' awake the listless sun, or else
long

He was in coming forth;

The lark, who

. . . leaves her bower and on her
wing.

In climbing up tow'rs he
pitch hymns to sing
Unto the springing day;

The nightingale, 'Wood
of the spring,'

That cha the night-cake
pot song;

The ki her upon the
a brow his 'dam'

fts of bulrushes and reed
eaved willows, on whose
pray
sher having got his prey,
small breath of the water

red the fish that he had

ed hern there watching by

:
ged swallow feasting as it

:
rth and baser in his trade;

or 'ruddock,' as he is
lled by Drayton:

moss the dead's unclosed
reast teacheth charity;

rd, as in Shakespeare,
sel' or 'ouzel,' 'who
en bill:'

nd the throstle-cock, chief
our May;

of evil omen, the 'pur-

litch-owl, that doth never cry
ath.

st of Arden is rich in
connected with English
tradition, and most of
een used in some shape
peare. Warwick was
roughout the middle
f vast antiquity. John
famous antiquary, had
foundation to Belinus,
heroes of that Trojan
Britain so dear to the
poets and dramatists.
district is filled with
es of the great king-
rwick, whom the poet
he great central figure
r of the Roses, and
lled by his enemies 'the
en.' At Wolney, Edward
en prisoner. Blacklow
Warwick, was the scene

of the execution of Piers Gaveston.
Gny's Cliff, besides its connection
with the history of the famous
hermit, was associated with the
poet's favourite, Prince Hal, who
founded a chantry here. At Cheyles-
ford, near Coventry, the Prince
held for some years his madcap
court, to which, as Walsingham
informs us, all the young nobility
resorted, leaving the court of his
father almost deserted. Kenilworth
was the prison of Edward II., and
had memories of Simon de Mont-
fort and the famous siege by
King Henry. Kington Castle was
the residence of King John, and
had been royal property since the
Conquest. And last, but not least,
there was Coventry, the most
legendary of English cities—gravely
said by Dugdale to be older than
Rome—famous for its pageants and
miracle plays, and still retaining
in Elizabethan times many of the
characteristics of a mediæval city.
Drayton describes it as

Now flourishing with fanes and proud
pyramides,
Her walls in good repair, her ports so
bravely built,
Her halls in good estate, her cross so richly
gilt.

It was here that the famous lists
were held for the proposed combat
between the Duke of Hereford
(afterwards Henry IV.) and the
Duke of Norfolk, the scene of
which is so graphically described in
Richard II.

Until recent years the life of the
Arden country retained much of
the old-world character, and its in-
habitants had but little intercourse
with the busy manufacturing world
outside. The wages of the labourers
were sadly low, and the schools
too few and too exclusively ecclesi-
astical to have much effect upon the
temporal concerns of the workers.
Old habits of life, old methods of
husbandry, old customs and old
superstitions were the rule and not
the exception, as they have since

become. Even now the belief in witchcraft is very common, and a real power for evil, as shown by a case at the last Warwick Assizes, in which a labourer was tried for killing a reputed witch with his pitchfork. Of any literature beyond that of the 'tract' species or the almanack—generally that of 'the late Francis Moore, physician,' stuffed with astrology—and the penny song and dream books, there is no trace. Whatever it may be possible to do for the new generation, it is evident that the case of the old one is hopeless. Not many years since the writer of this paper, walking through one of the little villages of the Arden district on a sultry August afternoon, stopped to obtain a drink at a cottage where the window displayed an array of archaic-looking gingerbread soldiers and stone ginger-beer bottles. The 'master,' as the husband is always called here—an old grey-headed man, with the dull, lethargic, toil-worn face so often seen in the agricultural labourer who has committed the crime of living to be past work—was smoking his afternoon pipe by the fireless hearth, and it occurred

to his own owner to brood over the subject of Shakespeare. 'He said, was a dull ! it were not for the vi be still duller. 'Ees 'And I suppose you them here.' 'Ees, fairish lot a' stranger-fol time.' 'Ah,' said the singly, for he desired t Agrestis, 'this Shakes great man, a very great he was brought out, with for at last a chord had b with which he could sym gleam of animation ill wan countenance, and he 'Gret man! a' just war ten foot wi'out his shoes.

Shades of Malone and here was something like spearian tradition; but asking what he meant, he replied, 'Mean! what I've sin the statty on'n Cliff, and there 'a is as he

The story of Shakes the legend of Guy had in and this man, who had li life within six miles of had confounded Shakes the hero of the redoubtable pot.

C. E. R. 1



A TOUR IN LAPLAND (1875).

I. NJOMMELSASKA.

ivers of Lapland, in their d course to the Gulf of Both- end from the elevated plateau salls to the low-lying country ie coasts by numerous falls, ble for a grandeur difficult el among the famous water-

Europe. Waterfalls of a nd a beauty which any- se would be sung by poets garised by excursionists, are ion in the North that the

scarcely preserves the of each successive scene, forgets the uncouth names h they are known. Some, , cannot be treated thus ly. Their wildness and y astonish the mind, and a picture never to be for-

Among these the most ed are the Falls of Njommel- n the Great Lule, which, isited until of late years, n now less known than they to be. Few of the Eng- who have resorted to Lap- r fishing have penetrated r wild and desolate region ese falls are situated, and

the pathless forests of it is almost impossible to e way without a guide. too, are not always to be there is little to tempt the to wander far from their s, and only one or two men e found who know the way. many travellers have passed

the varied scenery that ween Quikkjokk and the of the Lule without know- near they were to Njom- a, perhaps the majority being aware of its exist- Those, again, who have f it have been apt to con-

sider its praises exaggerated, and the sight of another waterfall not worth the trouble involved in visiting it. The fall, it is true, is not to be reached without some discomfort, as well as fatigue; but no one who has seen Njommelsaska thinks the labour ill-spent, or the fall unworthy of the most high-flown description. Before leaving home, we had heard of these falls, of their grandeur, and their inaccessibility; and, though we had determined to make an effort to reach them, we had no clear idea of the practicability of the attempt, and, in our journey North, we had found no one who could give us trustworthy information regarding it.

Our first enquiries, then, on our arrival at the little village of Jokkmokk, were as to this famous waterfall, which must be reached by us from this village or not at all. We had driven to Jokkmokk from Payerim, a settler's house of much pretension, but less comfort, where we had been recommended to stay, partly on account of the fishing, which was poor, and partly on account of the good accommodation. The latter, the settler's wife was not very willing to afford us, and for food we were obliged to rely on the supplies we had brought with us. We regretted not having driven the whole stretch from Storbacken to Jokkmokk in one day, which can easily be done, as it is only about thirty-five miles, and resolved to avoid the somewhat inhospitable Payerim on our return journey. The road between Storbacken and Jokkmokk runs through a great forest, and there are not many fine views on the way till Jokkmokk is approached, and an occasional view of the Little Lule is obtained. We passed several settlers' houses,

which, from their size and the number of buildings about them, had the appearance of considerable prosperity, but there seemed little traffic on the road. Indeed, we only met one man driving, and one band of men apparently going to their work.

Jokkmokk is situated about three miles from the lower end of Lake Vaikijaure, or rather Lake Vaiki, for the termination, jaure, signifies a lake. It possesses considerable importance from the fairs which are held there in the spring, in the months of February and March, and to which the settlers and Laps of the surrounding district resort to purchase their yearly supplies of coffee, cloth, seeds, and knives. Its few inhabitants, who in summer do not number more than fifty or sixty persons, look on it with pride, because, in addition to a church, it possesses a large joinery work, and is the residence of a *länsman*, or civil functionary, who is charged with a great variety of duties. He has to see that the solitary road in the large parish of Jokkmokk—one half of Lule Lapmark—which runs from Vaikijaure to Storbacken is kept in proper repair. He collects the taxes, both from the settlers and from the Laps. The sums paid by the latter are, however, inconsiderable, and are assessed, not upon individuals, but upon tribes, or groups of Lap families, who wander over the same portion of the fjells. One of these, the Sirkasluokt, pays only twenty-four kronor, or about 27s. a year, while the other family of Fjell Laps, the Tuorpen, pays less. At the annual fairs, the Laps meet and divide among the members of the tribe, numbering perhaps one or two hundred, the liability for this small tax. They fix the proportion payable by each according to his comparative wealth, and, having collected the sum, take it to the *länsman*. The *länsman* has further to preserve order in the district—

not a difficult task, as are quiet and well-behaved by thick woods lies in the centre of a clay by patient toil from the covered with fairish cro and grassfields, the latter forms the main resource habitants, as in many barley has to be cut down having ripened. The well-built double house, finished, but quite clean however, rather wanting stantial supplies. We dinner, and, after being ing for some time, a spread with an elaborate anchovies, thin slices of meat, and such-like dainties whetted our appetite with fulfilled promise of better for the rest of the dinner in keeping with its course. Up to this point in our inland we had always a good porter for dinner; leaving Jokkmokk, we saw more stimulating than our own supplies excepted—turn. The only object in Jokkmokk is the red red-painted, wooden church stands in an ill-kept clearing one end of which is the wooden erection almost size with the church its village consists of one houses, of some pretensions fort, and even elegance, and muslin curtains in the window porcelain stoves in the room, while a sewing or a small harmonium, but to the industry or the the occupant.

There were a few other the inhabitants of which seem so well off, and a large of poor huts, unoccupied but in either tenanted by tlers and other Laps at and during the fair. U vill a, if that was

in a triangular piece of centre, stand several pedlars or traders their goods at fair-shut up add to the the deserted huts. val at this quaint, l village, where life nate, as has already once made inquiries Isaska, and the way We procured, how- mation, except that lays' excursion, that ry bad, and that on number of bogs it attempted on foot. he falls was to be mokk, but we were /aikijaure, a clear- or three cottages on e of the lake of the ve should probably who knew the way, melsaska, at least to 's house about half- stination. This was te, but at any rate it practicable, and ac- made up our minds following forenoon. hat one of our party, atigue seemed rather emain at Jokkmokk, cing our baggage to ne man could carry, e banks of the lake, out three miles, and ed across in a crazy omen to Vaikijaure. ery fine. A long arm etched before us, and e well-wooded hills e forest which sur- ce. Above these hills, ppeared, and above line of snow-clad ngular beauty, upon ys of the midday ng with almost daz- . At Vaikijaure, we st that there was no go with us, that the usy haymaking, and D. LXXVI. NEW SERIES.

that, in short, we could not get on. After some talk, however, the settler's servant offered to act as guide, and though he demanded the exorbitant sum of five kronor a day, we agreed to engage his services, as we could not obtain them for less. Our guide was a little old man, with a red, ill-shapen face and crooked legs, who limped along at a surprising pace with our baggage strapped on his back, a big stick in his hand, and, dressed in a coarse homespun and rather ragged garb, he presented a half-comical, half-forbidding aspect. His Swedish was a little broken, and he talked besides in a disjointed manner that made conversation difficult, but he certainly tried his best to make himself agreeable, and notwithstanding his physical defects showed himself a good guide. At Vaikijaure we made two discoveries: first, that the direct road to Ligga only existed in winter, when the marshes were frozen; and, second, that the circuitous summer path was also impracticable, as a lake which lay half-way had only one boat upon it, and that boat was at the wrong side for us. Instead of ten miles' walk, which we had calculated to be the distance of the direct route, we found that we must follow a still more circuitous way than the summer path, over a wooded hill, and round the end of Lake Anajaure.

Crossing a field of meadow land, we were soon out of sight of the cottages, and entered upon the forest by which the clearing was hedged in. Through the forest a rough and uninteresting path wound, only varied by the morasses, six in number, which we had to cross. One or two of these morasses were of considerable extent, and would have barred our progress had a rude roadway not been made by the settlers. This was made of short logs, with a line of half-squared trees laid along either edge to distinguish the mud-covered road

from the morass. Others of these morasses were traversed in a simpler manner. Single trunks of trees were laid from side to side of the morass in a long line, and upon these we had to balance ourselves, falling the while an easy prey to the mosquitoes, eagerly intent on the opportunity of regaling themselves at our expense. The day was hot, the mosquitoes active, and the logs by no means so large or so steady as was to be desired, and we were glad at last to reach the farther side of the swampy ground, and to ascend the slope of a pine-covered hill. Through the openings in the wood we now saw one fine view after another. Behind us lay Vaikijaure, its waters sparkling in the sunlight.

The plain was covered by far-extending forests, only broken by one or two picturesquely situated lakes, and in the distance we saw the same dark fjells and snowy ridges, but in greater beauty, which we had seen in crossing the lake. So far we had followed a path, but on reaching the brow of the hill our guide struck down through the forest towards Lake Anajaure. We scrambled after him through thick and tangled under-wood, until we came to a great morass, which extends round the eastern end of this lake. Across this morass we zigzagged for two hours, occasionally having to turn back, where the surface was too soft to bear our weight, and getting gradually more and more wet, as we jumped from tuft to tuft, or waded through swampy ground, in spite of the praiseworthy efforts of our guide to find a tolerably dry passage. After climbing another small hill, we again came upon a path which led by rapid descent to the banks of the Anajock, a small stream, whose bright clear waters rattled merrily from step to step, down to the Great Lule, the roar of whose waters we heard far below us, but

hid the intervening (the other side of the we miserable living in the midst of a little where grew scanty crops and grass. This was the only resting-place between Jaure and the Falls.

Our choice of accommo- for the night was limited, saw no reason to disp preference of the guide, w us to the first of the two hu of which looked equally pos one in which we found the the night was a small my hut of two rooms, one of was given up to us. For this room had none, but the wife brought us two chairs, a small board nailed into one served as a table, and round the were hung the dresses of the The other room, the kitchen, table and some wretched beds, and altogether present picture of poverty. The ce of this hut had not even though they procured some trout for us from their neigh and were apparently living on black bread and milk. The was the hardest we ever tr eat, and we at once bargained our hostess to bake us soft next day. The milk, however excellent, though we only ha big mug to drink it out of saucerless cups, the reman different sets, were produced these did a variety of duty, held in succession, soup, coffee brandy. In a house, where was evidently rarely tasted were scarcely surprised to find a single knife, and that of natural bluntness; but they found the eating of fish with pronged forks rather uncomfortable we managed with the help of own if n be p

bed was, of course, out of question, but wrapping our-
our plaids we passed a
night, listening to the
, which were ever ready
is up by a timely bite,
ropped off to sleep. We
not sorry when half-past
, and, rousing our land-
was surprised at our
s, breakfasted, and at six
rted for the Falls. The
as at first a little chilly,
sun rose higher in the
he day became warm.
t distance, a good path
h the forest, but became
fainter and fainter, and
ppeared, when after an
half's walk we entered a
forest which was burned
s ago. For more than
ve walked through this
forest. Tall charred
oped of their branches,
every side, while others
prostrate on the ground,
y nothing remained save
l stump. Here and there
ce half-burnt trees had,
caught upon one another
ranches of some scarcely
ee, and stood piled to-
a confused heap. The
this burnt forest was
d depressing, notwith-
the bright sunshine.
gned on every side. No
amongst the tree-tops, or
n the branches, but all
nd motionless.

the great forests of Lap-
not uncommon, and in
ave been the occasion of
rels between the settlers
ps. The latter are deeply
in the preservation of
for there they find not
er for themselves but
or their reindeer. Even
schment of the settlers'
n the forest has proved
to them, in depriving
e best feeding grounds,

but the destruction of the wood,
and the scorching of the ground,
have been of still worse conse-
quence to them in many instances.
The reindeer moss forms the prin-
cipal food of the reindeer during
the greater part of the year, and it
is therefore of the utmost impor-
tance that this moss should grow
undisturbed in the places which are
suitable for it. But when a forest
takes fire, or even when the fire is
confined to the brushwood, the
moss is scorched and destroyed,
and long years elapse before it
grows again in the same place. It
is said that ten years is the shortest
period within which the reindeer
moss reappears after a fire, that
sometimes seventy or eighty years
pass without its again covering
the ground. Great fires have
taken place in Pite and Lule
Lapmarks, and of late years so
frequently that the tracts where
the reindeer were wont to feed
are said in some parts of the coun-
try to have been reduced to a
half of what they formerly were.
This has resulted in much suffering
to the Laps, some of whom have
been forced to migrate to other
regions in search of pasture for
their reindeer. Prior to the coming
of the settlers, fires were unknown,
for the Laps know well the loss which
a fire was sure to entail, and were
careful to prevent the woods taking
fire, and ready to put out any fire
which might accidentally have
broken out. The settlers, on the
other hand, did not care about pre-
serving the woods, which were of
little use to them, and often neg-
lected to extinguish fires which
they had lighted in the forest, and
then, when some chance wind
fanned the smouldering embers into
life, there was no one near to put
it out, and prevent it spreading.
Sometimes, however, the fires were
due not to accident but were kin-
dled intentionally by some settler,
either to increase the size of his

clearing, or to gratify a grudge against a Lap, whose reindeer had wandered across his meadow land, and injured the grass. Formerly, when the Swedish Government was anxious to promote the colonisation of Lapland, all the protection of the law was given to the settlers and denied to the unfortunate Laps, on whose lands they were intruding, but now the interests of the Laps are attended to, and stringent laws have been enacted for the protection of the woods, and the settlers are obliged to give instant assistance in extinguishing a fire, while a Government official makes a strict enquiry into its origin. The settlers, too, are becoming more aware of the importance of the wood to themselves as a protection to their clearings from the cold winds that sweep down from the fjella, and also of the value which the woods may some day have for themselves, if the cutting of wood in the interior becomes more practicable than it is at present. Still it is to the watchful care of the Laps that the preservation of the forests is mainly due. To them it is a matter of life and death, and they are always ready to hurry to any spot where a fire may break out. The Fjell-Laps are in this respect unfortunately situated. When on the approach of summer they leave the woods that have sheltered them during the winter, and betake themselves to the fjella, they incur the risk of their feeding-grounds being destroyed in their absence. Sometimes, however, as the Lap wanders on the lofty fjella, he sees dark clouds of smoke rising from the forest he has left, and at once divining the calamity which threatens him, descends with all speed into the valleys to quench the flames which are endangering his very existence in the coming winter.

Having passed through the burnt forest, we began to descend the rough

moun n side over gn granite, led on one a to the river's brink. the distant falls now b ears, and through open the trees we saw, far o foaming waters of Nj hemmed in between hig less than half an hour the bank of the Great we found a rude boat, launched, and rowed towards a large fall, w the termination of the re the great fall. The river three or four hundred y and the river flowed with rapidity down towards rapid, which began a few yards below the point launched the boat. Hi been for the strong coun at the side, which carried rapidly upwards, till we gai from which it was safe to v into mid-stream, we shook some difficulty in crossing the boat up on the bank, bered over blocks of gn and made our way throug of hardy pines, many destroyed by the storms lay rotting on the grou and there in sheltered found quantites of hjoer luscious white berry, whi multibee in Norway and in Scotland, where it is Sutherlandshire. Black cranberries also delopd gress, but only a little thunder of the falls was increasing, until after an a quarter's walk, we sta cliff beside Njounnala that we should have be rewarded if there had be else to see in Lapland grand view which burst as we emerged from the f

It possible to com than it idea of the floence of the Lo rthwards we

ale, far as the eye reached, with white-crested waves ring over one small fall after till, just above the fall, the attracts to a breadth of about dred yards, and the foam-gitated waters grow smooth the great plunge. The fall n into two portions by a land, not quite two hundred ng, upon which a few rag-stunted pines stand. The eastern portion of the fall han one hundred feet broad, s over in a broad sheet of between the upper end of id and the worn granite-the river. This fall is us for thirty-five or forty then the water rushes down ne of great steepness for vo hundred and fifty yards, ves of foam are tossed into light clouds of mist rise intermission, and rainbows l go on the shifting vapour. er rages to and fro, and lling nearly one hundred brown violently against a which stands right across se of the river and bars its . The waters, chafed by ruction, are tossed in great nto the air, to the height or fifty feet, and are then turn at right angles, and the lower end of the island, dashed against the over-bank of the river. As er passes the end of the t is joined by the other of the waterfall, which d struggles through a chasm on the western side island; and though the f water in this branch of s less than in the broader the fall itself is, if pos-re beautiful. Just where branches of the waterfall e river is turned at a gle and hurried through a chasm some thirty feet which the waters boil and

toss as they are hurled from ledge to ledge for a distance of upwards of three-quarters of a mile. After this the Lule expands, and flows in a strong steady current down to the rapids below the falls. The whole height of the falls has been variously estimated, but probably does not exceed two hundred and fifty feet. The greater part of the fall partakes somewhat of the character of a rapid, but the incline down which the Lule pours is so steep that the water from bank to bank throughout its whole length is one boiling mass of white foam, and Njommelsaska is much more a fall than a rapid, and may well be reckoned among the great falls of the world. The volume of water is immense, certainly much larger than that of the Rhine at Schaffhausen. The Falls of the Rhine, indeed, ought not to be compared with Njommelsaska, the latter so far exceeds them in size and grandeur. Njommelsaska is, of course, grandest in early summer, when the snows are melting on the fjells, and in autumn the water sometimes gets low, but we were fortunate in visiting this great fall after a succession of heavy rains had brought down the river in flood, and swollen the volume of water to its greatest dimensions. We spent three or four hours here, wandering from point to point, and everywhere seeing something new to admire. The best point of view is that from the top of the cliff facing the waterfall. Both branches of the waterfall are then seen at once as well as their meeting. The rocky island lies in front. On the right are water-worn precipices, surmounted by wooded slopes which lead up to Mount Ananas; on the left rises a frowning precipice of great height, upon the face of which hang great blocks of granite, apparently half-severed from the rock, and ready to fall into the foaming abyss beneath; while in

the distance stretch the barren fjells, which skirt the southern shores of the Stnor-Lule-jaure, the great lake, more than fifty miles in length, from which the Lule issues, ten miles to the north of Njommelsaska. The course of the Lule from the lake to its junction with the Little Lule near Wuollerim is only forty miles, and passes over a succession of rapids and three great falls, the greatest of which is Njommelsaska. Of the others, the one which lies nearest to its source is the Porjus-fall, and is broken into three gigantic steps, the upper of which is fourteen, the middle one eighty-eight, and the lowest sixty-nine feet in height. The third of the falls, the Porsi-fall, situated near the junction of the Great and the Little Lule, which we visited from Storbacken, is not comparable to either of the others, though in itself well worth seeing. The wildness of the scenery, and the utter desolation which surrounded us at Njommelsaska, harmonised well with the grandeur and sublimity of the fall, and we felt powerless in presence of the mighty forces of that resistless rush of waters. We could scarcely tear ourselves away from a spot which so impressed us, and to which it was so unlikely that we should ever return to see more fully all its wonders, but at last we reluctantly set out on our return to Ligga, where we were again to spend the night. Black clouds were gathering in the sky, and as we reached the burnt forest a violent thunderstorm burst overhead, and the roll of the thunder echoed back from the hills, and the flashes of lightning made the forest ten times more dreary than when we passed through it in the morning, while the torrents of rain swelled the brooklets. The wretched hut, which we reached about seven o'clock—the distance between Ligga and Njommelsaska being about thirteen miles—seemed an oasis,

and by the side of a blazing fire we were soon dressed in dry clothes and discussing a better supper than we had the previous evening. I was again rendered nearly insensible by the brisk attack which the quitoes kept up all night. In the morning we roused the boatmen at three, had breakfast at half past four were on our way to Vaikjaure, where we promised to arrive at nine, as we had promised to do. I had not, however, determined to go, though when we made it I was not aware of the difficulty of the path, and had much underestimated the distance. Our boatmen rowed us across the pretty looking lake, Anaure, which was nearly two hours of a round trip. At the end of the lake, a long after nine we arrived at our destination, to the surprise of the people, who did not expect us in the evening.

The name of Njommelsaska, which is a Lap word, means Hare's Run, is said to have been given for the following reason:—the drops of water which fall from the cloud of spray which rises from the western portion of the fall, frequently freeze, and form a narrow bridge of ice between the island and the bank. A natural bridge has been seen to run to and fro, and the name has been bestowed by the Laps, who entertain such a superstitious reverence for these animals, that they neither killed nor ate them. Probably this superstition led to the giving of a name which was rowed from a rather insignificant incident, to a fall which one might have naturally expected to be named by some name more descriptive of its grandeur.

IV. QUIKEJOKK.

LULE L we may be said
three each of which is
a (smaller, and the

attractions to the traveller. The region of the great forests, which extends from the Lap border to the shores of the lakes, is at monotonous, and would, be uninteresting if it were not for the beautiful river scenery of Lule, and the numerous islands and waterfalls which vie with another in grandeur. Of the remaining regions, the northern and the fjell-country, the former combines lakes, mountains, and rivers in a succession of exquisite landscapes; while the latter, cold and barren though it is, are not without interest in the strong contrast they present between the wooded valleys below, and the snow-covered mountains which rise upon them. There is no less in the lake scenery of the north. Each lake possesses a peculiarity of its own, which is once recognised, although they all runs a certain resemblance, owing in part to the absence of life and stir on the banks, and in part to the stillness of the atmosphere which is one of the great charms of the travel.

On Jokkmokk and Quikk-Jokk, our destination in the interior, we found lakes, upon the borders of which, of which, Vaikijaure, where our baggage and the third of our party awaiting us returned from Njommelsaska. With no hesitation, owing to the state of the weather, we proceeded, as the accommodation in the settler's house was good and the neighbourhood was particularly attractive. A boat was soon got ready, manned by two men, two of whom sat in the bow, each pulling a long-shaped oars, and the third at the stern rowed, looking forward—a position which enabled us to steer as well as to row. Our luggage in the centre of the boat, and, there being no

seat for us, we had to sit with our backs against it. The wind fortunately was blowing in the direction of our course, and a small square sail, hoisted upon a pole fixed in the prow of the boat, somewhat assisted our progress, especially upon a rapid between the two arms of the lake. The strength of the stream in this rapid tested the powers of our rowers, who for a short time seemed unable to force the boat against it, but at last, after a long-continued effort, we reached the upper portion of the lake. The banks of the lake were well wooded, and on the southern shore was a small clearing, called Saskam, with one or two small red-painted houses. Two hours' rowing brought us to the end of the lake, where we disembarked, and walked across the neck of land separating Lake Vaikijaure from Lake Purkijaure. Between these lakes runs a short river about two miles in length, which, however, is too rapid and too much broken up with rocks to allow boats to make their way up it. Our boatmen shouldered our luggage, and we sauntered after them in the pleasant shade of the woods, with the sound of the noisy river mingling with the shrill notes of the mosquitoes seeking an unguarded point of attack. On reaching Lake Purkijaure, not far from the place where the river flows out of it, we had to wait while one of the boatmen went in search of the fishermen, who lived in some rude huts on the shore, and presently returned with a man and a woman, who were to row us across this lake. The boat was smaller than the last, but, as we only had an hour's row before us, we accommodated ourselves to the inconvenience.

Purkijaure is a pretty lake, nearly circular, but dotted with several islands, between which and its northern shore we rowed. One of the islands had been cleared, and from the number of store-huts

which surrounded the red-painted house, it seemed to be the property of a particularly well-to-do settler. On reaching the other side, the man and the woman divided our luggage between them—the woman taking her fair share of what was really a good weight for two persons to carry. A broad path led through the forest to Lake Randijaure, and a little to the left we caught glimpses of the river gleaming in the sunshine, while on our right thickly wooded rising ground intercepted the view. The distance between the two lakes is about three miles; but we found a man fishing in the upper part of the river who needed no persuasion to hand over his basket of fish to our boatwoman, and, along with our boatman, to row us in his boat across the lake. The row up the river to the lake was very interesting. The clear water of the rapid stream, fretted into foam by the numerous rocks in its course; the wooded banks and the green islands which lay at the entrance to the lake, made up a pretty picture. Our progress, which was slow in the river, was not much faster in the lake; for the wind began to rise, and the waves buffeting our boat kept us back, though our rowers, two strong well-made young men, with fresh countenances, rowed vigorously and with few rests. Lake Randijaure is much larger than either Purkijaure or Vaikijaure, being eight miles long by four broad, and is liable to sudden storms, which render its navigation dangerous to rude and crazy craft, such as our boat was. We accordingly kept close to the shore, and took the shelter of all the islands we passed. The hills by which Randijaure is surrounded are low, but wooded to their summits, and the tall trees growing on its banks close to the water's edge formed, as it were, a wall around it. There are three settlements on its shores—

one of which, called Randija, in a flourishing state, and it or three red-painted houses pointed out to us by our hosts with evident respect. The other two, and especially Purkijaure, where we found poor and inhabited by fishermen who have little to depend on, we approached the huts at Purkijaure, we passed in front of lake-fall over which Lake Purkijaure falls into Lake Randijaure.

The difference in the level of lakes is about thirty feet, and a short rapid the waters of former pour over a broad terrace nearly a quarter of a mile wide side to side. It is difficult to get an idea of the beauty of the scene which has all the appearance of an exquisitely designed piece of landscape gardening on a great scale—such as one might suppose made out of a broad ruined staircase, the steps of which have been irregularly broken, and which a few clumps of trees have established themselves. In the centre of the fall lies a small island with a number of trees on it, and with a group of trees on either side it growing on rocks almost covered by the water. Between these and the island two streams flow and unite their broken waters in front of the island, only to be separated, as, after pouring over an irregular ledge, they are turned right and left, and meet the main portions of the fall below the island and either shore, flow, leap, and rattle down a number of small broken ledges, which give the fall its peculiar character. The water is here thrown to the right, and at places pours directly over low cipitons rocks, while three or four of spray rise above the water in the sand boils. The water is i

we came upon it as we
ng the curving shores of

re several lakefalls in
he grandest of which,
ki-Kortje, surpasses in
ven Njommelsaska itself.
all is formed by Gjerte-
g over a precipice 130
nto Pajiplolilnjaure, one
es of great lakes out of
Great Lule flows. Un-
we were not provided
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ink of penetrating into
nd inhospitable regions
1 of Lule Lapmark, and
d ourselves with admir-
ace and beauty of the
Purkijaure.

arance of the fishermen's
rkijaure at once dissi-
alf-formed plan of stay-
or the night. The huts
wretched than the one
nd we resolved at once
to Bjorkholm, although
e late of arriving there.
detention, while the man
a who were to row us
kijaure were finishing
r, we embarked in a boat
than any we had yet
d on our requiring the
aled, the woman growled
an that 'English people
rticular.' However, we
t baled, and proceeded on
urkijaure is a dreary and
ce, surrounded by dark
ithout a single clearing
ut to enliven the land-
e evening was chilly;
sing from the water, and
ot sorry to reach the
not long after the sun
half an hour's walk by a
h, through a thick and
brought us to the edge
alka about half-past ten,
ere already anticipating
e of a comfortable sup-
settler's house, which
saw in the bright sum-

mer night on the little island of
Bjorkholm, a mile and a half from
the shore. We were, however,
doomed to disappointment. Our
boatman told us that the boat
which usually lay at the shore here
was away, and that we must wait
till some one came for us from the
island. Then raising his stentorian
voice he howled dismally to attract
the attention of the islanders, but
the only response was the barking
of dogs, for the good people had
gone to bed and were sleeping,
heedless of the benighted travellers.
We next lighted a signal fire, and
the dogs barked more loudly than
before as the bright flames rose in
the calm air, but still no one came.
As a last resource we sent our boat-
man round to the end of the lake to
a promontory which stretched out
nearer to the island, and after the
lapse of an hour we heard his
voice sounding across the waters,
and in a short time a boat came
and took us to the island, where
we arrived sleepy and hungry about
two in the morning. Our little
Lap hostess busied herself to pre-
pare a hot supper, in which fish,
coffee, and reindeer meat played
the principal part, while we warmed
ourselves before a blazing wood-
fire. The golden sunset still lin-
gered in the sky as we rowed off to
the island, and the rosy tints of the
coming dawn appeared above the
distant fjells, and the bright rays
of the sun were not long in dissi-
pating the shades of night, but
after our long day in the open air
we slept soundly, undisturbed by
mosquitoes. Next morning we were
in no hurry to depart, but remained
till twelve o'clock admiring the
romantic situation of Bjorkholm,
which lies near the eastern end of
Lake Skalka, in sight of the head
of the rapid by which the super-
fluous waters of the lake are car-
ried off, and close by the green
clearing on the edge of the wood
where we had waited the previous

night. On the other side dark woods and undulating hills shut in the view, and before us lay the broad expanse of the lake, sparkling in the sunlight, and stretching far into the distance. The island itself, which derives its name from the birches by which it was formerly covered, is well cultivated, and affords the inhabitants barley and potatoes, as well as hay. There are upon it two good red-painted houses, each having three rooms, and another in course of being built. Around these houses were grouped huts for fishermen, and small barns for storing hay, barley, and wood. Several boats lay drawn up on the shore, and in some of the outhouses stood sledges, and a great many pairs of *skiddor*, or snow shoes (made of narrow pieces of wood about six feet long and three inches broad, and often elaborately carved), were laid carefully aside for winter's use. The whole appearance of the island bore witness to the activity and prosperity of the inhabitants, who have extended their labours to favourable spots on the neighbouring shores.

At noon we left Bjorkholm, and rowed up the lakes Skalka and Tjamotis to Niavi, which we reached at seven in the evening. The scenery improved as we advanced, becoming grander, and losing the sameness which had to a certain extent characterised the lakes crossed on the preceding day. We stopped for more than an hour to lunch near Tjamotis, where we saw one of the poorest Laps that we met in our journey. This was an old woman, dressed in skins, the colour of whose face did not differ much from that of her dress, and who only knew enough Swedish to ask for money. Niavi is picturesquely situated at the top of lake Tjamotis. Two settlers live here, whose red-painted houses are surrounded by numerous huts, and stand in the centre of fields of grass and barley,

behind which a dense forest upon the neck of low land rises. Lake Tjamotis and Not far off to the left is a rapid stream which comes from two lakes, and where there is really good fishing. To the north rises Nganni, a lofty mountain contour of which resembles Arthur's Seat as it is seen above Salisbury Craige, near Edinburgh. We found Niavi more comfortable than any of our other places. The rooms for us were large and scrupulously clean, and the active landlady ready to wait upon us in all our wants. The fire and every thing else was possessed for our supper, and we were careful in entering our room to see that no mosquitoes came near us.

On the following morning we set out for Quikkjokk. We went through the forest for a mile to avoid the worst part of the rapids. The upper part of the rapids was sufficiently difficult. The current was strong, and in spite of the efforts of our four in number, the boat scarcely moved. Then the boatmen shouted and redoubled their efforts, and finally, after an exertion which the boatmen signalled by a shout, we reached the broad like expanse of Lake Saggi. The scenery of this lake was more grand than that of Tjamotis. The hills were bolder, the stretches of snow-clad hills more extensive, the outline of the dark fells more varied, while the snow-capped peaks in the distance showed that we were approaching the great mountain-chain that separates Norway from Sweden. After four hours' rowing we reached the upper end of Lake Saggi, where the low-lying hills and thick forest seemed to be a sudden transition to the opening in the

nal-like winding passage, trees on either side dipped their branches into the water, and the current showed us that we were not far from a river. In this passage we emerged from the lake, and came to the little hamlet of Kaskajve. The view was beautiful description. In the middle lay the settlement, at the foot of which stood the red parsonage; at the other end, on a rising knoll, the church, a small building, not so large as the parsonage, with a rude wooden side of four upright poles supporting a small red-painted leather which hung the bell. A little nearer the shore was the clerk's house, and the black was the unpainted house of the clerk. Round these three were grouped a few roughly painted huts, partly for the storage of hay, and other supplies. The height of the hamlet rose the hill, and the well-wooded slopes of the mountain to the left of the parsonage. At some distance, the steep and dark outline of Kaskajve sharply defined in the clear air between these two mountains, and rose in wondrous beauty above the snow-covered range of the Porti Fjell, the lofty peaks of which, with their dazzling whiteness, contrasted with the deep blue sky. Up the valley, to the south of the lake, we saw one range of mountains rising above another, the peaks being flecked with snow, the whole surmounted by a range of snow mountains, not so high as the Porti Fjell, but of a grand and simple outline. The effect of this landscape was deepened by the circumstances which we first saw it. Dark clouds were gathering behind the hills, and the growing light of the sky began to show the white mountain-tops.

A storm seemed imminent, but at last the clouds passed away to the south, and left the setting sun to illumine the valley with its rays, in all the splendour of an Arctic sunset. Meanwhile, however, we were approaching Quikkjokk, and the Porti Fjell was hid from our view by the rising ground behind the hamlet. Our only choice was between asking hospitality at the clerk's house and at the parsonage, and to the latter we directed our steps. Here we obtained two good rooms, and were well entertained during our stay by the worthy pastor, Herr Berlin, who in this remote spot has the spiritual care of a scattered and wandering flock.

The life of a pastor in the North is largely occupied with the cares of this life. He has during the summer months to attend to his glebe, and to catch fish, and shoot birds to serve as his winter supplies; and when winter comes he has to drive wood from the forest for fuel, and to travel twice a year to the two spring fairs, which are held at the nearest village. The pastor of Quikkjokk only leaves his post thrice a year, and then his journeys extend no farther than Jokkmokk, once to spend Christmas, and on the other two occasions to obtain the necessary supplies, which, if not then obtained, can only be procured afterwards at great expense from the coast. Besides his glebe he has a small salary to enable him to eke out his living, and though banished, as it were, from the world, is not uninterested in its concerns, and keeps up, not only that taste for botany which is so common among educated Swedes, but also pays some attention to archæology. His spiritual duties are light, and in summer confined to the preaching of a sermon on Sunday to the few inhabitants of Quikkjokk. On the day after our arrival we went to the little church, and increased his congregation to twenty-five for that

day. The whole service was in Swedish, and did not differ from that in other Swedish churches. He wore the usual dress of a Swedish pastor, viz. a tight-fitting black coat, with a thickly plaited silk train depending from his shoulders. He also had small bands, and carried in his hand the white pocket-handkerchief without which a pastor never appears in the pulpit, and which is twisted round two fingers, and allowed to hang over the side of the pulpit. After reading prayers at the altar, over which hung an oil painting representing the infant Christ, the gift of a Swedish traveller, the pastor left the church, and, returning shortly with a Bible and psalm-book wrapped in the white handkerchief, ascended the pulpit, and preached an excellent sermon to an inattentive audience. After service he showed us the few treasures of the church, viz. a few vestments and a beautiful gold communion cup for use on high days, a pewter cup being used on other occasions. A coffee-pot to contain the communion wine, and a silver platter for the bread, were also shown us. In the church, besides the picture over the altar, there were on the walls a coarse coloured print of St. Joseph and an engraving of the late king. Above the door, in a glass case, was an epitaph of the child of a former pastor, written on paper, and other ornament there was none. Spring and autumn, or rather the two extremes of winter which correspond to these seasons, form the busy time of Herr Berlin's year. At these periods of the year the Laps, to the number of 300 and more, are in the neighbouring fjells and forests, and the church service is partly in Lap and always includes a Lap sermon. Formerly on these occasions the Laps were much given to religious excitement, dancing, singing, and jumping wildly about in the church,

but now for a long time religion has been of a quiet as well as potent influence in their ordinary life. This great part due to the exertions of the successive pastors, who in autumn and spring hold catechetical classes for the instruction of young and old in the truths of Christianity. The pastor's winter duties also include the visiting of a Lap school, which is maintained at the expense of the State, and in which six Lap boys and girls receive a good education three years gratis. Food and clothing are also provided, and the children help the pastor's wife in the household work. The schoolroom is a garret in the parsonage, the walls of which are covered with large maps of Europe, Scandinavia, and the Holy Land, and diagrams of mathematical figures, weights, and measures. There is also a small collection of specimens of natural objects, to enable the teacher to explain the meaning of their names in the school lesson, and, to show the children what a cube was, there were a number of squares of wood, which were laid over the top of one another, formed a cubic foot. In addition the pastor had a small globe representing the movements of the earth and the moon, and he showed us that he succeeded pretty well with the children in instilling elementary doctrines of astronomy into their minds, but that he often failed to persuade their parents that the earth was revolving round the sun. The school was attended by the children in the neighbourhood, and the pastor was evidently a man who took great pains with his work, and the children rarely leave the school without being able to read and write, as well as to count, though they have in addition a few other faculties to make use of. It is evident that

schools could not supply of a thinly peopled country; dingly, for the benefit of ured settlers, circulating ave been established. A f teachers are sent out, from one settler's house er—never staying more e months at one place—all the children who can ed, and for the time being of the family.

our stay at Quikkjokk, part of our time in fishing, xploring the surrounding and in every direction we on views of wonderful Quikkjokk itself has been e Arctic Paradise, and it ves the name, for it is a een spot in the centre of e country, overlooked by snow. The two best ex- from Quikkjokk are the Sneyrak and Wallispiket, r of which is about 2,500 and is easily reached from by a winding path through t. We ascended this hill on both occasions had a sky and a gorgeous pano- ich made us at once dub up Rigi. All around us the barren fjells. The ll, with its snow-covered l great snow fields, lay to . To the west snow-peak id snow-peak, and the val- een were filled with little meandering streams. To lay the dark summits of la Fjells, and to the south, operings in the hills, we a long lake. It is almost eyrak a wrong to compare Rigi, for there are no big its top, nor, for the mat- at, within hundreds of throng of nicely dressed and no puffing steam en- oreak the stillness. A soli- k hovered overhead, and e eye could reach no other fe was visible.

Another day, the pastor accom- panied us to the top of Wallispiket (4,100 feet), the highest of the mountains close to Quikkjokk. We rowed across the Kamajokk, a river which falls over a succession of beautiful falls, within a hundred yards of the pastor's house, and unites in the lake with the waters of the still-flowing Tarrejokk. As we ascended through the woods on the other side, we again and again looked back on the valley, and saw the head of the lake filled with low- lying land, formed of the *débris* brought down from the mountains by the Kamajokk and the Tarrejokk. Through this low plain, which was partly covered with birch, partly meadowland, were long winding natural canals and small lakes. The combination of land and water was highly picturesque. In the distance a thin wreath of blue smoke pointed out a settler's house, and further off the main portion of Lake Sag- gat was partially seen. The trees now became smaller, and before we reached the fjells the birches were no larger than bushes. Low hardy plants, creepers, and lichens covered the fjells with patches of alpine plants, and great quantities of hjortron, the red unripe berries of which gave a bright appearance in some places to the ground. We now came in sight of Wallispiket, the top of which is a dark angular mass, down the eastern slope of which was a broad strip of snow. Here we passed the Kungsten, a large boulder, so called from the late king Carl having, when he reached it, given up his attempt to climb Wallispiket. A little farther on stands the Mjolksten, which de- rives its name from the circum- stance that the Laps used to collect their reindeer and milk them at this stone. Unfortunately, mist now began to cover the mountain tops, and before commencing the ascent of the peak, we waited for an hour on the fjells in hopes of its clearing

away. Meanwhile we made a fire of some low creeping brushwood, the only fuel which the fjell Laps have, and managed with some difficulty to boil a cup of coffee. When this brushwood is wet it must be almost impossible to kindle a fire, and then the Lap can neither dry himself nor enjoy coffee, his only luxury. The ascent for the last thousand feet was over loose stones, which shook and slipped beneath our feet. The side of the mountain had the appearance of an immense dry stone wall which had fallen over on its side, and been half disintegrated. The two Lap boys who carried our wrappings clambered up in front of us, and standing on the top with long sticks in their hands presented a curious spectacle. The mist still drifted hither and thither, but lifted sufficiently to show us a grander, because nearer, view of the snow mountains than that from Sneyrak. In the clear Arctic atmosphere the distant mountains seemed near. The imposing snowy mass of Staika lay directly to the west of us, and a little to the north of it lay the mountain of Silpakvare, remarkable for its silver mines, which were worked during the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth centuries, sometimes by the Crown, sometimes by private adventurers, but without any permanent success. The ore was brought down on sledges drawn by reindeer to Quikkjokk, where it was smelted, and Quikkjokk is still spoken of by the Laps as 'the smelting furnaces.' The Laps were forced to engage in this work much against their will, and great cruelty was, it is said, shown in those days to them, from which the cessation of the undertaking freed them. Looking down the precipitous northern side of Wallispiket, we saw below us, in the valley, the iron mountain of Ruotivara, dwarfed into insignificance by the lofty mountains by which it is surrounded. The richness of this

mountain is said to equal that of Gellivara, but it is inaccessible. Baron Hedenberg distinguished scientific man made some preliminary workings at the end of last century, and the extent and quantity of the iron ore was everything that could be desired, but the difficulty of transporting the ore down to the coast through the five rapid rapids, and from Jokkmokk to the coast, was too great, and the project was abandoned. The winds, which blew from the west, made it impossible to stay on the top disagreeable glissading down the snow reached the fjella, and returned to Quikkjokk in the evening. Our arrival caused more excitement than we had yet seen in the north, for though there is not the same difficulty in the ascent, they had taken nearly twice as long on the former occasion, and had turned till the succeeding day.

In the preceding account I have given only a faint idea of the beauties of Quikkjokk, and with regret that we had no time to visit the hospitable pastor, who took care to remunerate for our inconvenience to which we were subjected, although he did not receive any bill. Our return journey over the same ground does not admit of any special description. In the evening of Lake Vaikjanra, on the evening of August 23, we saw a most beautiful meteor. The moon had just set and was faintly lighting the quiet waters of the lake, we saw a great globe of fire shoot from the heavens in a north-easterly direction, leaving behind it a line of light. This line was luminous at its lower end, where the ball of fire had vanished, and then to rise higher and higher in the sky, its luminosity getting greater and greater. At the same time it bent slightly into a curve, and then to twist into fantastic

al form the line of light if six or seven knots had upon it, and at the places se knots seemed to be, the r was most intense, and to glow after the con-ortions had faded away. wards of a quarter of an he watch, before the last became invisible. ched in succession Jokk- tarbacken, Edefors, and d so ended a tour which i fulfilled all our anticipa- l in which the difficulties

that appeared at a distance van- ished on a nearer acquaintance. The freshness of the country, the grandeur of the scenery, the purity of the air, and the simplicity of the living, made a combination in which there was no alloy, for the trifling discomforts to which we were ex- posed were matters to be laughed at rather than taken seriously; and in spite even of the mosquitoes, we regard Lule Lapmark as one of the best countries for a summer tour.

THE END. W. D. T.



A HOLIDAY.

Out of the city, far away
 With Spring to-day!—
 Where copses tufted with primrose
 Give me repose,
 Wood-sorrel and wild violet
 Soothe my soul's fret,
 The pure delicious vernal air
 Blows away care,
 The birds' reiterated songs
 Heal fancied wrongs.

Down the rejoicing brook my grief
 Drifts like a leaf,
 And on its gently murmuring flow
 Cares glide and go;
 The bud-besprinkled boughs and hedges,
 The sprouting sedges
 Waving beside the water's brink,
 Come like cool drink
 To fever'd lips, like fresh soft mead
 To kine that feed.

Much happier than the kine, I bed
 My dreaming head
 In grass; I see far mountains blue,
 Like heav'n in view,
 Green world and sunny sky above
 Alive with love;
 All, all, however came they there,
 Divinely fair.

Is this the better oracle,
 Or what streets tell?
 O base confusion, falsehood, strife,
 Man puts in life!
 Sink, thou Life-Measurer!—I can say
 'I've lived a day;'
 And Memory holds it now in keeping,
 Awake or sleeping.



NORMAN MACLEOD.¹

ns, it is well under-
ow all about their
but the rich rela-
ry little about the
s that all educated
nd (Sydney Smith's
England) know all
while educated folk
re, even yet, many
lly ignorant of all

So it is that all
are among the clergy
of Scotland are well
knowledge of the
land, while the typi-
cnows and cares ex-
about the Scotch
re are exceptions.
Westminster, always
ed in any ecclesias-
is very fully informed
ry, constitution, and
National Establish-
and: and the Arch-
terbury, brought up
ion, is still in various

Scotch eye) visibly
his Presbyterian up-
exalted Personage,
esteemed as the
of the Anglican
ecome, by more than
experience, a warm
med friend of the
Northern kingdom.
interest in Scotch
affairs is cool. Not
unt and incisive *Life*
Lee by Dr. Story of
ced to draw adequate
career of a really
an, placed in excep-
tances. All this the
with some sense of

disheartening, as he begins his
brief account of the greatest man
who has been numbered among
the Scotch clergy for many a day
and year.

Yet if any clergyman of the
Church of Scotland in recent times
has broken beyond the provincial
limit of reputation, it is Norman
Macleod. One feels, however, that
his reputation South of the Tweed
rests on an unsatisfactory founda-
tion. It comes of causes away from
the real nature of the man. Court
favour, and the editorship of a
monthly magazine of wide circula-
tion, made his name familiar to
multitudes who never heard the
name of any other Scotch clergy-
man. It is little known in England
how extraordinary a man he was,
and how singular was his standing
in his own country. I wish I could
carry some impression of what
manner of man he was to those
who shall read these pages.

His place in Scotland was unlike
that of any other man among its
three millions and a half. His
Christian name was a household
word. Nobody in Scotland talked
of *Dr. Macleod*. It was always
Norman. On February 8, 1876, a
letter appeared in the *Glasgow*
Herald, written evidently by a
clever working-man, upon the
vexed question of piece-work.
Something must be done, the writer
says, towards drawing masters and
men together and making them
understand each other: and he ends
his letter with the vain wish, 'O
for Norman back again!' Norman
in his youth habitually called

Norman Macleod, D.D., Minister of the Barony Parish, Glasgow; City's Chaplains; Dean of the Chapel Royal; Dean of the Most Ancient Order of the Thistle. By his Brother, the Rev. Donald Macleod, B.A., City's Chaplains. Two Volumes. London: Daldy, Isbister & Co. 1876.
O. LXXVI. NEW SERIES. M M

day. The whole service was in Swedish, and did not differ from that in other Swedish churches. He wore the usual dress of a Swedish pastor, viz. a tight-fitting black coat, with a thickly plaited silk train depending from his shoulders. He also had small bands, and carried in his hand the white pocket-handkerchief without which a pastor never appears in the pulpit, and which is twisted round two fingers, and allowed to hang over the side of the pulpit. After reading prayers at the altar, over which hung an oil painting representing the infant Christ, the gift of a Swedish traveller, the pastor left the church, and, returning shortly with a Bible and psalm-book wrapped in the white handkerchief, ascended the pulpit, and preached an excellent sermon to an inattentive audience. After service he showed us the few treasures of the church, viz. a few vestments and a beautiful gold communion cup for use on high days, a pewter cup being used on other occasions. A coffee-pot to contain the communion wine, and a silver platter for the bread, were also shown us. In the church, besides the picture over the altar, there were on the walls a coarse coloured print of St. Joseph and an engraving of the late king. Above the door, in a glass case, was an epitaph of the child of a former pastor, written on paper, and other ornament there was none. Spring and autumn, or rather the two extremes of winter which correspond to these seasons, form the busy time of Herr Berlin's year. At these periods of the year the Laps, to the number of 300 and more, are in the neighbouring fjells and forests, and the church service is partly in Lap and always includes a Lap sermon. Formerly on these occasions the Laps were much given to religious excitement, dancing, singing, and jumping wildly about in the church,

but now for a long time their religion has been of a quieter type, as well as more potent in influencing their ordinary life. This is in great part due to the exertions of the successive pastors, who in autumn and spring hold regular catechetical classes for the instruction of young and old in the doctrines of Christianity. The pastor's winter duties also include the teaching of a Lap school, which is maintained at the expense of the State and in which six Lap boys and girls receive a good education for three years gratis. Food and clothing are also provided, and in return the children help the pastor's wife in the household work. The schoolroom is a garret in the parsonage, the walls of which are hung with large maps of Europe, Scandinavia, and the Holy Land, and diagrams of mathematical figures, weights, and measures. There was also a small collection of specimens of natural objects, to enable the teacher to explain the meaning of their names in the school lessons; and, to show the children what a cube was, there were a number of squares of wood, which, when laid over the top of one another, formed a cubic foot. In addition the pastor had a small orrery representing the movements of the earth and the moon, and he told us that he succeeded pretty well with the children in instilling the elementary doctrines of astronomy into their minds, but that he utterly failed to persuade their parents that the earth was revolving round the sun. The school was always attended by the children in the neighbourhood, and the pastor was evidently a man who took great pains with his work, and the children rarely leave the school without being able to read and write, as well as to count, though unfortunately they have in after life few opportunities to make use of this instruction. It is evident that

er: 'the greatest and most
ing preacher I ever heard,'
ie estimate of Sir Arthur
whose opinion was worth
ing. The solitary one among
divines who was commonly
before him was Dr. Caird,
al of the University of Glas-
ho for thirty years has stood
t question first among Scotch
ers. Guthrie and Macleod
ould bracket as equal. Still
emarkable was his power as
orm speaker. When a great
g of people was getting very
through many long-winded
markably sensible orations,
l but to rise, and instantly
on was keen, and there was
rywhere. Norman Macleod
ever dull: that could not be
nature of things. And you
1 were getting a tremendous
n the direction in which he
l to make you to go. His
was always kept to the last:
need think to speak after
I have heard him preach and
many times: I never knew
ake a failure: and some-
at the call of a great occa-
have seen him produce on
t multitude an impression
I cannot imagine as exceeded
an words. It is no wonder
ean Stanley longed for the
en Macleod might preach in
ve of some vast cathedral.
ll Scotch clergymen of any
t, he loved the Anglican
as his own: and it might
ave been. But it was not

spontaneous and incessant
f lively, pathetic, and hu-
s thought from him was won-

You could not talk with
or five minutes without dis-
g that here was an excep-
man. If you met him on the
while his high health con-
he had something bright
ief to say: and he did not
himself. Latterly, indeed, you

saw the pump at work: it was hard
to daily meet scores of men, each of
whom expected something uncom-
mon. But it was while sitting up,
late at night, in the company of two
or three congenial friends, that Nor-
man Macleod was at his greatest.
The riotous fun, passing momentarily
but never unfitly to the deepest
pathos and most solemn reflection,
—for his laughter and his tears
were never far asunder,—none who
witnessed can forget. Like most
great orators, he had a strong power
of mimicry, and he could represent
the most diverse subjects equally
well: a Highland drover, and a
young guardsman anxious to convey
that though he made no loud profes-
sions he hoped he had chosen Right,
—each was perfect. The charm of
his manner was indescribable: yet
there was no more courtly gen-
tleman than the life-enjoying Celt,
no more earnest preacher and be-
liever than he who returning from
a mission to America first made
known in Scotland the unsolemn
lay of *Old Dan Tucker*. It was
extraordinary, how he passed
from the profoundest tragedy to
the wildest merriment: and both
were very real. After one of his
great speeches, in which he seemed
possessed of apostolic zeal for some
good cause, and was indeed so pos-
sessed, he could speedily let the bow
unbend. I heard him end a grand
missionary address to students by
saying with a faltering voice that if
that work broke down, 'some of us
will be glad to find a grave.' There
he stopped: and dead silence fol-
lowed, not untouched with unac-
customed tears. Ten minutes after
he was saying in the liveliest
fashion to a friend, 'I have got
some splendid weeds: come down to-
night and try them.' But indeed in
the pulpit, on the platform, in the
general assembly, in his back-study
(an extraordinary place in a laun-
dry where he sought escape from
ceaseless interruption), or in the

smoking-room, you could not say where he was greatest: but you felt that everywhere he was a streaming fountain of influence, and a man among a million men.

For the last twenty-one years of his life he held (as he records in his diary with due thankfulness) the best living in Scotland: after all, not 1,200*l.* a year. It was the Barony parish of Glasgow, with a population of near 100,000 souls. This parish has its church under the shadow of Glasgow Cathedral: but the Reformation brought some losses with its gains, and it is related that the last Lord Derby, issuing from the Cathedral, was transfixed by the sight of the Barony church, but after some delay exclaimed, 'Well, I once saw an uglier church than that.' He did not say where. It would be interesting to know. In this hideous erection Norman Macleod preached: always to a great congregation. He organised parochial machinery, he built churches, he pleaded eloquently and effectively for every good work: he made his presence felt through Glasgow, through Scotland: he was the greatest Scotchman living his life in Scotland, at the time he died. It is very sad to think how that intense enjoyment of life, that tremendous energy to push on the laggard, are quenched: quenched for near four years past; and that the man if living would now not be sixty-four. And those who never saw nor heard him cannot possibly understand what he was. His writings, though lively and clever, give no idea of Norman Macleod. What he produced must be vivified by his personality. And he was so pushed and over-driven by excessive work, that he never had time to do his best with his pen. It is said (I do not know if it be true) that at the last what he published was spoken off at the rate of rapid speaking and taken down by a shorthand writer. Many

thousands remember him now: the only present big life-enjoying man: the voice with the strong Gaelic that told of Morven and the islands: and the portraits the biography bring him back he lived to such as knew him. But in a few years there will remain only a fading tradition like he was, and how he spoke and talked: and those who work will wonder wherein lies the magical charm of Norman. The reader may think that the writer speaks too warmly: but it is not so. Nor do private considerations weigh with him. The writer, though he has known Macleod well for twenty years, is not one of the inner circle of special friends: and was not bound to him by any sense of obligation. Yet, as Macleod's gifts and genius as a writer could honestly speak more warmly than his brother could do. It would be hard to generate his power of interest, pressing, and charming all whom he came into friendly relations.

Not everyone, indeed, was so to Norman Macleod with his enthusiastic faith which appeals to his more especial friends, of the Principal Shairp of St. Andrew's may be taken as the type. In manner, strongly recalling the Bishop Wilberforce, did not so well with such as had not themselves something responsive to it. The Celtic temperament, much that is most lovable, doubt has its side which recommends itself to the graver appeal of the Saxon. The Celtic earnestness takes forms which are not particularly agreeable to those of the clan. It was said of the bishop Whately that to be in his presence was to be in a position of submission. Norman Macleod was a man at a positive disadvantage in the company of his Saxon friends, and the result was that he was often the subject of their criticism. The clergy

valuing those of his own blood by no means be brought to Norman Macleod. After more pleasing that a family be a little society for mutual aid than (as in some cases) for degradation. And it is only to say that there is no advancement which the members of the clan have each, which they have not in common consent fairly earned: as for Norman himself, even compromising men whom he went against the grain would be obliged to admit that nothing he ever attained was more than a poor reward for such a man. He was born at Campbeltown, a town in a remote part of Argyllshire, on June 3, 1812. His father was a man of great ability and magnificent physique, was incumbent of the parish: but was soon called to the living of Campsie, Glasgow. In the University of Glasgow Norman was educated. He was always vivaciously clever, and made no figure in University circles. He had not the nature for a kind of eminence: and, like other lads who could not by effort have attained University honours, he professed to hold them

It will hardly do, looking at the Glasgow prize-lists, and at what the most distinguished have done in after-life, to say that, save for an exceptional man here and there, they are adequate tests of available talent. If this paper were to be the length I can make it, the readers of *Fraser* cared nothing about the question, it would be easy for a Glasgow student to prove it so. But it was Norman Macleod that his students saw what it was. His genius was little to University training; no pretention to scholarship, his reading was wide, if defective; his knowledge extensive, but inaccurate: and he saved his energies through those years in

which many brilliant scholars undermine their constitution, entering practical life early-old. He was tutor in a Yorkshire family for several years; and with his pupil lived for some time at Weimar. Here he 'was passionately fond of music, sang well to the guitar, sketched cleverly, was as keen a waltzer as any *attaché* in Weimar, and threw himself with a vivid sense of enjoyment into the gaieties of the little capital.' Here, too, he so far broke the bonds of a Scotch training as to write, more than forty years since, with much contempt of 'being obliged to have his piety measured by reading a newspaper on Sunday, or such trash.' While finishing his studies for the Church, he saw the shadows of coming events in Scotland. He writes, in 1835,

'Our very clergy are dragging us down to lick the dust, and the influence of the mob is making our young men a subservient set of fellows. I see among our better-thinking clergy a strong Episcopalian spirit: they are beginning to see the use of a set form of worship. And who can look at the critical, self-sufficient faces of one-half of our congregations during prayers, and the labour and puffing and blowing of some aspirant to a church, and not deplore the absence of some set prayers which would keep the feelings of many right-thinking Christians from being hurt every Sabbath?'

At the same time he took part in resisting a preposterous proposal on the part of some narrow-minded students of divinity to turn *Blackwood's Magazine* out of the Divinity-Hall Library, from which they had already excluded the *Edinburgh Review*. It may seem incredible: but these ears have heard an eminent Scotch clergyman declare that 'no one who knew the truth as it is in Jesus could read Shakespeare.' Says Macleod,

smoking-room, you could not say where he was greatest: but you felt that everywhere he was a streaming fountain of influence, and a man among a million men.

For the last twenty-one years of his life he held (as he records in his diary with due thankfulness) the best living in Scotland: after all, not 1,200*l.* a year. It was the Barony parish of Glasgow, with a population of near 100,000 souls. This parish has its church under the shadow of Glasgow Cathedral: but the Reformation brought some losses with its gains, and it is related that the last Lord Derby, issuing from the Cathedral, was transfixed by the sight of the Barony church, but after some delay exclaimed, 'Well, I once saw an uglier church than that.' He did not say where. It would be interesting to know. In this hideous erection Norman Macleod preached: always to a great congregation. He organised parochial machinery, he built churches, he pleaded eloquently and effectively for every good work: he made his presence felt through Glasgow, through Scotland: he was the greatest Scotchman living his life in Scotland, at the time he died. It is very sad to think how that intense enjoyment of life, that tremendous energy to push on the laggard, are quenched: quenched for near four years past; and that the man if living would now not be sixty-four. And those who never saw nor heard him cannot possibly understand what he was. His writings, though lively and clever, give no idea of Norman Macleod. What he produced must be vivified by his personality. And he was so pushed and over-driven by excessive work, that he never had time to do his best with his pen. It is said (I do not know if it be true) that at the last what he published was spoken off at the rate of rapid speaking and taken down by a shorthand writer. Many

thousands remember him vividly now: the manly presence of the big life-enjoying man: the powerful voice with the strong Gaelic accent that told of Morven and the misty islands: and the portraits given in the biography bring him back as if he lived to such as knew him well. But in a few years there will remain only a fading tradition of what-like he was, and how he preached and talked: and those who read his works will wonder wherein lay the magical charm of Norman. Possibly the reader may think that the writer speaks too warmly: but it is not so. Nor do private considerations sway him. The writer, though he knew Macleod well for twenty years, was not one of the inner circle of his special friends: and was certainly not bound to him by any sense of obligation. Yet, as concerns Macleod's gifts and genius, the writer could honestly speak of him more warmly than his brother has done. It would be hard to exaggerate his power of interesting, impressing, and charming all with whom he came into friendly relations.

Not everyone, indeed, was drawn to Norman Macleod with that enthusiastic faith which appeared in his more especial friends, of whom Principal Shairp of St. Andrews may be taken as the type. The manner, strongly recalling that of Bishop Wilberforce, did not take so well with such as had not in themselves something responsive to it. The Celtic temperament, with much that is most loveable, no doubt has its side which less commends itself to the graver approval of the Saxon. The Celtic clannishness takes forms which are not particularly agreeable to those not of the clan. It was said of Archbishop Whately that to be his relation set a man at a positive disadvantage with him in the exercise of his patronage and the exertion of his influence. The charge of

undervaluing those of his own blood could by no means be brought against Norman Macleod. After all, it is more pleasing that a family should be a little society for mutual exaltation than (as in some cases) for mutual degradation. And it is only fair to say that there is no advancement which the members of the clan have reached, which they have not by common consent fairly earned: while as for Norman himself, even the uncompromising men whom he rubbed against the grain would be constrained to admit that nothing which he ever attained was more than a poor reward for such a man.

He was born at Campbeltown, a little town in a remote part of Argyleshire, on June 3, 1812. His father, a man of great ability and magnificent physique, was incumbent of the parish: but was soon translated to the living of Campsie, near Glasgow. In the University of that city Norman was educated. He was always vivaciously clever, but made no figure in University work: he had not the nature for that kind of eminence: and, like most clever lads who could not by any effort have attained University honours, he professed to hold them cheap. It will hardly do, looking over the Glasgow prize-lists, and noting what the most distinguished *there* have done in after-life, to doubt that, save for an exceptive Bohemian here and there, they are fairly adequate tests of available ability. If this paper were to be thrice the length I can make it, and if the readers of *Fraser* cared a brass farthing about the question, it would be easy for a Glasgow student to prove it so. But it was well for Macleod that his student-life was what it was. His genius owed little to University training; he had no pretention to scholarship, but his reading was wide, if desultory: his knowledge extensive, though inaccurate: and he saved his energies through those years in

which many brilliant scholars undermine their constitution, entering practical life early-old. He was tutor in a Yorkshire family for several years; and with his pupils lived for some time at Weimar. Here he 'was passionately fond of music, sang well to the guitar, sketched cleverly, was as keen a waltzer as any *attaché* in Weimar, and threw himself with a vivacious sense of enjoyment into the gaieties of the little capital.' Here, too, he so far broke the bonds of a Scotch training as to write, more than for years since, with much contempt, 'being obliged to have his pie measured by reading a newspaper on Sunday, or such trash.' While finishing his studies for the Church he saw the shadows of coming events in Scotland. He writes, 1835,

'Our very clergy are dragging down to lick the dust, and the influence of the mob is making of young men a subservient set of fellows. I see among our better thinking clergy a strong Episcopalian spirit: they are beginning to see the use of a set form of worship. And who can look at the critical self-sufficient faces of one-half our congregations during prayer, and the labour and puffing and blowing of some aspirant to a church, and not deplore the absence of some set prayers which would keep the feelings of many right-thinking Christians from being hurt every Sabbath?'

At the same time he took part in resisting a preposterous proposal on the part of some narrow-minded students of divinity to turn *Blackwood's Magazine* out of the Divinity Hall Library, from which they had already excluded the *Edinburgh Review*. It may seem incredible: but these ears have heard an eminent Scotch clergyman declare that 'no one who knew the truth as it is in Jesus could read Shakespeare.' Says Macleod,

'Poor Maga was peppered with a whole volley of anathemas: and if it were not for some fellows of sense who were determined to give old Christopher a lift on his stults, he would have hobbled down the turnpike stair to make room for a dripping Baptist or oily-haired Methodist. Oh, I hate cant: I detest it, from my heart of hearts!'

His first living was the parish of Loudoun, in Ayrshire. He was presented to it by the Marchioness of Hastings, widow of the Indian Governor-General: and many instances are recorded which show the terms of friendship on which he stood to the family. When one of the daughters was married to the Marquis of Bute, Macleod performed the ceremony. Of that union sprang the prototype, in vulgar belief, of *Lothair*. Another sister was the well-known Lady Flora Hastings. A curious fashion of that family was (as may be seen in great printed volumes) to use, in writing of their father, the capital letters at the beginning of pronouns which people in general employ only in the case of the Divine Persons in the Trinity. In 1843, Norman was translated to the parish of Dalkeith, where the ducal House of Buccleugh, not conforming to the National Church, was by no means so congenial as that of Hastings: nor did its head appear to realise how remarkable a man was his parish clergyman, not valuing his ministrations nearly so highly as in after years did the Personage who can 'make a Duke.' In 1851, he was appointed to the Barony parish of Glasgow: and in that great charge, and holding the most prominent place in the second city of the empire, Macleod found his right place, and never left it. What a Bishop he would have been! But the Scotch Church has no such dignities, and he had reached the end of his tether. The little dignities of the Deanery of the Thistle and the Chaplaincy

to the C , followed by These of late years the w le given very ju never with more general than when given to Norm

There is a great deal right truth told by Macleod the deplorable schism of no one who wishes well to cares to look back on that of fierce and unchristian to be paralleled in the hist Church, and soon (it may be forgotten. In the that year, the writer, the heard Norman preach for time. It was in a count in Ayrshire, on a Fast-d congregation was tired as having already heard a me discourse. Norman ascended the pulpit, looking (I thought very like some of the poets of Byron. The Collect before at once aroused the people not couched in liturgical such as may now be Scotch churches, the result old-fashioned clergymen. 'Prayer Movement.' But it came back, and the tone, silent hush in the church: us to remember that for common we hear, we must account at the Day of Je It was plainly a new song the people had never heard that. Then came the sermon was I think the very first listened to from beginning I could give an accurate of it to-day: but I will at sorest consequences to the of the Secession of 1843 we deplorable appointments: some cases to the charges by eminent men who 'went would be easy to mention And it is much to be regret Macleod went to Dalkeith, and an I should charge to was present. Things were been very different: not parish only, but through

metropolis. However, Dal-
is near Edinburgh: and
ver it was known that Nor-
as to preach or speak there,
Glasgow, eager crowds assem-
He started and edited a little
ly magazine, not very good
cessful. Where taken in, it
arely thought worth bind-
nd sets of it are seldom

In 1860 came *Good Words*,
he edited. How the streets
Glasgow were placarded with
otices that it was to be

The immense energy of
ublisher, Mr. Strahan: the
publicity given by advertising
unprecedented degree: the
irs of such payment to
rs as had never before been
for periodical writing: ex-
interest, and gradually se-
a vast circulation. Norman
a great deal in this maga-
gradually emancipating his
from that of a Scotch sermon,
attaining one of a higher lite-
character. But it was not
hat his strength lay.

Life went on in a ceaseless
of preaching, speech-making,
h-building, pastoral work,
n travel, social enjoyment:
his fame spread wider and
. Being once invited to
before the Queen at Crathie,
t such a remembrance of him
enceforward he was perpetu-
here during Her Majesty's
; and he became by degrees
tters in this work equally
rable to all parties show)
ted and valued friend. The
ter of his theology changed
ibly: becoming what for lack
better name may be called
: though he ever clung with
faith to the main facts and
of the Christian religion. A
event in his life, and a painful
ence, was the outcry which
ed a speech he made in the
ytery of Glasgow on the ob-
ice of the Lord's Day, and its
rity. The speech was of near

four hours' length: no full record
of it remains: but those who heard
it still say that it was most startling
to hear; and assuredly it roused
the country when it was read as
reported in the newspapers. As to
the observance of the day, probably
the ground taken is that now gene-
rally taken by educated people.
But the views set forth as to its
authority seemed very strange to
most Scotch folk. The binding au-
thority of the Fourth Commandment
was flatly denied: the obligation of
the day was made to rest on its
manifest advantages and long
sacred associations: and in the
orator's eagerness, the other nine
Commandments seemed to be held
as cheap as the Fourth. It need not
be said that the higher morality of
the New Testament, and its eternal
obligation, were strongly recog-
nised. But all this passed the
understanding of many decent
people. I once heard a simple
clergyman say, 'The best answer
to Norman's speech is to go out to
his house and take away his silver
spoons.' Norman's influence seemed
gone. He was furiously abused,
sorrowfully mourned over: much
prayed for, and much cursed, both
commonly by the same individuals.
'Ministers of the Gospel passed
him without recognition: *one of
these, more zealous than the rest, hissed
him on the street.*' This last state-
ment seems incredible,—but only
to English people. Every spiteful,
envious little creature thought that
now was the chance of a kick at
the great man. Apart from bigotry
and folly, the case was difficult.
Macleod had plainly contradicted
the articles of his Church: and
there were those who would have
been willing to depose and turn out
the strongest man in it. 'I sup-
pose there is room enough for him
without,' I heard a dignified clergy-
man say in a Church-court: and
the truculent suggestion of another
was that 'Execution should be
done.' But worthier thoughts pre-

vailed: and the Presbytery of Glasgow, by an act of wise tolerance, while it could not pass by without notice an unquestionable infraction of the standards, was content to record its regret that so eminent a clergyman should have set out views which appeared unorthodox, and its hope that he would not do it any more. Norman would retract nothing. They did not ask him. And the conclusion was in the highest degree creditable to the really wise and good men who swayed the councils of that Court.

'Their admonition was not pronounced but recorded. And I said that it was interesting as being probably the last which should be addressed to any minister of the Church for teaching as I did, and that I would show it some day to my son as an ecclesiastical fossil. They only smiled and said he would never discover it. All was good humour.'

Honour to the tolerant, wise, and kindly Presbytery of Glasgow! Could an illustrious law-breaker have been let more easily down? And law-breaker he was, beyond doubt.

Of the multitude of squibs, in prose and verse, which the occasion brought forth, by far the best known to the writer appeared in a little publication called *The Comet*, published in the University of St. Andrews, and written by the students. It was written, of course, by an admirer of Norman, and it cleverly bit off the sum of his moral teaching, in the vulgarer and stupider minds. It began

Have you heard of valiant Norman,

Norman of the ample rest,—

How he fought the Ten Commandments,
In the Synod of the West?

It went on to personify the Decalogue as a vague and awful Beast, much like the Jabberwock of the renowned ballad. Norman encountered this creature, with much bravery; but the contest was unequal, and he was beaten and swal-

lowed down by it. But he adhered to his principles; these are summarised in a pendent statement of his creed which the poem ends:

Still from out the Monster's eye
In the choicest Glasgow lay;
He is heard to curse the Sinner,
And to ban the Decalogue!

I once read the entire legend to the great subject. But the pain had been too and too sharp: and I regret he did not appear to see me in it.

Rapid as was Macleod's temporary loss of position, even as was his re-habilitation. Just after he had feared the Synod of the Church might do him, it unanimously asked him to go to India as the Church's ambassador to visit all the missions there: and a year later he was a general enthusiasm quite national as to such appointments placed in its Chair, as Moderator of the General Assembly. By a parent fiction, to hold this of commonly spoken of as the highest honour which can befall a clergyman. It might be so, were not sometimes given to nobodies; or to men known to conspicuous failures. The case of past Moderators nominally and it is a strong thing for the Assembly to reject their nomination however unworthy. Yet in two recent instances the thing was nearly done. 'When are you Moderator?' was the question asked at Holyrood of an ex-preacher who soon after attained that dignity, such as it is. The answer was prompt: 'Never; never emptied a church: I filled several, but I never emptied one.' The qualification was in great degree, of unpopularity with the multitude. Macleod's closing address as Moderator was a very noble one.

ages are given from a
 ion on education after
 a very strongly con-
 ceived belief that 'as
 , so it must lie:' and
 ublished during Nor-
 would assuredly have
 greater trouble than
 .Sabbath speech. The
 set forth is one which
 ully taught by the ex-
 ne of Linlathen. And
 urs made in many
 restore the public
 he Scotch Church to
 riety and dignity, met
 arty support. It is
 to believe that ten
 ergymen not suspected
 eclared that the inno-
 ceeling at prayer and
 praise, and the intro-
 e organ into churches,
 instigation of the De-
 at the most malignant
 l possible persecution,
 of the too-enlightened
 ured these things.
 onion since then has
 aged in reference to
 , that it is difficult to
 excitement which was
 he use of read prayers
 ental music, or to be-
 vas for a while doubt-
 the Church would
 changes in her service,
 increasing culture of
 every day demanded

preached and spoke incessantly,
 told heavily upon him. He was
 breaking before he went: but after
 his return he never seemed the
 same man. Yet in February 1872,
 though much aged and bent, I
 heard him make at St. Andrews
 one of the most touching and
 powerful speeches ever made by
 man: and in May of the same
 year, with the end now quite close
 at hand, he made his last speech in
 the General Assembly, which by
 common consent of those who heard
 it was his greatest. But it was a
 dying effort: his exhaustion was
 painful to witness. The speech
 was made on Thursday May 30.
 On Sunday June 16 he died. And
 on Thursday June 20,—that day
 three weeks he had made his great
 speech of near two hours to a
 breathless multitude,—he was laid
 to rest in the churchyard of Camp-
 sie, amid such marks of public
 mourning as had not been seen in
 Scotland for many a year.

Among recent Scotch clergymen,
 Caird, Guthrie and MacGregor have
 preached as popularly, and Robert-
 son of Glasgow Cathedral as well.
 Professor Robertson of Edinburgh
 and Dr. Candlish were as energetic
 and successful in impelling other
 men to do or suffer. Dr. Robert
 Lee did more towards mending the
 National worship. Dr. Macleod
 Campbell, Principal Tulloch, and
 Dr. Crawford excelled him as theo-
 logians. Dr. Crombie and Dr.
 MacGill were far before him as
 scholars. But taking him for all
 in all, by far the greatest Scotch
 minister of the last thirty years was
 Norman Macleod.

A. K. H. B.

life drew to its too
 Macleod's was not a
 to last long: and he
 it very hard. The
 lia, during which he



WASTE OF POWER IN SANITARY IMPROVEMENT

THERE is no element of the English character which has so much impaired the effect of the sterling qualities which it is admitted to possess, as a certain disinclination to prepare for action until the wolf is at the doors. In Saxon times, we may conclude, it was the special predominance of this defect that gave to one of our Kings the appellation of the Unready. But even that ignominious adjective may mean one of two very different things. It may mean unprepared for events, or unable to look them fairly in the face when they arrive. In the latter sense we have never been conspicuously deficient. Indeed, it may well be thought that it is the prompt readiness of the Englishman to confront any danger, or to encounter any task, at a moment's notice, which is one main reason why he evinces so much less of those qualities of forethought, anticipation of events, and organised preparation to meet them, whichever way they turn out, which form the strength of less robust natures. At any rate it was mainly to the want of organisation on the part of the islanders on whom he swooped, that the Norman duke owed the victory which gave him the crown of England. And, in spite of the great advance in science made since the Norman Conquest, we doubt whether the balance of the national character has been, in this respect, essentially altered since 1066.

We have had a remarkable instance of the loss and inconvenience, public as well as private, to which the want of the spirit of timely organisation has exposed the country, in the proceedings of all parties, with regard to the great question of Sanitary Protection. Slowly

and painfully some of the medical profession with a few earnest adherents have impressed upon the public conviction that some of the dreaded scourges that so often descend upon us, and which at least be spared, are, in some of our most fertile and most populous districts, preventable diseases. It has not been to arrive at this conclusion that we have generally accepted of the persons. Nor is it a vague matter that is thus established. The matter has been wronged by a considerable degree of has been brought in an graphic manner before those who choose to be land has been medical out; divided, not into parishes, but into areas ing disease. The physi of the country, the low hills, the upland valleys, rolling plains, the fen and meres reclaimed for fowl, the sands, the river mouths, do indeed main outlines of the di But the coincidence of medical topography is arrived at by scientific The process employed purely inductive. It is working out the statistics collected by the Registrar and by distributing of sentation (by shades of otherwise) over the country, that the diseases in the first instance down. The coincident districts with physical logical divisions of the matter of comparative The co-ordination of distinct series of observations the highest value; but

resentation, although it is made on a single map, is of three entirely distinct original observations.

In the year 1872 the occurrence of a small number of deaths, of persons well known to the public, for whom much sympathy was felt, and the extraordinary narrow escape of the people of Wales from the same epidemic of typhoid fever, had created a feeling very strongly in favour of that, as science had not as yet asserted that this disease was not of those which the sanitary commission, duly commissioned, was bound to stamp out, no one should be lost; but that the positive sanction should be given to the measures best adapted to the end. England was very earnest; and any sound and reprehensive measure, that would have been gladly accepted by the country, even if it had involved considerable expense; and had sanctioned, what England was generally very loth to do, a considerable amount of interference with private liberty in the name of public safety.

At length the task fell into the hands of Mr. Stansfeld. Not that that was, in itself, necessarily disastrous. Our political administration, as it is, it appears to the more experienced eyes of Latin or of Greek blood, contains within it the seeds of those self-sown calamities without which any free government would be simply impossible. Experience having shown that a parliamentary government has the chance of the comparative intervals of a few years on the helm of each great country, and that it is necessary to entrust it in its special subject of sanitary reform to a man who might be able, though not wise; but whose chief qualification is the discharge of great administrative functions consisted

in his utility as a political gladiator—the Administration gradually formed within its bosom a system of permanent officials, independent of the fluctuations of party. It is to the permanent secretaries and other heads of departments in the various branches of the Administration that the fact that public affairs do not come to a temporary dead-lock on every change of Ministry is entirely due. We can learn, from the miserable experience of another country, what is the result of making all appointments political.

Thus it will not unfrequently happen that a minister of inferior calibre, if only he have the genius to be privately sensible of his own shortcomings, is a much safer and more useful public servant than a man who is sparkling with talent, and anxious that his light should not be put under a bushel. By holding his tongue and looking wise, a new minister may, in a very few weeks, be so educated by his permanent staff as to be tolerably sure of not exposing himself to ridicule when he has to answer any question in public as to the department over which he presides. To the permanent school thus provided for the temporary political heads of the great departments of the State are added two additional safeguards. The Sovereign is not only permanent, but hereditary. In the Sovereign there is thus likely to reside, and usually has resided, a strong instinctive sense of what is best for the country; a sense which has acted on the reciprocating pulses of political action much as the governor of a steam-engine acts upon the movement of the piston. On the other hand, when fresh information is requisite, the cumbrous but far-reaching machinery of parliamentary returns, parliamentary committees, and Royal commissions can be set in motion, to supply an amount of statistical fact which is

enough to place the most ordinary statesman, within whose grasp it is placed, at an immense advantage as compared with any non-official opponent.

The greatest misfortune, therefore, that is likely to befall a country under an Administration so complex as that necessitated by parliamentary forms, is for a minister to have too much zeal. If he is driven by the desire to make himself a name as a brilliant administrator, rather than by the straightforward resolve to do his duty to his country quietly and cautiously; if he is anxious to give full play to some crotchet or political theory; above all, if he desire to use his power to make organic or administrative changes which he thinks will permanently benefit his political party; a minister can usually contrive, within the four or five years' term of his office, to do permanent and effective disservice to the country.

It is unnecessary to enquire to which of these disturbing causes is due the fact that the highly favourable occasion for really statesmanlike legislation on sanitary matters, which was offered to the Administration in 1872, was so thoroughly wasted. A Bill, indeed, was brought into Parliament, and, after that amount of drifting and shifting which characterised much of the tentative legislation of the period, became law. But it became evident that the one thing which was most conspicuously absent from the Bill was the honest effort to provide in the most efficient manner for the sanitary improvement of the country. The best that could be said of the measure was, that it allowed those local authorities which had up to that time shown so strong a disinclination to incur any trouble or expense, in order to protect the public health, to continue their procedure under new names. Some provisions were made, chiefly at the

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paid him. If a report or con
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had no redress. On the
if he ventured to repeat
sired complaint, he had
chance of being sent
business by employers wh
care was, naturally, to
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and became the law of the land. Differences between an ineffective Bill were, and small, but they were and distinct. The side issue was adopted in every

instance, however, which we bring before our readers which there is but little difference of opinion. There is a contention as to the extent of interference which should exert as to sanitary

There may be a doubt as to the best constitution of local sanitary authorities; or even as to the best organisation of medical and sanitary inspection. But there is no doubt as to the propriety of communicating to the public the experience on the subject. Indeed, in a recent number, the report of a parliamentary commission, though put together in a slovenly manner, has yet yielded very striking results from its analysis. It has trans-

lated those remarks were in another return, giving a summary of information, was not printed from 1874, and unissued, after 1874 to 1876; and it is tolerably evident that the activity of bodies in connection either with the Association or with the local authorities, that has led to the bringing of the third volume out of the Royal Sanitary Commission.

It is in the conviction that sanitary measures should be based on physical science, and that the basis of such science is the collection and the co-ordination of facts, the British Association appointed a sub-committee to act for the guidance of the

Volumes of correspondence resulted, and the sum of £1000 has been spent in inquiries in various direc-

tions throughout the country as to the sanitary needs of the various localities, and the measures adopted to satisfy such needs. But the Association and its delegates could only put their enquiries as matter of courtesy;—at least they could only obtain replies as matters of courtesy. Neither did the Association grant the funds necessary to give any practical value to their anterior enquiries by organising personal investigation of the localities most deserving of inspection. The results, therefore, of the action of the British Association remain in the form of ponderous and inaccessible volumes of correspondence; together with the publication, now some years back, of a work advocating a certain method of disposing of sewage which is extremely unlikely to find favour with the country.

The sub-committee of the British Association appear to have spent their money and their time in blissful ignorance of the fact that there existed, in the archives of the Local Government Board, a series of replies, from no less than 179 districts, to such enquiries as they had undertaken to conduct. This is a remarkable instance of waste of power. Had the Sanitary Commission published their report in due course, and had the efforts of the Association been directed to the verification and elucidation of the information thus collected by the Commissioners, good and useful work might have been done. As it is, we only find a non-official body going over the ground that had been previously gleaned by an official body, though the gleanings had been stacked away in the cellar. But how it came to pass that no member of the British Association Committee should be aware of the existence of the replies to the questions of the Sanitary Commissioners, and that no member of the Sanitary Commission, or official of the Local

Government Board, should have communicated to the British Association Committee the fact of that existence, is one of those things which it is more easy to understand than to justify.

Stimulated by the same good purpose that had already despatched two sets of enquiries throughout the kingdom, the Society of Arts have bestirred themselves to organise a third enquiry on the same subject. A gathering of persons interested in sanitary reform throughout the country was convened at the rooms of the Society of Arts, in February last, and was very respectably attended. The proposal to collect information as to the actual state of sanitary engineering throughout the country was adopted by this meeting. The chairman of the sub-committee of the British Association attended, and made a conditional offer to communicate the manuscript information collected by the exertions of that committee. The news of the existence of such data was apparently unexpected. A small executive committee of five was appointed to organise the proceedings, which are to be brought before a public congress on sanitary matters in May 1876. Thus promise is given of the union of two bodies of enquirers, or, at least, of the combination of their useful products. Matters being in this state, the Report of the Sanitary Commissioners, which should have been the basis of both sets of enquiries, made its late and silent appearance.

The subject of enquiry, therefore, may be said to be fairly launched. The Society of Arts Committee on Health and Sewage is now, at all events, aware of the fact that the enquiries which they were organised to conduct have been previously made by the sub-committee of the British Association, as well as by the circular questions of the Royal Sanitary Commission. They

are in possession of of at least one, probably of the enquiries. They placed, for the first time, to know how much information has already collected, and thus to turn to those portions of the which have hitherto neglected. This must be a step in the right although it is inexplicable duty of taking such a step have been left to the action of the Council of the of Arts.

It is, however, hardly expected that the present Local Government Board calmly on, and see his positions discharged by a of the Society of Arts. appearance of the Board indeed, very probably be to the fact that enquiry no longer be restricted quarters. There can be doubt that a vast body of information must already possession of the Local Government Board. If the action of Society of Arts should have except to stimulate the action to tabulate and put details already under the the service thus rendered country will still be far temptible.

The replies to the sixty- tions issued by the Royal Commissioners in 1859 a part deprived of their portion of them was de obtain information as to the districts formerly existing constitution of the authorities which they were regular these matters have been by the measure of 1872. some of the questions were su and open, a pu description. The notu port of appealing pe officers through

hints as to the outlines to be prepared by the local imperial legislatures. Commissioners will be asked, they wrote, 'if you can suggest any suggestion which may be able to offer for the present state of the country an appeal might be thought likely to open the eyes of local wisdom and eloquence. Some of the suggestions elicited by way of the survey are amusingly wide of the mark. The Dover Town Council took the occasion to suggest as desirable that they should have control over the fares of the trams. The Northampton Council uttered a groan as to the necessity to extract a loan from the Loan Commissioners. As for the whole, the collective result gleaned is not of very great value. And what value it has is further impaired by the wholly opposite tendency of the reports that has emanated from the local authorities. As regards the details to these omnifarious reports are tabulated in eleven columns an arrangement which affords a far greater degree of systematic consideration of the subject than is suggested by a perusal of the reports themselves. To some extent tabulation may fairly be regarded as normal. Further enlargement made by the Briarcliffe Commission, by the Society of Friends, by the Local Government Board, should be simplified and rendered valuable by being arranged on a common plan. The condition of the country, the form of report be followed by the details displayed under the following heads:

1. The constitution of the local authority, referring, of course, to the source and limits of its powers.
2. The area of the district.
3. To this ought to be

added a brief, but intelligible, description of the physical and geological characters of the district, and a reference to the great water-shed division of which it forms a part. Ultimately this column should be accompanied by a series of adequate maps.

The third head refers to the officers employed by the several authorities, the medical advice obtained, the inspection practised, and the like. It is obvious that the information thus classified ought to be obtained by the Local Government Board directly, by means of a regular series of reports from the medical officers to their provincial superiors, and thus to the medical officer of the board. The same remark applies to the engineering requisites of the case.

The fourth head relates to hospital accommodation and treatment of diseases. This would come in under the medical reports which we have just suggested, as a matter of primary necessity.

So again with the fifth and sixth columns, which refer to sewerage and water supply. If there is to be any administrative action at all in this matter, it is certain that it will do more harm than good if it be not an efficient and uniform action. To render that possible, the Local Government Board must be informed not only of the outbreak of disease, or the reasons for anticipating such outbreak, but of the measures taken, or proposed to be taken, to check such mischief. And as the first knowledge can only be obtained by the systematic returns of the medical officers, made under a system which ensures the submission of such returns to some other power than the local authorities, so must the scheme for constructive purposes be capable of review. The value of good organisation in this respect is immense. On the one hand, definite information would be collected as to the actual physical

condition of the country, the need of sanitary works, and the steps taken, from time to time, to supply those needs. On the other hand, any local authority would be enabled, in the most direct manner, to obtain the outcome of the whole experience of the country and of the day as to the nature of those works which would best suit their own special circumstances. The saving of money, saving of time, and saving of human life that might be effected by a simple and efficient organisation of this kind, are incalculable.

The seventh column relates to the action of the various authorities. This would be superseded by the system of medical and engineering reports, above suggested.

Column eight relates to audit and expenditure on work. This is a matter under the purview of the Local Government Board. It is one, as we have seen, that is likely to attain very great magnitude. The value of any returns on the subject must entirely depend on the establishment of that system of engineering returns of which we have above sketched the outline. It is matter of very little public interest to know how much money any given authority has expended, unless at the same time we are told for what purpose, and in what manner, it was laid out, and what have been the results of the outlay. But this, excepting in so far as the technical form of audit is concerned, is again only a part of the system of engineering returns.

The ninth column refers to rates. It is, no doubt, desirable to present the incidence of rates in a definite and readily grasped form. But in principle this head is only a subdivision of the preceding one, and is subject to the like remarks.

The tenth column refers to loans, as to which may be repeated what we have just said as to rates.

The eleventh column will disappear from any re-arrangement of the system of enquiry; as it was provided for those 'suggestions' which were invited on the plan going to the parish boards for parliamentary policy. The suggestions actually tabulated range from the proposal that the parish constable should be the chief sanitary officer, to that of the extension of the activity of the Privy Council to every district. Which ever set of enquirers takes up the question in its present form will be unlikely to keep open the column of 'suggestions.'

It will be seen that if this report instead of lying *perdu* for six years in some locality best known to the Queen's printers, had been printed and circulated like other parliamentary papers, much valuable time might have been saved, and more unity and effect might have been given to efforts that have been actually made in the dark. Whatever has been done by the sub-committee of the British Association would have had more value if it had been distinctly connected with the result of the enquiries of the Sanitary Commissioners. Whatever may be effectively done either by the committee of the Society of Arts, or by what we must consider to be the proper authority, the Local Government Board, can only be of national utility in so far as it embodies that spirit of system and of organisation which we have indicated as indispensable to a wise economy. At the very respectable meeting in the rooms of the Society of Arts, when the resolutions to hold a sanitary congress in the present season were adopted, nothing was so strongly urged by all the country representatives, as a body, as the futility of expecting any useful action from the medical officers of the local authorities, unless some systematic organisation were given to those

The same remark, of domestic, agricultural, and manufacturing consumption, and on the other hand the most rapid and effective destruction of all poisonous refuse,—is before us, has not yet been duly looked in the face. But to that we must come, whether we regard the question on sanitary, on social, or on economic grounds. And the sooner the resolution be taken to deal with the subject on the true principles which should regulate our procedure, the better will it be both for the fair fame of the Administration, and for the pockets of the ratepayers, as well as for the health and life of all classes of the population of the country.

F. R. C.



AN AUTUMN IN WESTERN FRANCE.

V. CÔTES DU NORD.¹

IT was the 1st of November when I left St. Pol de Léon, that is to say, the Fête of Toussaint, and a holiday. The cathedral bells were ringing for mass; the open place in front was crowded with country folk in Sunday dress; itinerant vendors were doing a considerable amount of business in toys, cakes, and coffee; and long strings of fine-looking Breton lads were being marshalled to church by their Jesuit schoolmasters and tutors. Many wore the various costumes of Morbihan and Finistère, and evidently belonged to the peasant-farming class, whilst all had a cheery, healthful, out-of-door-look which reminded me of English boys; some were tall youths of sixteen and seventeen, and it was a painful sight to see them watched and guarded by priests on each side with more surveillance than is accorded to juvenile thieves and vagabonds in England. To see a *séminaire* turn out on the days accorded for recreation beyond the college walls is a sadder sight still. The seminarists or youths preparing for the priesthood, like the schoolboys, are never permitted to go out unaccompanied by a priest, and on certain days you see strings of these young men, marshalled like little workhouse boys, with priests keeping guard on either side. And this is considered the way to fortify weak human nature for that awful conflict between flesh and spirit that must await every conscientious priest of the Romish Church! Treated like a child till he is a man and quits the seminary walls to enter the world of temptation, what wonder that the French newspapers

have so often to record crimes committed by priests, the only possible issue of so unnatural a training.

Toussaint is a day devoted to holiday-making, church-going more especially to church. The Breton lives in close familiarity with death: witness the cemeteries or bone-houses in country villages; the death's-heads and bones painted on the parades which are conspicuously placed in front of churches; and other funeral processions with which he is surrounded himself. This is characteristic of the Breton of to-day as of the *esprit Gaulois* of his ancient predecessors, has been perpetuated upon by many generations. The *esprit Gaulois* was ever sociable, sympathetic, and generous, and the Léon peasant believes that he confers a favour by his service in 'talking to the dead' who, like himself, were fond of company in life, and do not wish to be deserted in the grave. Thus old women knitting in the courtyard, children playing, and gossiping, as if it were an ordinary place of resort.¹

A railway is now projected between Plouaret and Lannion, which will present the journey has to be made in the diligence—a vehicle crawling along at a snail's pace on a track which is divided into two compartments, which ought to be called *Paradis et Enfer*. If the epithet seems an exaggeration applied to the *coupé*, at least no one can deny that the latter is applicable to the *fonds* with its filthy floor, inveterate smoking and that goes on, the uncomfortable seats and spare accommo-

¹ See *Esprit de la Gaule*, by Jean Reynaud.

ice *coupé* is, on the whole, less uncomfortable seat of the hired carriage, so courtesy, and much more. Carriages are the one item in travelling except. For the most part, as bad as they are dear. indeed and carriage hire traveller's only grievance.

certainly not prepared for I found in the Hôtel de at Lannion. My bed-room papers fit for a London room, polished floors, soft chairs, marble-topped wash-lelabra, respectable prints, &c. Nor were the usual sitting-maid and agree-lady wanting; but I, as in other places, the things changed, the men doing the inferior work, a waiting at table. In each waiter in this party is generally a woman, to say, does her work ad-

orning was dull and misty, the precursor of a bright afternoon. Opposite to us were some beautiful houses, with gables, dark masonry and carved cornices in the market-place are picturesque relics of old domestic architecture I seen. One is stained with rust, which sets off its masonry and mouldings to advantage, and both—alas! now remain to tell what was three hundred years ago. The highly ornamental and quaint dormers of these old houses I equalled in Pontivy, to be seen by-and-by, and the strangeness and oddness of the architecture is indescribable. The market is animated; and though I wear no costume here—misses sadly—the women

retain a becoming *coiffure* and form picturesque groups, as they stand, surrounded by their stone jars of cream and butter, or behind the stalls of vegetables.

Lannion is worthy of its name, surely as soft and poetic as any in Brittany. The town itself, like Hennebont and Pontivy, is so ill paved that a shower is enough to fill the streets with pools and rivulets of water through which you wade ankle-deep, but the site is charming. It lies between a wild bit of scenery leading to the sea, and a delicious valley widening out towards Plouaret, with woods and winding river and feudal ruins to tempt the traveller into many an excursion. Parts of the cultivated soil between Plouaret and Lannion remind me of my native Suffolk, so advanced is agriculture here. The land is clean, the farm buildings substantial, and even a few flowers are planted for grace before the houses here and there. Lannion is one link in the long chain of Arthurian romance. On his way here, between Morlaix and Plouaret, the traveller passes a dreary waste beside the sea called St. Michel-sur-Grève, where according to legend King Arthur (Artus in Breton chronicle) fought the dragon; and off Lannion lies the mysterious island of Aval or Avalon, where he desired to be buried, 'the island valley of Avilion.'

Where falls not hail or rain or any snow,
Nor ever wind blows loudly but it lies,
Deep-meadow'd, happy, fair, with orchard
lawns,
And bowery hollows crowned with summer
seas.

I think I went to Lannion more for Tennyson's sake than anything else, though when I got there no one could tell me which of the many islands lying off the coast was Aval or Avalon. Most likely Mr. Baring-Gould is right when he classes this mysterious island with the numerous class of myths referring to the Ter-

restrial Paradise, such as the Fortunate Isles of Pindar, the Garden of the Hesperides, &c. He says: 'This fair Avalon is the Isle of the Blessed of the Kelts. Isetze and Procopius attempt to localise it, and suppose that the land of souls is Britain, but in this they are mistaken, as also are those who think to find Avalon at Glastonbury. Avalon is the Isle of Apples, a name reminding one of the Garden of the Hesperides, in the far Western seas, with its tree of golden apples in the midst. When we are told that in the remote Ogygia sleeps Kronos, gently watched by Briareus, till the time comes for his awaking, we have a Gallicised form of the myth of Arthur in Avalon being cured of his grievous wound.'² Full of vague expectation, therefore, and having made up my mind that I was to see, if not the real Avalon, at least the place where Avalon was supposed to be, I set off for the coast. The day was now exquisite with pearly clouds floating across a pale blue sky, and lovely lights and shadows in the mellowing woods and hedges through which we drove. The smiling landscapes of Lannion were soon left behind, and nothing could be in greater contrast than the wild scenery beyond as we approached the sea and village of Ploumanach. The little fishing village of Ploumanach is a collection of hovels built *pêle-mêle* among the masses of red granite which are here flung about the shore as if the Titans had been playing nine-pins and had suddenly left off the game. The view from the hill overlooking the village and sea is magnificent; intense blue water smooth as a lake, pale purple islands beyond, and nearer, lying close under our feet, houses and rocks huddled confusedly together, huge fragments here piled one on the top of the other like a child's tower of bricks, there

so closely wedged together that even an earthquake could not rate them. Sometimes a slab would be perched on the narrowest point of supports, looking as if you might see a gram standing alone like some menhir, whilst all around, as far as the eye could reach, the ground was covered with blocks, cones, pyramids, in fantastic form that granite making up an indescribable and fantastic scene. The village it can be called, is so close to the coast you go through a succession of little alleys, wading through pools of liquid granite. These fisher folk might find any trouble worth mentioning no expense, have the best stepping-stones in the land, not to speak of pavements; they do not even lay down blocks in front of their houses, so as to bridge over the black stream through which you must wade whenever going coming in.

But what matters all this soon far too enraptured aspect before us to think of despond though which passed in order to reach it. The way off lay the seven islet-rocks, amethystine by turquoise sky and lapis lazuli. Not a breath is stirring this mer day (it is in reality the 11th of November!); yet the waves are never at rest, and dark perpetual murmur against the sea-walls. As we wander on the edge of the cliffs, the full sense of the weirdness of the scene is apparent, the scattered fisher dwellings amid the gigantic masses scattered about; seaward, the up masses of fiery red granite

² *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages.*

arts, chasms, precipices in-
de, the purple white-crested
eaking below. Wild geese,
s, and sea-gulls were flying
l. A few fishing boats were
a; whilst looking landward
living things in sight were
black sheep, mere tufts
as it seemed, browsing
hills above Ploumanach.
f all those lovely islands is

would heal me of my grievous
l?

de does not know, but
t is Tomé; and the old
of the lighthouse, when
him understand what I
for he was very deaf, shook
and said, 'Le roi Arthur
t pas de ce pays.' The
uide-books and the English
ve both Murray and Joanne)
ndicate it, the maps do not
it; and a most intelligent,
ivated native of Lannion,
om I had a good deal of con-
s, said he thought it was
o identified. An old tra-
Finistère, writing forty
, says: 'King Arthur was
the isle of Aval or Avalon
the coast of Lannion, not
om his family residence of
or Carduel, so famous in
nds of the Round Table.
nglish have endeavoured
sly to appropriate to
es these localities.' But
from books nor hearsay
satisfy my curiosity as to
f the dreamy-looking is-
fore me was Avalon, and
not admit of a journey to
mpting though the sea
on that exquisite autumn
ad it been real instead of
summer, I should have
my abode at Lannion for
weeks instead of days, in-
t only to explore the coast,
Seven Islands, especially
d for its colonies of sea-

ducks or black divers, in French
macreuse or *perroquets de mer*, and
in the dialect of the county *calcou-
lo*, and which is in its way as curi-
ous as Puffin Island. Ploumanach is
on no account to be missed whether
or no; visited, as in my case, for
Tennyson's and King Arthur's sake.
It is quite as remarkable as Pen-
march; and the one place differs
from the other as Pont l'Abbé from
Plougastel.

How Arthurian and Cornish are
the names of places here! The
Tre and the Pen, if not the Pol, by
which you know the Cornish men
abroad, and such names as Tregas-
tel, Trevenec, Tregarvan, recall
Cornwall as much as Kerduel, Ton-
quédec, and Coatfrec savour of the
Table Round. Those who have
travelled in Cornwall will some-
times feel in Cornwall here. Next
day I drove to Tonquédec, one of
the few fendal castles that have as
yet escaped destruction. The beau-
tiful site of Lannion is fully real-
ised as you drive towards Tonqué-
dec—its entourage being charac-
terised by that gracious, winning
beauty seen at Quimper.

When we leave the high road, we
pass into Devonshire-like lanes
with well-tilled fields or pastures
on either side. The cottages have
a cheerier look than any I have yet
seen, with little side gardens full of
dahlias and chrysanthemums, and
even roses here and there. At the
open door sit old women spinning
at the wheel, whilst children play
around, darting across the road at
the approach of our vehicle, with a
moth-like attraction towards dan-
ger. This odd propensity of these
wild little Breton children I had
noticed before: whenever the dili-
gence was going quicker than
usual, some urchin would make a
rush to get under the wheels, and
often would barely escape being
killed. 'C'est toujours comme ça,'
my driver said when pulling up just
in time to save a youngster's neck.

'If I killed one of these little wretches by running over it, I should be punished, yet I am sure it would not be my fault.' And without any impartiality I must say that it would not. I can only account for such behaviour in the fact of the occasional diligence or carriage being the single excitement that breaks the monotony of daily life, and having such an effect upon their brains as to occasion a temporary aberration. There were rude stone crosses planted by the wayside, and quaint churches with pagoda-like towers here and there. Once a wedding party passed us, two or three old-fashioned carts, in the first of which sat the bride with a huge bunch of artificial orange flowers on her breast and the large horn-shaped lace head-dress or superstructure called here *la coiffure de noce*. Plodding through the mud on foot were the remainder of the wedding guests, the men wearing odd kind of swallow-tail coats, which gave them a nondescript shabby appearance.

As we drew near Tonquédec, we dipped into a richly wooded valley, its precipitate sides clothed with yellowing woods, and deep down in the heart of it, a rushing turbulent river. By-and-by, we perceive the grey towers of Tonquédec rising majestically above all; and leaving the carriage, we ascend a narrow road that winds upward amid the woods to the summit on which it stands. I have seen, perhaps, as fine feudal ruins, but none so superbly situated as these, if indeed ruins they can be called, seeing how much remains. Arrived at the top of the hill and wandering leisurely around the undulating ground which now surrounds the castle instead of a moat, I revelled in the sight of the glorious landscape and splendid towers crowning it so proudly. The solitude was unbroken. There was no sound but the soft autumn wind sighing through the branches, the

dropping of ripe chestnuts, and the rushing of the river far below. On either side stretched sweeps of autumn woods, richest gold and purple mingled with sombre green beyond isolated hills crested with pine and stunted oak, whilst at our feet, amid fern-clad banks and mossy rocks, clothed with fern and gorse, wended the dark foaming river. Here the gracious, the wild and the savage, all came into the picture, the stately melancholy towers of Tonquédec standing out in bold and picturesque relief. I dare say an artist would prefer Ploumanach as a subject, but a good pedestrian might spend many days in exploring these woods and valleys, and would doubtless, if able to use his pencil, find charming bits. To-day alike woods and valleys were inaccessible, late rain having turned the side paths into rivulets; but the sky was bright, the air soft and the sunshine warm so I was well content. As we drew home the weather changed, and we had warm April-like showers with fitful gleams of sunshine and delicious rainbows spanning the mellow woods. On our way we met a priest and a nun jogging along in a rude kind of gig, the former driving, and both chatting amicably together. There was surely nothing unaccountable in such an arrangement, but it struck me as odd. Most likely the good-natured village curé had overtaken this *Sœur Blanche*—for she belonged to the order of white-robed nuns—and given her a lift. Côtes du Nord like Finistère, abounds in churches, nunneries and religious institutions. Priests and nuns are met at every corner, and whenever you enter a church you find something going on there; the amount of time people of all ranks spend in church going is something tremendous. It did my heart good to see the cloth market here on a dull day. The pedlars had displayed the

t advantage, the stalls with that warm, solid cloth the peasants wear of. There were here sides of bright blue and green, almost Oriental dye, and browns, and various shades. Here too women displayed their eal in sacks; and toys, sabots had a market to

The country people, l in with their pigs, and other goods, might rning home with parcels h and groceries they . The women's short ses were admirably the long walk home, re provided with ex-blue, or plum-coloured

would be a good start- r many excursions, and, ready stated, possesses hotel, with extremely and excellent rooms, attendance. The town gh in comparison with Léon a gay and busy is very quiet. There except the clattering of e pavements, or rather out pavements, and no except the daily arrival ence. The only news-finds its way here is *caul*, and that, I believe, order in advance. The w projected between l Plouaret will doubt- considerable difference; g is certain, it will not charming little town ctive to the lover of sque. In some respects ittany are behindhand; re improving, and the uniformly pleasant to Railways will doubtless mprovements—bells in washing basins larger ps, &c.—but they will y introduce high prices.

Much as I had set my heart upon proceeding by diligence to Tréguier and Paimpol, I was obliged at the eleventh hour to give it up. The rain had come at last. The diligence—for I inspected it—was a sorry affair, and I was assured that the hotels were not to be relied on. So somewhat reluctantly I went by rail to St. Brieuc instead. Every other house in St. Brieuc is a nunnery or monastic institution; and the churches, of which there are enough to supply all Brittany, are always full. For themselves they are not worth seeing, but the church-goers are, and here they consist of rich as well as poor. I went into one, and saw a lady and gentleman, after purchasing two long wax lights at the door, light them, and sitting down before the image of a saint, quietly perform their devotions, candle in hand. They evidently intended to sit there till they burned out, which, on a nice calculation, must have taken three hours. I went into another, and saw a sight as pathetic as the first was grotesque. It was a large church, and service was going on in one part, but in a quiet corner, where only a couple of beggarwomen knelt mumbling over their beads, I saw a large pair of sabots projecting from under the curtain of the confessional. Soon after a sweet, pious-looking peasant woman came out, whose tear-stained, troubled face showed that with her confession had been a solemn thing. She stood for a moment before the image of the Virgin lost in melancholy thought, then sighing took up her basket of butter and eggs, and went away. As to the priest, he bustled out with a look of inexpressible relief, drew on his frock, and hurried away, evidently glad to get the duty over. When a man goes to confessional all the women wishing to confess also have to wait, no matter whether they are peasants or fine ladies; so much rarer is the former occurrence that he is regarded as the lost sheep

that is found. These churches are full of *ex-votos* and marble tablets commemorating the protecting grace of this saint or that; in some cases the inscription was merely, 'Merci à St. Joseph,' or 'A St. Anne—merci.' In one church a long placard was hung near a collection of these *ex-votos* setting forth that plenary and partial indulgence would be given to the *associés* of St. Joseph on various conditions, one of which was the saying an Ave or Pater Noster and other prayers when the Ave sounded at night. In another chapel was an emblazoned memorial inscription setting forth that it was built to commemorate the miraculous appearance of a certain saint, whose name I forget, two or three years ago. The guide-books dismiss St. Brienc summarily, but there are many curious old houses here, as characteristic as any I have seen, some with the quaintest little pointed windows rising from the penthouse roof, supported by beams, others with carved wooden framework, representing allegorical and historical figures. It is a clean, cheerful town, with pleasant suburban gardens, and a look of comfort and prosperity everywhere. The peasant women with their snowy coiffures, good solid cloth dresses reaching to the ankles, and displaying home-knitted stockings of warmest wool, and pleasant ruddy faces, are good to see. As a rule the country folk are good-looking, and there is a prevailing appearance of well-being among all classes. Some of the men wore capital, comfortable-looking coats of goat-skin, but nothing that can be called costume. My hotel (L'Univers) had a pleasant garden full of flowers still, and was handsomely furnished with a commendable liberality as to the size of wash-basins and water-jugs, whilst the room, for which three francs were charged only, was not only comfortable but elegant. It is edifying to see here, as was

the case at Lannion, the men turned into scullery-maids and the women into head waiters. Instead of that obsequious, often conceited person, the head waiter, who bullies all the rest of the servants and does little himself, here it is a woman at the head of affairs, and the men who are sent flying hither and thither. It is wonderful how well things are managed here with a small staff of servants; as far as I could make out, one woman, two men and a boy, besides the cook, doing all the work of this large hotel. St. Brienc, after the romantic and old-world towns I had lately seen, was a sudden disenchantment, yet it was a pleasure after the silence and sleepiness of St. Pol de Léon and Lannion to be once more within the sound of a railway whistle and within reach of a newspaper.

There was a tremendous storm of wind and rain on the night of my arrival, and next morning winter seemed to have come all at once, as it often does here, in torrents of rain, precursors of the terrible inundations that followed later in the month. The country was sodden; yet whenever a gleam of sunshine broke through the clouds, it was pleasant and mild.

The rain accompanied me to Pontivy, but every now and then the dark clouds would roll away, showing the blue, and a rainbow would span the landscape with beautiful effect. The bit of railway through the forests of Loudéac and Lorges, is very striking, and a great change after the so-called 'Landes' I had lately passed through, those wide sweeps of heath and brushwood, as yet uncultivated, so characteristic of North Brittany. Hundreds, nay thousands, of miles of forest lay around us, the mingled blue-green and reddish-yellow of pine and beech and oak, now lighted up by a brilliant gleam of sunshine, now irradiated by a rainbow, now blotted and blurred by the rain. These

nd with wolves, which, the rewards offered per e Government, seem as eing exterminated as

must be quite charming r. It used to be called le, in honour of the new d by the First Napoleon, the overthrow of the as lost its later appella- alled Pontivy only, even ay tickets. A French said greatly to have ie Pontiviens by the inocent pleasantry con- e twin towns. He

towns, Napoléonville and their *raison d'être*, for they are in juxtaposition—Pontivy with its narrow streets and a, on which the birds build row gives the signal for the he barracks; Napoléonville, with its large open streets, f barracks and public offices. n may be seen a soldier oss the grass-green Place de ch, to be animated, should o a pasture for the cavalry would even find fodder in r this year, 1864, the Quai anted with clover, the rue th potatoes, and the rue green peas! Pontivy is y transformed, but it will be deserves the name of Napo-

town is uninteresting l is exactly like those French towns built Imperial régime in at the old is very pic- d both are framed in by dscape. The wooded inding river Blavet, the château with its pointed tly, but not least, the ld streets of Pontivy : in fine weather occupy traveller weeks instead A well-kept path leads château, which lies in a nerly a moat, and no- a small chapel at the

back indicates its present use, namely, a convent school. Almost all the finest old buildings in Brittany have been monopolised by the Church for educational and ecclesiastical purposes, and thus it happens that so few are accessible to tourists. Beyond, and following the winding river, is a very pretty walk, where I met a party of nuns enjoying a gossip and a brisk run previous to afternoon service. The scenery is quiet, pastoral, abounding in natural beauties and what the French call *riant*. Returning to the town, I strolled back to the old town with its quaint mediæval houses, here not isolated as at St. Brieuc and Lannion, but forming whole streets, the saffron and yellow stucco and black panelling showing recent renovation. Some are in black and white with a great deal of ornamentation, and every device both of architect and decorator seems to have been used in order to obtain variety. It is to be hoped that these unique streets of Pontivy will escape destruction, for in no other town is so much of the ancient domestic architecture of Brittany left intact. In Pontivy a good shower makes rivers in the streets, but in Napoléonville you walk on macadamised pavements worthy of Paris. But nothing can be quieter than the twin towns; no life or movement except in the direction of the church and the barracks, no sound except the bell calling to prayer and the trumpet to parade.

It was Sunday morning when I arrived; and as I approached the church, from which an enormous congregation had just issued, the puffs of hot air drove me back into the streets. It was like the hottest conservatory at Kew, and no wonder seeing the multitudes that were dispersing—a detachment of hussars with their band, who played as they marched back to barracks, large girls' schools marshalled by

nuns, boys' schools marshalled by priests, a few ladies and gentlemen, and crowds of peasants, the men with broad beaver hats and long hair, white serge jackets ornamented with gay braid and buttons, and vests cut square like ladies' dinner dresses, showing a snowy shirt front—the women in comfortable-looking black stuff hoods turned back with red, and long cloth cloaks. Opposite the church, under a covered market place, the usual Sunday fair was going on, and a brisk trade was being done in hot chestnuts, haberdashery, and cakes. By degrees the people dispersed to reassemble at vespers in the afternoon, when the congregation was as large as before. In fact, there was no longer standing room left when service began, and a large school of little girls under conduct of nuns presented a pitiable sight, being so closely wedged together that they could hardly stir.

Pontivy is a *chef-lieu d'arrondissement* of Morbihan, and ought

not therefore to be included in a chapter headed *Côtes du Nord*! it is a place that most travellers reach. St. Brieuc will visit the centre, moreover, from whence interesting excursions may be made, and judging from the look of the hotel *Gressel* I visited, the comforts are by no means bad. There was a pleasant garden back, with pigeons fluttering and turkey-cocks strutting and cackling. A homely place, a farmhouse more than a hotel, a place in which people might be as happy as long as the fine weather lasted, but woe betide them if it came of rain!

The rain had come in early last, and next day I returned to Nantes, which a week later threatened with an inundation. The remainder of my projected journeys in Western France were therefore to be deferred till spring—which at this present time is, or ought to be, at hand.

M. B.



ON CRUELTY.

BY FRANCIS W. NEWMAN.

accounts himself the lord of this globe, not only in fact, but in right. He is prone to unduly assert that every part of it was designed for his welfare, pleasure, or comfort; that if it please him to destroy any species of animals, he has a right to do it, whenever he has the power; and short of this, he may drive marine tribes to regions less hospitable, or kill the bison merely for the sake of the elephant for his trunk. When we ask on what ground of right this common-law sovereignty is based, the answer is not uniform. One man rests it solely on the natural superiority of man, another on the fact that he is the one who celebrates as the greatest of all (τενόνταρος) of earthly things. 'He has invented,' says the great poet, 'navigation, culture, hunting and fishing, tamed the horse and the lion, subdued fierce beasts; has taught himself speech by thought and civilised the building of houses; though he cannot avoid death, he has remedies of disease.' This, then, is a worthy and noble lord of all things found on this world?

But an answer might have been given by any ancient reasoner: it does not at all satisfy the European mind. The religion, enlarged knowledge, and continuity of moral reflection brought into a focus by the nations, have impressed the conviction that mere brute force of muscle or of intellect to which Moral elements are added, is rather devilish than good. Power is not given to the

individual for the sake of the individual only; the ruler exists for the sake of the ruled. He who would be the highest of all, must become the servant of all. Bias, one of the seven Greek sages, enunciated as his cardinal maxim, 'Ἀρχὴ τὸν ἄνθρωπον δεῖξαι,' 'Power' (or magistracy) 'will show the man.' This does not assert, but probably implies, the moral responsibilities of all power. The prodigious results of intelligence, and the evident fact that without it no high power can exist, led thoughtful men in very early ages to the conviction, that in its grandest developments Might is guided by Right. Hence the old Roman epithets, 'Jupiter Optimus Maximus,' incorporating the belief that Greatness and Goodness must coexist; inasmuch as the same high intelligence which is great, is certain to submit itself to the laws of goodness. Such, we venture to assert, is the core of all human religion which is worth having. We cannot admit that a God, to please his own fancy or caprice, should sport with the miseries of his creatures. We do not admit that mere power justifies man in being 'the tyrant' as well as 'the lord of this world.'

But we are encountered on the threshold of this argument by the assertion that God, *if there be a creative or ruling God*, is reckless of the miseries of his creatures. Men who themselves abhor cruelty, lay a foundation for the exercise of systematic cruelty by others, in the harrowing catalogue of horrors which they lay to the charge of the Creator (*if there be a Creator*); and press home their assertion that the highest Power is *not* identified with the highest Goodness. To treat such an argument fully and

worthily would be no light task; yet some remarks upon it seem here to be appropriate.

The worst accusation that any one can make against the Creator is comprised in the fact, that He has given so much power to so cruel a being as Man. No attempt here is made to repel or palliate this accusation; but it is not on this that the accusers accuse Him, as far as the present writer happens to know. Their accusation turns upon great natural catastrophes, upon carnivorous instinct, and the pangs of disease . . . or of maternity! Our imagination here is apt to delude us. No one who has been in a storm at sea, especially in a small and tossing ship, will deny that to be swallowed in the sea is an awful thought; thence it may rapidly be inferred that to perish by drowning is peculiarly painful. On the contrary, there is good reason to believe that it is peculiarly painless—some even say pleasant. Those who have been recovered after drowning, suffer much feebleness or misery for weeks from the partial carbonisation of their arterial blood during their suspended animation; but their concurrent testimony is, that the drowning itself was like a pleasant dream. The same thing happens (as I can testify) if one swoons, either from loss of blood or from severe pain; and I believe also, if one swoons from the close atmosphere of a public room. The swoon itself is delightful; and if one died in it, death would be painless. Thus one of the great geological catastrophes, Inundation, which from time to time drowns masses of living creatures, is freed from the imputation of cruelty in the mode of death. To be burned at a stake, by the wickedness of man, is horrible agony; but to perish by natural fire when it is on a great scale, is instantaneous and merciful. The blast of carbonic acid gas which comes from a conflagration fills the

lungs and extinguishes life in a struggle, before fire can touch the nerves; or again, smoke catenates effectually in the same way. To be flung into the crater of a volcano might be as painless as any. We were all much shocked when the Rev. Julius Ellis descended an Alp in quest of his life, and by a slip of his foot on the ice when he had gained the top, he tumbled to swift destruction; but the physicists comforted us by their assurance (which was not intended for this argument), that in falling through two or three thousand feet of air human life is extinct before the body can reach the ground; so sudden and vehement is the shock to the nervous system. Of course the same remark will apply if the cat is open and swallow up man as a brute. A mere *quake* or tremor of the earth is perhaps less merciful, as it may crush and wound without killing; but this is a fault through the folly of man, who certain Indians taunted the Spaniards, so built houses as to make them sepulchres.

To be devoured by a wild beast is to each of us an odious thought; but it does not follow that to be killed by a tiger or by a lion is peculiarly painful. On this Dr. Livingstone has given us his own valuable experience. A lion leapt on him, seized him by the shoulder, and tossed him in the air as a dog tosses a rat. The toss caused a delicious delirium, which precluded any sense of pain; he then died, it would have been a merciful death, but we should have known that so it was. However, his companions shot the lion, who thereupon dropped the intended victim, and took to flight. Dr. Livingstone's life was saved, and he endured much in the healing of his wounds though he had none while in the lion's jaws.

The skill with which all rapacious animals kill their quarry, has

d. Evidently this is no pervades nature. The a rat, or of a man, in the air, re seemed sportive caprice torious beast, whom we ppose to do it from any out when we learn that it e captive to swoon, and pain, we seem to read a ery beneath the animal Young lions are said to their first attempt to seize e, and to need instruction r parents; but to judge by unds, there would be no if they did not assail sproportioned to them. at accuracy a young dog der the fatal artery of a leveret; and it is not with- that we ascribe to all the an effective skill in kill- a man with much training als. says one class of reasoners, it that they kill cleverly, little suffering to their t consider what misery, or, the unhappy hare or partridge endures while 'its adversary.' Is there an entire mistake? Tie and bullocks in a stable, ey can hear outside a lion roar, and, no doubt, they onies of terror. Sweat n them, they shiver and sted by their own emotion. is not their position in wild they are brought into it the artifice of man. The le take to flight from the st, unless strong enough to face him. In either case the or the preparation to fight, terror. While the sailor ething to do against the ctivity subdues fear; but thing can be done, and he ess, then it is that fear nan him. According to is in Homer, the greatest an's bravery is, to sit in with foemen near outside et. When it is his duty

to sit still and do nothing, then it is that 'the coward's hue changes and his teeth chatter.' Inaction being the state which brings terror to its maximum, we may justly doubt whether an animal which is straining all its nervous and muscular energy to escape, really suffers agony from fear. Fatigue may at length induce distress, with symptoms similar to those of fear; but violent exertion is part of the life of such creatures, and does not impair their happiness. Rapacious animals must kill, day by day, in order to live; it is a part of the natural system by which the balance of species is maintained. But no inference, that the birds and beasts which are the objects of prey, have unhappy lives, can at all be sustained. They evidently enjoy life, as do human communities, though exposed to many dangers and alarms. To say that life is precious, is to avow that the good largely predominates.

Then, as to disease;—who is so bold as to call disease *natural*? As Paley observed, 'No one has alleged that teeth were made to ache.' Health is the ordinary state of the wild animal, and indeed of man, while he observes the rules of savage common sense, if we may not call it instinct. Not living in his natural climate, man needs artificial covering, and may become diseased by wet or cold, if negligent or if cruelly exposed; but, for this commonest illness rude tribes have effective remedies, and against foul air or water they are very vigilant. Complicated disease prevails only in civilisation, so called; until the civilised impart it by contagion to the barbarous. Disease is the punishment of our unnatural life: only in proportion as we return to the moderation and simplicity of nature, can we expect to enjoy health. But that a formal attack should be made on the pains and danger of childbirth, as an imputation on the benevolence of the Creator, is perhaps the weakest

utterance which in these days has come from able men. The subject cannot be adequately treated in brief. Suffice it here to remark, that mismanagement, injustice, or habits wrongfully fostered, bring upon mothers all of the danger and most of the pain. The tender and ennobling relations of the family will not be too dearly purchased, when a mother's sufferings are brought to their natural minimum. But if richer women are enfeebled by luxury and inaction, and the poor suffer by excess of work, bad air or bad nourishment, it does not become us to impute the evils to the Author of our nature. So long as the wild creatures live by their own instinct, and no errors of man derange the general system, there is nothing on the severer side of nature which deserves to be esteemed cruel. But as soon as man begins to expand beyond the animal and beyond the guidance of instinct, wholly new elements of evil are developed. Hunger is the chief appetite which kindles a brute into ferocity, and hunger is quickly appeased. The passions which incite man to cruelty are many, active, and continuous, nor hitherto have they been much lessened by civilisation; nay, in some respects the evil has increased.

Among barbarians the prevalent cruelty consists in a total inobservance how others suffer from their actions; this is widely different from desiring, observing, and having pleasure in the suffering. The former is only the same form of cruelty as we ascribe to the wild beast; recklessness and brutality fitly denote it. The Greeks called it *ἀγνώμοσύνη*, a word which means either want of sympathy or want of intelligence; indeed it is attributed to lifeless tools, and likewise means pigheaded obstinacy. In children this cruelty largely depends on defect of intelligence, and unless other passions and appetites biassed us, tenderness for others would

normally increase with intelligence, as (it is to be hoped) it really does in the human race collectively. But on both sexes and all ages the two passions which act most equably and constantly to generate every form of cruelty are Fear and Revenge. While men live in the small communities which we call tribes, self-preservation ordinarily requires a constant preparation for war, and in some countries a constant warfare against powerful beasts. Whether men live by hunting, by herds, or by agriculture, to maintain their own frontiers is matter of life and death to them: yet each tribe in turn has a propensity to encroach on the cultivated fields or the pastures or the hunting grounds of its neighbour, out of which rises a state of chronic war, suspended perhaps by intervals of truce and treaty. If, chiefly in tropical countries and favoured islands, a simple community live for generations unmolested, and grow up gentle and amiable;—alas! a crisis is sure to arise, when another tribe, accustomed to bloodshed and skilful with weapons of war, finds out its secrecy, and tramples it down ruthlessly. As far as we know, only in the most inhospitable climates, as Lapland and Greenland, where Nature seems to forbid men's residence, communities of men can live for centuries tranquilly without government and without convulsions. Rude, very rude, such men must remain; but no one calls them collectively cruel; rather, kindness, hospitality, and mutual justice characterise them. Strangers do not covet their territory; the struggle for life against obdurate Nature suffices them, and they have no practice of war.

To say that warlike barbarians are reckless of brute suffering, is needless, when prevalently they are ferocious to neighbour-men. From the earliest times on which history throws light, modern Tar-

European Russia (then Asia) had great equestrianies while yet in dense forest. The Ural Mountains divide his vast region, but on one side is an unbroken plain where huge waggons can move without roads. On such expeditions the Scythians and Tartars carried wooden houses, and, as they moved, learned in their migrations some of the arts of complex warfare. To the north of Persia is a vast plain, and still farther north Beloot Tagh,—the land of the ancients,—there is a fertile country in Mesopotamia. From the dawn of history these people were acquainted with agriculture, and practised the smith, carpenter, wheel-saddler; but their arts reached much beyond. Horses were multiplied, pasture was improved, imperial ambition had found horses at its service. Instead of corn and cloth, the Scythians were famous agriculturists was more precious than to these products. Thus the Scythian tribes are driven perforce by fear or necessity, communities of Scythia, which were above fear, a constant military exercise, habits or schemes. Discipline, once made a constitutional, is epidemic. The soldier is obey without criticism, at his own life cheap. Policy is proverbially summing at an immediate gain takes cognisance of no future. If policy require, to a Tartar or an warrior it was an exceeding to make an effort between himself and, by burning and despoiling a large tract. To it does not occur, that he is destroying as he may be valued as

allies some years hence; and if it be suggested, that their hatred may be hereafter dangerous, he will infer that the destruction must be made complete by killing the women and children. While we have no detailed history of any of these peoples, every glimpse that we get of them displays them as eminently murderous. More modern history knows something of the armies of Jengis Khân and of Timour. The former left the vast plains of European Russia studded with the mangled bodies of the population, whom he tried to extirpate; the latter, though a cultivated prince, delighted himself in pyramids of human skulls. On the ruins of Bagdad alone he set up a pyramid of ninety thousand, and meeting gallant resistance in Fars (Persia proper) he slew, to the best of his ability, all the males of that district. Such, in the rough, will exhibit Tartar military policy. The Scythians found agricultural nations settled in the very fertile districts of Podolia, of the Ukraine and the Crimea; from whom they exacted tribute. These must have been the progenitors of the Ostrogoths,—not emigrants from Sweden, as Jornandes imagined, but probably Teutons who were left behind in the great Western migration. From these agriculturists, who gradually became more powerful than their Scythian lords, the Scythians may have been forced to learn some lesson of moderation; but in the time of Herodotus, their recklessness of life and suffering was extreme. On the death of a king, a whole body-guard with their horses and many personal attendants were slain, to accompany the king in the other world, and their bodies were paraded round the tomb. Such death was probably accepted as a military honour. This warrior people was naturally glad of slaves, whom they stole from the more southern regions; but lest the slaves should escape, they were blinded, and their

utility to the master reduced to its lowest point.

Fantastic religion was just now alluded to as a parent of cruelty. The deceased king needed an escort in the other world! In the celebrated 'customs' of the modern Dahomey, the same idea works out a similar result. Victims must be slain to grace the departing monarch. What fantasy of superstition lay at the bottom of Aztec enormities, we are left to conjecture, but the remains of temples attest how sanguinary were the rites. Religion is alternately the mainspring of cruelty or of mercy, according as reason and knowledge enter little or much into it; but it is believed that, with one exception, this has been a secondary influence—revenge, imperial pride, and various forms of avarice, have been the chief incitements to human cruelty. The American Indian, a man not inhospitable nor treacherous if honourably treated, yet because of his intense family attachments is fierce in *revenge* against the slayer of his father, his brother, or his son; is pitiless towards the women of his foe, and in many cases puts a captive to death with studied and profound cruelty. Much effort was used in Arabia, in Syria, in ancient Greece, as, indeed, among the Anglo-Saxons, to subdue the nuisance of continuous blood feuds, which, before the English became predominant in America, seem to have been permanent with those tribes. It is stated that, in some of them, a young man could not be married until he exhibited the scalp of a slain enemy. No wonder that they ill coalesced against the white stranger, and that they could not multiply so fast as their invaders. Revenge was probably their strongest, as their most malignant, passion; to incorporate it into a fixed system was fatal.

To these Americans the Germans of Tacitus have been often compared; but in sanguinary habits

the Germans scarcely equal the Rhætiens and Thracians, or the Tartars. Thucydides, with high respect of the Timonarchy contemporary with—that of the Odrysæ—of his mention may be summed thus: 'After the Scythian archy, with which no single in Europe or Asia can compare, the royalty of the comes by far the closest in vigour and abundance of men, besides its ample of money and all other (Thuc. ii. 97.) Elsewhere us a specimen (viii. 20) how cians behave. The Athenians sent for a body of mercenary cians to accompany their expedition against Syracuse; but it was too late, so they sent it back, immediately under an Athenian general with orders to do some harm to the enemy on the way, by landings on the coast. A little ravage was made rapidly Tanagra of Bœotia; next, a was made near to Mycale the same region. This town wholly unprepared for attack easily taken. 'The Thracians the historian) rushed in slaughtered the population, young, women and children sides labouring cattle, and all creatures. For the Thracians is as murderous as the most dorous of barbarians, against ever it can attack without And, on this occasion, alighted a very large school of boys made a universal massacre of No city of Greece suffered expectedly a more terrible calamity. Here, neither revenge nor existed. They were a more troop, wholly ignorant of Bœotia and fought only because they ordered to fight. Evidently did but carry out their habit. In like manner we that in the time of Augustus the Rhætiens of Switzerland invaded the Roman province.

discriminately, and made pregnant women. The in their military customs they come of the same are but slightly mollified; Homeric Greeks, especially the character of Achilles the better, though *Αἰδώς* *αἰς*, words not easy to had begun to restrain *αἰδώς* combines Shame, and Mercy; *Νέμεσις* fear of some divine re-

sides the general causes which acted on an entire, special incitement arose imperial or Hierarchical king is angry that his posed, and much more if be disowned and defied. resistance to him is deemed rich justifies his anger, and every infliction; and the lied to disobedience to a Greek writers tell horrors of Persian queens, who cruel and slow modes of death for men who had hem; and, from the equal of some Macedonian is to be feared that the true. That executors of s could be found indicates servility of the people. ere has been military re- we the less wonder at to any severe commands; litary discipline. Mutila- nds, ears, and nose, seem en ordinary punishments n with the ancient Per- l what have Englishmen inst them, when we know law, at no distant period, s the punishment of high The criminal was hanged down alive, disembowel- cut into four. Not a ry ago, Agha Mohammed, to the Persian crown, captured a city which had the cause of his rival, had human eyes brought him, L.—NO. LXXVI. NEW SERIES.

torn from those who had resisted his claims. This is told by Sir John Malcolm as trustworthy fact. From a country which could endure such a king, what could be hoped?

Against imperial cruelties, prompted by pride, republican pride and democratic sympathies first made practical resistance and really turned the tide. The Greek republics in general claimed that freemen should not be subject to degrading punishments. Spartan officers were prone to use the stick against soldiers or workmen, but this was strongly resented by the prevalent Greek spirit. Already in the Persian war, before Athenian democracy had obtained its highest pitch, the aristocratic *Æschylus* alludes with horror to the barbarities of punishment too well known as Asiatic. The Assyrians appear to have gone beyond the Persians in cruelty to enemies; whom, if we believe their own sculptures, they were proud to impale and to flay alive; but the Persians too went to great extremes. Oroites, governor of Sardis, having enticed Poly-crates of Samos to visit him, killed him by crucifixion. Some of the deeds attributed to Cambyzes are too maniacal to reason from; but it would appear not to have been thought outrageous, in punishment of an oppressive satrap, to kill him, take off his skin, tan it, and spread it for his successor to sit on. To every form of torture and to punishments of the body, the democratic Greeks had a great objection in their own case; unhappily, they approved of the judicial torture of slaves. In fact, both they and the Romans had an infatuated idea that this conduced to the discovery of truth, and therefore was legitimate. Why from slaves especially, and not also from freemen, torture should wring out truth, no one undertook to explain. The Romans seem to have objected more to the ignominy of judicial punishment

than to the infliction of death. To military execution they were accustomed; they employed it, and they submitted to it without murmuring, though preferring to die by their own hands. The Athenians thought themselves merciful in not extirpating the whole population of Mitylenè, friends as well as enemies, for the guilt of insurrection. Rescinding that decree, they were highly satisfied that their general put to death only one thousand persons of the adverse faction. Fear had suddenly made them cruel, though cruelty was far from their nature. The same thing may be observed of the English in India, and of the Turks. Absurdly partial and essentially selfish in old days as was the limitation of democratic claim, yet the definite and persistent effort against the torture, scourging, and judicial execution of freemen was a very important germ of nobler sentiment pervading common life. Republics had no sympathy with royal pride, and largely identified cruelty with royalty. The dignity claimed for freemen redounded to the dignity of human nature.

Meanwhile out of industry and commerce and the enjoyment of wealth a terrible Avarice had been growing up, the source of unlimited cruelties. From captives of war slavery early arose, and public slaves were used in mines and other rude works, perhaps in all the early monarchies. Slaves were hunted in Africa to supply the markets in Egypt and probably in Tunis; also the Phœnicians carried on a continuous slave trade in prisoners of war—an awful portion of human suffering in those days. The Germans, according to Tacitus, dreaded slavery chiefly for the sake of their women. Imagination cannot conceive the miseries endured by captive ladies; indeed many a barbarian woman had a self-respect as resolute as have our ladies. Avarice, as a source of reckless cruelty, is more

formidable than the Plebeian generates anger and strife for the latter is impulsive, and it may relent; commercial avarice is persistent and unrelenting: once undertaken it goes its way by habitual routine of lawful business. day Slavery and the trade feeds its market are a proof of human suffering. India fundamentally blighted continent of Africa; and this important crisis, which and the American Union pronounced slavery, the Greeks pronounce the Slave Trade ocean to be Piracy, and we put it down with a high refusing equal diplomatic in to the States which sanction no one can foresee a probability to the new developments may assume in the Pacific as the English colonies are to defy the mother-country now arises (not a day that in Europe female property is a real and deadly slave in the system known as slavery, the sale of young for men's fancy is but an episode of the horrible drama. Avarice of traders may compete with royal Pride as a spring of cruelty; indeed though an excellent art a bad master. When the trader is the upper hand, he not only sells and buys human beings but likewise stimulates wars in of his gain.

It were well if nations were avaricious; but as nations are liable to evil slave trade, so every nation is exposed to endless by the land-invasions of an aristocracy and its heirs, even the military system is extinct. Avarice again motive, though the love of builds upon it: the cruelties perpetrated are prevalently unknown. Manifestly less

erty of every nation, necessary of life; if any enter right in it than the cultivator. Yet, though the violences of the cultivator becomes a

Some military lord, as the conquering state, and in process of the proprietor. Laws are interpreted in the great lord; so the lower and lower. In peasants were depressed by imperial edicts, step by step, miserable serfs, and real slaves; we have them rescued and raised by imperial power. In Prussian Poland, and Prussia, the peasants made independent of the Crown; in

Parliament had the doing the same work by the middle and upper part of a Crown somewhat everywhere the effort has been to appropriate themselves; nearly everywhere they have been in France only through revolution. To estimate the land, we must not the hard life of the who by no amount of earn enough to provide for the old age, and is thought as if he can feed and his family; but we must wretched 'slums' of with their fetid air, and diseased degenerate. These are the sinks of the misery of the coun-

Where town land is foot, no poor man; he can scarcely have some: yet into our wretched beings flock, they are excluded from the right places. The cities of imperial centralisation

and manufacturing industry have given birth, are as huge wens on the body politic. The dreadful diseases which afflict civilised man have here their natural home; here too every foreign contagion finds a suitable nidus. Health is the first aim of the barbarian. Health is cardinal to every man's happiness; to the working man it is necessary for the daily supplies of his family. A healthy people are the strength of a state; a sickly population is public weakness; but health will not be general where family is piled on family, and private gardens are impossible.

Cruelty to innocent animals is inevitable from the modern weapons of slaughter and from our steel-toothed traps. The savage man is almost as merciful to his game as is the savage beast. He spares to shoot till he can kill outright; he cannot afford to throw arrows away. But leaden shot in any number can be spared, with lingering agonies to mangled birds which escape the hand of their destroyer. The savage man, like the savage beast, chases his victim because he is hungry, or at least because he wants it; and his want is finite. But the accomplished Englishman shoots for sport; sport, being a mental impulse or appetite, is insatiable, and therefore far more deadly than hunger. Excuses are made, no doubt; some one else will eat the innocent game: it is valuable human food. A boast is made that ninety millions of rabbits are reared for the consumption of our nation. Ninety million rabbits sent out at large to nibble the young shoots of the growing crops,—each of whom destroys and wastes ten times what a tame rabbit would eat in a hutch—are boasted of as an increase of our supplies! If twenty million of these reach the town markets it is much; how many beside are cruelly massacred with no profit to man! and how many beside, with unhappy hares,

foxes, cats, stoats and weasels, are held for days and nights in lingering torture by horrible steel traps? All this goes on in the midst of refinement, without prohibition from men or remonstrance from women. It is a fruit of the modern English system of game-preserving; it is coupled with a landlord's rights, and with the artificial love of sport which the cruel Norman tradition has fostered in the stolid Anglo-Saxon race.

What now of that eminently human passion, Religious Emotion, and that theory of Religion which can exist only in a human intellect? Notice was above taken of the fantastic follies by which religious thought has generated cruelty; but in truth the action of religion for good and for evil has been so fitful and various, that to write at once truly and concisely on the subject is a difficult task. Among ancient national religions none is so apt to move our contempt as that of Egypt; next to this, the monstrous fictions of Indian mythology amaze us. Yet both religions appear to have aided gentleness and repressed cruelty in the main. Regard for sacred animals was in both carried to an absurd extreme; indeed, the Egyptian embalming of so many seems to indicate a belief in their immortality and future resurrection, if that is the true interpretation of the human embalming. Be this as it may, an amiable tenderness for the lower animals has proceeded from both these centres, and seems to have been accompanied by a general softening of the national character; though Indian fanaticism allowed strange *self-torment* to devotees, and a later corruption of the sacred books introduced the burning of widows. The religion of Persia and of Judæa was in its theory far nobler—at least it was less incrustated and buried in fable and mystery: nevertheless each was fiercer and severer, until the Hebrews fell into the gravest national

calamities. When they were dispersed among the heathen, martyr people, attesting the and Holy God, they became gentler, and wiser. That see them which dwelt in the centre, Judæa, constantly improved and softened its laws, to probably in the days of As Caesar no other national law compare, nor any philosophical school to their best religious tenets. In the midst of this arose Christianity, proclaiming itself the religion of humility, purity, and love, and the hard and cruel material iron-hearted Rome. Yet Christianity had supplanted paganism in imperial pretensions, and itself become a kingdom of the world, it undertook vast wars for the Holy Sepulchre, presently showed itself, not only and ambitious, but far more cruel, gradually outstepping the ferocity of the wildest tyrants. The Crusade against the Albigensians, unparalleled in Roman, Grecian or any ancient history, is a testimony to us; and the Inquisition, which will for ever be an infamous and execrable, a deliberate atrocity, continuing centuries as a pious institution which will for ever be an infamous and execrable; its pretensions were based on the theory of a gentle and loving religion. What stronger testimony could we have of the fatal tendency of religious ambition—especially the ambitious and aspiring—towards extreme cruelty. What greater proof is needed of the common sentiment of the multitude must insist on heidilic fantasies of those schools which profess to be eminent in wisdom. Wars innumerable, on religious texts, the Papacy has since its commencement till the Thirty Years' War in Germany. Nearly a millennium lies in this valley. What further is to be seen the Popes bestowing kingdoms beyond the ocean on Spanish monarchs who could conquer the

nour of the Church? and long tissue of frightful scenes which followed, with terrible agony? What of the fort of the Papacy to emotions in foreign and in civil? The matter is mournfully needs no comment.

Now, behold, a new horror upon us—Cruelty in the pretensions of Science! Was going to set Religion she held up her torch to the deformities of superstition display the wickedness in,

*a celi regionibus ostendebat
per aspectu mortalibus instans:*

Science has become a rival of the Inquisition, increase of knowledge has torment still more ingenious. That scientific zeal can overlook and as it were offering, is almost inevitable professions, and sometimes censured. In our attack during the Crimean war, an officer on board one ship described with enthusiasm 'beautifully' he was from the Russian forts; if the damage had been far would have abated his admiration. Lady Sale, put up with her husband abroad, in the crisis of our struggle, describes with how we poured shot and the natives who desired to from their town. With us not Science, but Fear, inspired joy in witnessing the of deadly missiles. The as the soldier, must steel temporarily at least) so as to neglect the suffering causes: else, he cannot his duty. Out of this conclusion grown a terrible licence. Years ago, Sir Walter Scott, introduction to the *Bridal of* ne, denounced as 'murder' cement of men (since called

biologists) in killing frogs and other small animals. A few years later, all England shuddered at the horrors narrated of Majendie; but we hoped that only Frenchmen, only foreigners, could perpetrate such things. Alas, they are not to be confined by geographical limits. Science is cosmopolitan. Our pupils study in foreign schools, learn from foreign masters, and imbibe foreign sentiment; but England has been very slow in learning into what lavishness of cruelty against innocent creatures the insatiable curiosity of Science has advanced. It is true that men are not yet ostensibly and avowedly its victims. When it condescends to apologise, it alleges that mercy to diseased man prompts and justifies cruelty to lower animals; but this excuse can only blind those who wish to be blinded. The torturers are not aiming to heal A B or M N: they are seeking for large views, scientific facts, biological doctrines. Very few of the whole number of torturers are practising physicians or surgeons: they are prevalently Professors or Students of Biology. Any common person who can persuade three or four others to abstain from unwholesome quality of food and drink, from equally noxious excess, and from other unhealthful habits, does more to forbid disease and prevent human suffering than a whole legion of ruthless torturers can achieve for the restoration of lost health. Barbarians are healthy enough, until corrupted by our fiery liquors or infected by our artificial diseases. Rustics everywhere are healthy, if allowed to select wholesome spots, with good air and water. There is no scientific secret in health. The laws of a nation ought not to count on prevalent disease, and seek for profoundly artificial remedies, but to discourage or forbid the causes of disease. Give us fair play, and we shall be healthy enough by simpler modes of life; and who of us con-

fesses himself so base, as to desire innocent animals to be tortured for the chance of its bringing him some relief in a possible disease? With the vast mass of the torturers, however, this is a wholly insincere excuse. They are really eager for Discovery, as a worthy and sufficient end in itself. What they call Science cannot be legally defined. Every isolated fact is always possibly an item in a science that is about to be. What is the temperature of a cat's liver; how hot scalding water must be to kill a rabbit; what is the effect of sticking a needle into the heart of a dog—are with these men scientific facts; and necessarily so. Thus all indulgence of wild and wanton curiosity must pass as Science legally; whether practised by a little boy or a pretentious sciolist. Young Watts displeased his aunt by his studies on the tea-kettle: they were the beginnings of his discoveries in the steam-engine. If a precocious boy begin his discoveries by impaling hedgehogs and mutilating cats, who can deny that he may be on his road to become a biologist greater than Majendie?

Of course it does not follow that those who are pitiless to the lower animals would *all* be pitiless to the human race; but it is certain that they could not go through their dreadful task if they had any feeling for the poor animals. The heartlessness of professorial utterances chills us to the marrow. "Here is a rabbit in which *ten days ago* I excised the accessory nerve. I drop it from a height of two feet, and then count the pulsations of the heart. I will now, while I hold the animal, pinch the tail, which at its extremity is exceedingly sensitive; and I will do it so that the animal shall not be able to cry out, but shall manifest its pain by struggling." What a malignant being has the Creator put in authority over the helpless animals!

When we ask by what *right* a

man tortures these innocent creatures, the only reply that is given is, because we are more intelligent. If in the eye of this is justifiable, then a just might permit a devil to torture in the cause of diabolic science, talk of human dignity as a why man should not also be tortured is absurd. The biologists are the men who will put forward immortality as a fact which lifts immeasurably above animals. They are more likely to avow that an embodied soul is a physical impossibility, and life after death a dream of ignorance; that man is physically descended from lowly and intelligent and non-human organs and is separate from brute in degree not in kind. It has often been suspected and complained that patients in hospital are not treated by methods which are of the nature, but are experiments. What sort of tenderness for can we expect from surgeons who can thus teach by torture, or students who can endure to be tortured. The sensitiveness of the human frame is the only just and reasonable reason why the torture of the lower cent is a wickedness and why (if it must be inflicted) should be made as painless as may be; and the very same argument applies, perfectly and in its fulness, to the vertebrate animals, yet period the warm-blooded. To cut a living horse day after day is to practise students in dissection a crime and abomination hardly monstrous from his not having an immortal soul. An inevitable would in a couple of generations unteach all tenderness toward human suffering, if such horses are endured, and carry us back to the greater heartlessness than that of the worst barbarians. No art of magic and sorcery, no creed of false religion, can atone for the cruelty of heartless science.

Thus we have to admit to the Atheist a very terrible exposure

in the fact that He is capable of such enormities; but we do not allow ourselves to Atheise, that the cruelties must be controlled by the many: as the state not be allowed to her must the heart-vice must be admitted universal ruler, and be everywhere. Universally, if man depend on a law, which has to detail to control cruelty. Why do statesmen, who would a shilling, make no calling a kingdom? we murder make a murder of thousands; because in deciding moral considerations are mount. A jury is to award a small sum without a solemn pledge to a verdict according to Cabinets and Parliaments subjected to no such give their votes hastily, according to their party. The moralise war always decision, on which side while war is pending attempt is often by judicial decision of the sacred forms alone we trust for our private affairs. not enthroned in

it applies to national generally. Natural necessarily a part of rights of individuals participation in Air, and, which are general ought to be discussed biassed by the enactment conquest and force posed. And not the only: the Rights of creatures are a fit topic

for purely moral discussion; and in all these matters, whatever results of discussion commend themselves to the general conscience, will be fitly made to prevail in the highest law and policy. When this is neglected, war or violent revolution at length ensues. Thus the American Union suffered her tremendous civil struggle: thus France encountered her awful internal convulsion. Are we still unable to learn that justice is the basis of all welfare? that the sweetest use of wealth is to cultivate the regards of others? that the noblest exercise of power is to raise the fallen and tenderly uphold the weak? that knowledge severed from love is as apples of Sodom, and applied for cruelty is an odious black art?

The phenomena of the present day show England to be at the crisis which a Prodicus might call 'the choice of Hercules' between virtue and vice. It is a question whether our vast mechanical developments, wealth, and material science shall minister to the ignominious ease and boundless luxury of a few, to wanton and endless curiosity with plentiful cruelty and impurity; or whether the spirit shall rule over the flesh, morality over selfishness, pity and respect over reckless hardness of heart.

It is pretended by the defenders of cruelty that the advocates of Right and Tenderness aim to maintain Morals as a finished and unexpanding science. Such is the reply given (in a leader of the *Times*) by some one put up to answer Mr. Auberon Herbert's noble letter; and it instructively shows where it is that we definitely separate from our opponents. By all means we maintain that Morals is an expanding science, but the expansion which we see and plead for is the reverse of that which they propose to us as growth and improvement. We say that Morality takes up as new topics the rights of the commonalty as against rulers,

the rights of a nation as against privileged classes, the rights of women against men, the claims of foreigners to equal rights as human beings, the rights of all human beings to be treated as persons, not as chattels, and finally the rights of animals as against the human race. Surely there is much expansion of idea here; we do not make of Morals a science which was closed eighteen hundred years ago. But if we understand the writer, expansion to expand the of great biologists to n selves a curse to animal All such horrors are ret not expansion. If such become national, History how, when men have beco against suffering, every sapped, impurity quickly and the race becomes enfeebled.

TO THE EDITOR OF FRASER'S MAGAZINE.

SIR,—May I suggest the entry in your next issue of an explanation to the the figures given by the writer of 'Employment in India' in your Janus regarding the pay and prospects of Covenanted Civilians relate to the Madras the service only?

The Civilians in Madras number only 159 and in Bombay 163, while the on the Bengal Establishment, of whom over 190 belong to the North-West P.

The stagnation of promotion so long felt in the North-West is also felt. perhaps to the same degree, in the other provinces attached to the Bengal Pre

In the North-West the junior collector (on Rs. 2,250 a month) is in his 21 service.

Excluding absentees on furlough, there are nine Civilians in their 14th year at this moment paid as follows:—

Four Rs. 500 a month, two 700, and three, holding special appointments temporary nature, 1,200 to 1,250.

These appointments at 1,200 and 1,250 will, when vacated by the present b be revived before twenty or thirty years.

The North-West Civilians in the regular line, who arrived in India during in their 14th year of standing), cannot expect, if things go on as at present, t than Rs. 1,000 a month for the next four or five years; they cannot hope collectors for any time till some years longer, or that they will really be co receipt of full pay until they have served twenty-five years or more.

And, until they reach the grade of Rs. 1,000 a month, four or five years they must be content with salaries varying from 500 and 700 in the cold west and 900 in the hot.

I would ask you in the interests of young men likely to compete for In Service appointments, and in the interests of the North-West Civilians wh waiting for redress, to publish this letter *in extenso*, or give the substance in your next Magazine.

Yours &c.

NORTH-WEST CIVILIAN

AGRA, N.W.P.: February 11, 1876.



SER'S MAGAZINE.

MAY 1876.

THE FOREIGN POLICY AND THE EASTERN QUESTION.

opens it becomes more apparent that the East which is the by 'diplomatic' things too deep for down-trodden fragile populations that in Western districts

European Turkey is added up to that pitch which makes it easier than to yield. They mark so thoroughly fully that they will not be his hand, nor lay until they see him from the country or foreign intervention them harm. While everything up, active confined to a narrow arena, but now news daily that armed fighting up everywhere along the Hungarian frontier. Discontent part of the wretchedly wants the end a little success to an active and wider freedom. The is threatened with invasion. Portions of the inhabitants of Montenegro are eager ment that will put deous tyranny that devastated the land. work are therefore diplomat—essentially

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a temporiser — cannot hope to cope with. To those who ground the chances of peace in Europe on the success of diplomatic efforts that statement must be cause for an intense alarm, for nothing will seem to remain in their view to stand between us and a terrible war that may draw all Europe into its vortex. A latent feeling that this was to be the end of the present state of tension has no doubt lurked in men's minds ever since the insurgents rose in arms; and that feeling is now so strong that the least hint of a misunderstanding between the Powers produces a panic on all the Bourses of Europe — those modern political barometers. People are anxiously enquiring 'What will Austria, what will Russia do?' and it is felt that the least false step on the part of either of these Powers may produce instant conflict.

At such a time the foreign policy of England becomes again an object of the first importance. We may be pronounced out of the reckoning, our peaceful attitude may be pointed to, and our changed feeling towards Turkey as proof that whatever happens we should not interfere; but for all that the fact remains that the expression of our sympathy for one side or the other, the giving of our countenance to Austria or to Russia as against Turkey, or to Turkey as against those who are trying to cast

off their yoke, would do more to bring on the crisis than any other event conceivable. Our interests are European still; we yet hold the keys of the Mediterranean; and while we do so, nothing can happen along its eastern shores in which we have not a most vital interest: no movement can be made by us, therefore, without producing results which the light-hearted spirit of the day is only too ready to under-rate.

If proof were wanted of the truth of that assertion, it is to be found in the sensation produced by the purchase of the Suez Canal shares. If we are to believe the assertions of the Ministry, that purchase never meant anything political—it was only a bit of commercial speculation. England had become a shareholder in a very indifferent Franco-Egyptian Company, in the hope of exercising some undefined and undefinable control over its management, and that was all. But until one Minister after another had, with a unanimity which was visible through all the contradictions that characterised their explanations in detail, laboured hard to hammer this conception of the ‘stroke’ into people’s heads, no one thought of accepting it in that sober light. There was a cup-throwing and huzzaing over it the land through, as an indication that the Tories had at last given us ‘a spirited foreign policy’: that we had given the challenge direct to Russia and Austria henceforth to count with England in their projects for dividing the carcass of Turkey between them. As we interpreted at home, so did Europe. There was a stir visible through all the reserve of Court and, on the one hand, the poor insurgents felt a new vigour, while, on the other, Turkey had an impression of febleness. Not all the laboured explanations of Ministers have been able to dispel the impression then given, because it sprang from people’s own sense of the fitness of things: and

we firmly believe that step England did more to the Eastern Question applicable except by war than events put together. V jealousies that had been inflamed to eagerness of prohibition of Russia; woke jealousy of France; and Court of Austria with sense of perplexity and Russia felt that England have Egypt, and read this tacitly implied that have Constantinople. A not fail to recognise the event she would have to her position probably. France was roused for fancied rights in the Me and in Egypt from the of ‘perfidious Albion’. moment the most extraordinary on our part: the jealousy of France ing out into active aggression. There the financiers who have carried a nefarious game of land in Egypt as in Turkey long for their chances ing with all the plunder they have only one card save themselves from. They seek to draw more thrifty but vain and ignorant populace by working out of England which the purchase of these Canal shares we should our Ministry a time betray that short-which, alas! they have well taught us to doubt the financiers will. They will, under cover of sity of ‘checkmating’ Egypt with their gains, the poor peasant and the artisan in France to do best they can, sustain ardour as patriots in their duty to their country.

Our Ministers were something of this in the present showing themselves

the bad impression of it in every way possible. We have, for the time, a slave of Egypt to his credit; but the danger is that of his bankruptcy, and that, may again tempt him to interfere—to do something to put up his throne, and a lucky 200,000*l.* a year promised us with his assistance of heart. They have Mr. Cave's Report, and any real information is to be reckoned that the need will be given without much delay and all their follies. Oblivious of the fact that at which the debt of the floating, has indicated that it has much more likely to be 100,000*l.* than 10,000,000*l.* like his master, has as much as to his resources, but our Government has little ground for it will see this. Company of simple-minded men, led by a man of too Oriental not to be as of Arabian Nights' and things Turkish because they belong to the East from whence they are too likely to be the poverty of the wretched fellahs, living and overworked men by the lash to the over-mortgaged estates of bankrupt master sensual luxury, who is of tempting the virgins at his exotic tawdry fits of 10,000*l.* at a time, of slaves and eunuchs, and concubines, almost of the Sultan. If, for facts, our Government is into the Egyptian tension in Eastern hardly fail to snap, and

It is idle to say that England has no influence, no power; but we almost despair of a Ministry which by its conduct in this wretched Suez Canal affair really betrayed that it rated the influence of England infinitely lower than any Power in Europe. Its ignorance and light-heartedness are dumbfounding to the minds of ordinary men. The spectacle that the vapouring of the Premier presents at such times is food for bitter reflection enough. What then has England come to that she should incontinently slap faces all round, and say with a light laugh, It is nothing? Is it nothing to think that at a time when every step demanded the most wary caution, we should have gone headlong into an affair that has more than anything else made mutterings of coming war run from the Bosphorus to the Neva, from the Danube to the Seine? That our leaders should look as innocent as lambs over the business, and express their surprise that anybody should think that England has any spirit or influence left, drives us to despair. Something altogether different, altogether more noble, was demanded of England at a time when a crisis is drawing to a head in the East which before many years are over may change the face of Europe. We have power there still. Our follies prove it more than our wisdom. As usual, we fear that the course we shall take will depend upon accident more than on design; but so far as regards Egypt it is just possible that its debt may be big enough to frighten even our sanguine Ministry and make them keep hands off. They have had a lesson there in many ways, and ought to have a juster measure of English power and English responsibilities abroad than they had before.

But to return to Turkey. This decrepit power is now wrestling in

apparently its last throes. Although it has ceased to pay any interest on its foreign debt, it proves to be too poverty-stricken to be able to find means to carry on its internal administration under the burden of what is as yet but a very small war. The loan fever has done its worst, and the professed philo-Turk, who so long as the business paid could not say enough about the—always coming—regeneration of Turkey, who, while he saw the brutal, besotted Sultan waste the substance that had been cajoled out of the industrious toilers of Western Europe in all manner of useless whims and vain debaucheries, while beneath his eye Turkey grew poorer, more squalid, while his ear was filled with the cries of misery wrung from a people despoiled of the means of living to feed his insatiable greed of gain, still could concoct glowing pictures of prosperity, of coming regeneration, ought now to sit down and look at his work. If there is any conscience left in him, he could hardly turn round and sleep with happy dreams. More pitiable than his victims is the man who rolls in wealth thus gained.

Yet he has done good, that same individual—done it as a pestilence sometimes does. The result of his work is that Turkey is now as one chained—that the Christian populations and the races of all creeds which long to fling the incubus of the Sultan and his alien race and bloated Court off their shoulders have now a chance such as they have not had before since the Turk took his seat at the Golden Horn. The debt of Turkey is, as we have said before, a disintegrating, crushing force; and however brave the Turk may be, if he can find no bread, no weapons of war, no clothes or shelter, he cannot fight his battle very long. For the first time poverty and debt have brought subject and ruler face

in Turkey, almost on the same level. What is really the subject free is the surrounding world. The Turk and the Turk beat the long run he has ground down so long worthy to live at all—the Eastern Question might be solved in fashion that could not fail to Western Europe, which war to see Russia at the Bosphorus for that matter Austria either a new Southern power, progressively strong, peacefully towards other powers, and thus unable to dictate in the Mediterranean.

And is there any chance of a solution of the question? Possibly there is, but we fear possibly. Should it come at all will be as much because financial difficulties which other powers besides Turkey because motives of human bearing are to be found policy of surrounding states. There can hardly be a doubt either Austria or Russia felt strong enough now for a war would be declared. Happily of them are up to their eyes. The very apprehension of such already produced sharp pains Vienna, and a war of any kind would make both Russia and Austria bankrupt. In this country have been long familiar with poverty of Austria, and so she is concerned such a state causes therefore no surprise. Russia has been less known with our usual happy trust we believe of the unknown. is good. But Russia is perfectly less able to bear any strain, such as a big war Austria. In reality she is by a good deal, and her of much less resource. Her are strained to their utmost.

ardens already imposed, and taxable wealth of the country seen all tapped. There are sources to draw from in Russia in Austria, and at the same a new war would with the come on the top of a number existing wars, or wars just , petty it may be, but very sting. Russia has not pushed conquests over all Northern to the Wall of China and t, to Afghanistan and Persia, it paying for it. They have men and money—to some we fear English money—they will continue to cost long time to come. A new such as that between the two s most interested in European y, would indeed be likely to en the cost of the conquests a, for they are by no means lated yet. Discontent reigns many regions where out-y all is peace, and is not seen e Russia does not allow her to cry aloud nor permit the m that we yield in India. se of the silence, discontent anger are underrated when n conquests are thought of, s, because of the noise we they are much overrated we think of England in

Hence, if it is much the st of Austria to keep the peace, almost more the interest of a. Neither can afford to fight ; such as both may covet the orus or the Danube valley, r can be sure that she could the cost of acquiring it. ce the Eastern Question is, reat extent, a financial one— least finance at the moment almost as important a part as al cupidity or necessity—it rs greed with fear. For the ses of war neither Russia Austria could hope to borrow hing in Paris, Amsterdam, or on ; they must depend on their resources ; and, in a measure,

whoever gave out first in means would be likeliest to lose the battle. Wars are short and sharp, they say, in these days ; but they are probably costlier than ever they were in the history of the world before. We have here then, it seems to us, the key to the attitude of the two powers towards the Herzegovinese insurgents. Austria is anxious to keep the peace, and — mistakenly — thinks that the way to keep it is to get the people to submit once more to the Turk. As far as the Vienna cabinet has any sympathies in the matter, they may be said to lie with the Turk, because the maintenance of the *status quo* is the present Austrian ideal. Practically, at all events, Austria may be looked on as the ally of Turkey ; and, just because she poses in that attitude, she fails to command either the confidence of the insurgents or the sympathies of Western Europe to the extent that she might otherwise do.

Russia, on the other hand, plays a much more subtle game. Outwardly siding with Austria on the question at issue, and counselling submission, and all the rest of it, yet secretly her emissaries spread disaffection, and agents, more or less recognised, help the insurgents with the means of carrying on the struggle. Servia and Montenegro appear to be at once restrained and egged on like hounds kept ready in the leash till the right moment comes to slip them. Against secret fostering of this kind the efforts of Austria are of course fruitless, as they might well be in any case ; and the danger is that Austria may be goaded by failure to a sudden interference which would precipitate a war. The insurgents have rejected the proposals of General Rodich on the perfectly intelligible grounds that they afford no guarantee against the renewal of Turkish brutality and oppression, and have formulated propositions

of their own, which involve the practical abdication of the Turk within the disturbed territory.¹ 'The Powers' have, of course, refused to accept these proposals as a basis of arrangement, because they know well enough that until the Turk is better thrashed than he has yet been he will listen to nothing. Concessions have never been wrung from the Turk that possessed substantial value except by the sword at his throat, and he has not come to that extremity yet in Herzegovina or Bosnia, although if Serbia and Montenegro are let loose on him he may soon. 'The Powers' had, therefore, no help for it but to reject the insurgent terms. But the actions of the two were curiously different throughout. Austria is prominently to the fore, and bears the chief odium of the damper which is thrown over insurgent hopes. Russia keeps more in the background, and works through agents such as M. Wesseltzky, who can change their attitudes as quickly as a chameleon its colour, and do it with the best intentions. Serbia is continually scolded and told to be quiet, and goes on arming all the time as if nobody had said a word to it. That, we are told, is purely the result of the strong desire of the Servians to join the struggle; but the whole truth is not thus presented, else why should the Servian Government find such difficulty in raising a small loan? The country is

not particularly rich; but it is probably richer for its *se* than *his* mania, and might have raised a million sterling easily in a fit of enthusiasm. Instead of that the Government has to force the metal out of the people, and, strangely say, Russia allows it to do so. Troops are mobilised and *and* ammunition is hurried to the *the* tier, the Austrian consul at Belgrade is treated to a popular demonstration by a section of the excited *the* place, indicative of its hatred, *and* no notice is taken by Russia. While she is thus artfully keeping on *the* terms with both parties in *the* strife, Austria satisfies neither. Constantinople telegrams inform us the irritation is great *because* Austria cannot restrain *her* subjects who sympathise *of* the insurgents from crossing *the* Dalmatian frontier and taking *in* session of Turkish Croatia.

The more it is studied the *the* clear does the game of Russia *fact* become. It is not to *into* big war, not to quarrel with Austria nor yet to defend Turkey, but let the insurgents themselves *but* things to such a pass that *it's* become necessary to *advise* the Porte to let them have their *fresh* in a fashion that *will* make *the* advice equivalent to a threat. *the* secret fostering Russia *evident* hopes to retain the warm regard *her* co-religionists in Turkey, *by* underhand support *to* *the*

¹ The following paragraph gives the demands of the insurgents as formulated by Socica at the Conference recently held at Suttorina between Baron Rodich and the insurgents:

'We demand restitution from Turkey of a third part of the soil which has been *seized* from us by violence. It was, in fact, this violence which provoked the *insurrection*. We claim also to be exonerated for a period of three years from payment of the tax. . . . Not one of us will be willing to return home till Austria and Russia have guaranteed us means of subsistence for a year—corn to sow, cattle, and everything necessary for in the settlement of a household. We desire also that in the six places where garrisons are left, six representatives of Austria and six of Russia should be installed. Last we desire the Turkish forces to evacuate the territory. Upon these conditions we *will* lay down our arms.'—*Times*, April 20.

It is impossible to say that these terms are unreasonable when the vengeful spirit and brutality of the Turks are taken into account; but until either Russia or Austria, both, are prepared to support these demands, what hope of peace can there be?

ly bring matters to such a pass it will be both impossible for Austria to interfere alone to keep the peace or to object to the insurgent territories being endowed with a *de facto* independence should immediate absorption be inexpedient. The guarantees which the insurgents insist upon will by-and-by be seen to be a necessity if peace is to be secured: they will then be pressed upon the Porte in a manner that will admit of no refusal; Russia will gain indirectly, because there can be no doubt to which side the princes will lean; and Austria will be deprived by a show of insisting independence of any pretext for a quarrel. Under this policy Russia can afford to wait, she thinks, of ultimately gaining her ends, and by this policy alone, probably seems to her, is the outbreak of war likely to be avoided. The dismemberment of Turkey resolved upon by either party as an open object to be openly pursued, is inevitable, and may spread, there are questions affecting every nation in Europe more or less involved in the problem who is to be Constantinople. Confirmatory of that this is the purpose of Austria comes as we write in the news that she has ordered thirty-vessels of war to be prepared for the Black Sea in addition to the armaments already there. To-day, when she thinks things quiet, a sudden move will be made, a long-prepared stroke struck which will startle everybody in the land by its unexpectedness. On everybody will say, 'How like Russia that was! It is just what we might have looked for.' In advance into the disturbed regions—a descent on Constantinople—both these events are probabilities of the coming season. Would Russia be tempted to think at this time they can be done without a war with the Western Powers. Whether she will think so depends

to some degree on Austria, to some degree also on Germany, but, we venture to say, most of all on the attitude of England.

The difficulties of Austria are, on the other hand, much increased by the complexities of her internal situation. The Austro-Hungarian Empire does not pull well together, and what the German portion would like does not coincide with the aspirations of the Slavs of Hungary. Therefore war might precipitate internal crises; and, unless the House of Hapsburg could see its way to throw over the Germans, and to adopt fully the leadership of Hungary in a southern Pan-Slavonic movement, it might lead to the dismemberment and extinction of the empire. Altogether, the forces pulling different ways are nearly balanced for both empires, and the desire to maintain the *status quo* is consequently strong in both, unless the desired ends can be obtained without a general war. Whichever first thinks that they can will most readily take the first revolutionary step.

In these circumstances there might not appear to be much room for a 'spirited foreign policy' on the part of England, for it might precipitate the catastrophe which the cupidity and ambition of Russia and the broken condition of Turkey would otherwise bring on soon enough. Yet we think there is a line that England might take on this question that would be at once generous and probably effectual for peace. If our statesmen were to grasp firmly what would be the best event for Europe from this struggle, and to take the side of the subject races as steadfastly as she ever took the side of the Turk, and take it in time, Turkey might be gradually dismembered, and yet Russia kept from exclusive domination on the Bosphorus. Her course ought, in that case, to be first of all to bring about some change in.

the attitude of the Cabinet of Vienna. If Austria were sure of our support in a policy at once strong and well-defined, her hesitation might give way to a steady backing of the insurgents, and the independent aspirations of Servia and Montenegro. If we proclaimed the rights of these crushed provinces to their independence, and upheld both at the Porte and at St. Petersburg and Vienna the necessity for giving them these rights under guarantees preserving the neutrality of the Powers, the entire situation would become more satisfactory. Recognising the indisputable fact that Turkey, as a Power, is too far gone to be worth upholding, and that the Turk is a curse in Europe, we might unite all the Western Powers in sympathy with us in a policy calculated to raise a new State, or federation of States, in South-Eastern Europe. The little kingdom of Greece might then extend its borders to the limits dreamt of when the Greeks set up the standard of revolt more than half a century ago. Servia and Montenegro might accrete to themselves new provinces in the hilly north, and, amid struggles, failures, and jealousies, a new force gradually come to the fore in Europe. It would be a policy worthy of the traditions of England, and of the force she still wields as the mightiest empire in the world; but we dare not hope to see it in these days. While the spirit of indifference is supreme at home, and suffers our destinies to be in the hands of a man who feels nothing in his heart of the greatness, the ambition, or the ancient renown of the realm, all that we can expect is histrionic make-believes that flutter Europe for a moment with excitement soon changing into the laughter of contempt. Yet as we write an opportunity appears to offer for an effective intervention in the interests of peace and of the oppressed. Telegrams

state that it is in purpose the three Powers—Russia, Germany, and Austria—to take steps in this Eastern question without consulting, not each other only, but so the three other guaranteed Powers. If that news be true, there is nothing in the world to bind us from taking her place in this affair, and using her enormous influence to settle peacefully. Will she do it? We do not hope so. Our Minister at Constantinople has little influence on our Government at home, and our stency. They prefer to let us drift. If we did interfere with feeble counsel, we might only lead Russia once again to suppose that we meant nothing, and that she could therefore safely overrule us. Then, when too late, we might get angry, and find that we must fight, and spend the life-blood of the nation to save our wounded self-love.

But at being so, it only remains for us to stand aside. At least, if we do not interfere, we might avoid aggravation, and let even take their course without us. Above all, the powers in Europe our interests in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea is still weightiest, for the balance is still the key of the East. A great power there, possessed of a great fleet, could control the Suez Canal more easily than we could sweep the English Channel. But if we prefer to ignore this, let the oblivion be thorough for heaven's sake. Why prevent the advent of such a power by meddling in Egypt before our time, in a fashion that gives us nothing but vexation and loss?

Should this country indeed stand aloof and see the Russians at the Golden Horn, it is not unlikely that we may be stirred to do something to save ourselves in Egypt, but here a miserable delusion while giving us a false sense of security against the power of other

acts as a bugbear on the imagination when it seeks to picture the advantage that such an acquisition would bring to ourselves; and the forcible-feeble statesmen of the time will probably try to let things alone as long as their inertia can resist the current of events. In that case all we can hope for is that the acquisition of Turkey will bring so many quarrels on Russia, so much danger of internal dissension and dismember-

ment, as to make her weak rather than strong. We believe that would prove so—that Russia is a power endowed with sufficient cohesive force to stand transplanted to the Bosphorus without ultimate disruption; and therein lies perhaps the only satisfaction we have in contemplating an English supine and without policy where some of the mightiest interests that can affect her empire are at stake.



SHAKESPEARE A

THE complex intermingling of races which one finds in a nation which has had many successive and powerful rulers, has given to the people of England a character, like their language, compounded of elements more varying, more apparently contradictory, perhaps more rich and strong, than those which go to form any other. We are called at once a nation of shopkeepers and of madmen; and while English 'pluck,' enterprise, and originality are renowned throughout the world, Englishmen are very generally thought to be dull, plunged for ever in a profound melancholy, and slaves to a narrow and inflexible 'respectability.'

Our language and our literature fully reflect this variety, its strength and its shortcomings. In clearness and precision, in elevation and purity of theory, in brilliancy of wit, possibly in culture of style and literary refinement, the French surpass us: in profundity of thought, in breadth and boldness of speculation, and in the richness of a philosophy which embraces art and morality as well as science, the Germans: but for vigour, variety, poetry, humour, commonsense, health and manliness, English literature is, as a whole, unrivalled. The easy victory of English as a language over all others (with the possible exception of Greek) is now, we believe, generally allowed: a great German scholar has acknowledged that even his language 'must shake off many encumbrances before it can enter the lists' with ours.

That the great representative writer of England should be of a character which, while thoroughly broad and human, is complex beyond all others, to many earnest students

mystery of mysteries, seems the natural. No man has been so variously estimated as William Shakespeare, rightly called many-sided; nor has any man whom history tells us so nearly reached the strangely different traits drawn of him. Voltaire called him a drunken barbarian, a warbler of 'native wood'; Gervinus, the highest teachers of morality, perhaps the most consummate literary critic the world has ever seen, called him a 'small and less Greek'; some of his warm admirers have attributed to him a knowledge almost prophetic of every science, profession, and age; some critics think him a respectable man, with a so-called 'tenderness of poetical genius' which hardly affects his character as a private individual; some a wilful irregular liver, whose passions were reflected in the stormy torrent of his tragic verse. Of these things we know: he was the greatest poet that ever lived; his later life was in no way strikingly remarkable; his boldness as a dramatist was unexampled—perhaps the most striking instance is in the act of *King Lear*, where he depicts a scene between three madmen. He adheres most strictly to the established rules, writes every play in regular five acts, of length moderate, and in his rhyme he adheres most strictly to the commonsense of his plays is so great that now, nearly three hundred years after they were written, with a stage revolutionised by the introduction of elaborate scenery, his masterpieces are, with very slight changes, 'practicable' and popular in his flights of imagination, his flights of commonplaces.

¹ This can be said of no other dramatist.

sometimes characteristic of a
 ns of the wildest order.

o reconcile these apparent con-
 ections is a task requiring much
 e time than we can at present
 it. We mention them only to
 v to how great an extent the
 lish poet is a microcosm of
 English nation, its character,
 literature, even, one might
 its history; and we draw
 ntion to this likeness to ask
 ther we may not learn, from
 views of so great a man on the
 ory he in many ways resembled,
 ns likely to be useful almost
 e than ever now that the rapid
 gress of three hundred years has
 ight us, on the whole, so much
 e nearly abreast with him than
 e the great majority of his con-
 poraries; for who can read
 let and not feel it to be far
 e characteristic of the nineteenth
 ury than of the sixteenth?
 v the period which preceded his
 appeared to his clear eyes must,
 would think, be of the greatest
 ortance to us who look at the men
 nakes alive for us across a far
 er interval of time, though with
 advantage of a sifted knowledge
 acts, and theories systematised
 succession of intellects genera-

after generation becoming
 der. If, however, for any
 on his views are not capable of
 tly influencing our own, or in
 selves of greatly interesting us,
 cannot fail to teach us much of
 inmost character of the man
 self: to know which would be
 any men a greater boon than
 additional knowledge of their
 try's history could be—as to
 e minds the study of an indi-
 al object is infinitely more inte-
 ing than any wider investigation.
 ad first let us point out, what is

known so well that it is in danger
 of being forgotten, how entirely un-
 equalled a thing Shakespeare did
 for English history. Besides re-
 writing an old play on the reign of
 John, he has given us a full and
 complete dramatic picture of more
 than a hundred years of our coun-
 try's life³—he has shown us at
 length five consecutive reigns, with
 the last two years of a sixth, which
 immediately preceded them, and
 the central incidents of a seventh,
 their sequel. This series of King
 Plays (as they are called in Ger-
 many, where they are given as, to
 to our shame, they are never given
 here, as a series) is quite without a
 rival in the world's literature:
 Homer, with his account of one
 war and one man's wanderings
 after it, is far away from such a
 cycle as this,—Schiller, Scott, and
 others do but follow at an enormous
 distance. It was, no doubt, the
 occupation of the time, this dramatic
 chronicling—so Columbus was but
 the greatest of a nation of discoverers
 —but Shakespeare had no rivals
 among his contemporaries, though
 he had fellow-labourers, some of
 whose earlier achievements he used
 as the groundwork of his own.

We are so familiar with these
 'Histories' that we can hardly
 realise what we owe them—it is
 difficult to imagine what our views
 of the history of England for that
 century and a half would have been,
 had we not first heard it, as Marl-
 borough said he learnt it solely,
 from Shakespeare's lips. He has
 made it into one vast play of
 twenty-seven thousand lines—be-
 ginning with the weakness and con-
 fusion of its hero (England) under
 Richard II., rising, in what we may
 call its third act, to the meridian of
 glory under Henry V.; therefrom

398-1532, omitting the thirty years following the accession of Henry VII.
 regard to the vexed question of the authorship of *Henry the Sixth*, it will be
 gh to say that we believe that Shakespeare wrote a scene or two, and a scene or
 only, of the First Part, and that he at least carefully adapted the Second and Third
 --a fact proved to us by the unusual knowledge of the art of dramatic construc-
 tion in these latter plays.

declining in strife and misery till its very end, when the overthrow of the tyrant Richard by Henry of Richmond gives a promise of better times; and concluded, in sumptuous and quiet peace, by an epilogue whose last lines promise a long continuance of such blessed days. From this thousands may learn who would not read a history-book, even disguised in the yellow boards of a novel, but who will gladly go to the theatre, to see brought before their eyes—with a life and truth which satisfies judgments infinitely more critical, a constructive power surpassing that of the greatest historians—Richards II. and III., Henry V., Margaret of Anjou, adorned by a legitimate pageantry of poetry and scene, but not tricked out as heroes and heroines of fabulous and foolish love-tales, or made subordinate to romantic young people not even historic in name. More than this, they may, if the plays be performed in chronological order, see pictures of periods which teach, to those who have eyes and can use them, perhaps more than Shakespeare himself knew. We see the want of pure and direct motive in John's day; the military fervour waked by Henry V.; the utter unredeemed baseness of the Wars of the Roses: we see the fall of feudalism, from the days when Richard II. was surrounded by barons almost his rivals—who, encouraged to rebellion by the weak title of his successor, were cowed temporarily by the personal power of Henry V., rose to their highest during the minority and feeble reign of Henry VI., and, exterminating each other during twenty years of civil war, were succeeded by the upstarts (Rivers, Grey, &c.) satirised by Gloucester, till, in the time of Henry VIII., they had dwindled into the miserable court-parasites who plotted powerlessly against Wolsey; leaving the monarchy thus absolute,

...aint of Elizabeth
...popularity w
...power of t
...rose, at the end of Shak
...e's life, and, after a struggle
...ure and death with the king, e
...tiredly crushed him.

But of this significance of the
...he shows us Shakespeare
...not seem to have been co
...The gradual growth of t
...out of one form into anothe
...it was noticed by any minds
...his day, certainly seems to hav
...been outside the circle, vast as
...was, of his vision; the increasin
...importance of the people was, if
...felt it at all, unwelcome to him-
...but, indeed, the century of warfa
...which he chronicled was one i
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...ched, and the signs of the time
...during the earlier part of his ow
...li, pointed (to most minds) to
...a stronger despotism rather
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...ng. There is hardly a scen
...y one of the series not directl
...concerned with the affairs of prince
...their rivals, and the one pop
...ring painted (that under Jac
...le) is introduced apparently onl
...for the sake of making fun of the
...'grey-capped' mob which Shake
...speare so thoroughly contemned
...He does not even take any notice
...the great movements of Lollardist
...—this was probably because
...the questions they raised stil
...divided England into two fairly
...ned parties, and Shakespeare's
...own tendencies were distinctly no
...Puritan.

The one great lesson that these
...plays seem intended to teach i
...patriotism: and it is a thing to be
...remembered in any time that the
...most of England ever
...produced in any country, clearly
...as with a passion
...almost big, that this single
...lesson

of the complete study of a hundred years' history by a mind so powerful and comprehensive: one cannot imagine an intellect like Shakespeare's minutely following out his nation's life for such a period, without feeling, and *teaching*, that some laws must be hidden in its confusion of battle and charter, oppression, rebellion, and compromise.

The answer is simply this: he did not study history—he reproduced it. Shakespeare's one great characteristic is his habit of taking things as they are—and he took the facts of history without enquiry, absolutely as Holinshed gave them, accepting also all Holinshed's theories, deductions, and (as far as they go) studies of characters: narrating the history of each reign, literally as far as he can in the historian's own words—omitting nothing but what was entirely undramatic (and it is astonishing how little is allowed to be undramatic by Shakespeare) — 'adapting' him for the theatre, in fact, with a fidelity greater than that of the modern dramatist who makes a stage-version of a popular novel. Except in the case of Jack Cade, we cannot at this moment recall a single instance in which the dramatist has differed from the verdict of the historian on a character, or materially altered his version of an event, except so far as was necessary to fit it for the stage.

For this there are two reasons. In the first place, Shakespeare was a dramatist, not a historian—it was no business of his to sift every fact presented to him, and discover how much it owed to the exaggeration of tradition, to prejudice, or to careless repetition: he knew that the popular view of history is almost sure to be the most picturesque, and he also knew that if he contradicted received beliefs he would raise a spirit of dispute and enquiry in his hearers entirely opposed to that in which a work of art ought to be enjoyed, and in

which only it can be appreciated. In the second place, Shakespeare only, as we have said, had a habit of taking things as they were, and he prided himself upon it: he was a mirror, as absolutely true as a mirror, and his business was to tell the facts of a case, however apparently contradictory, to show how it was that they happened, to reconcile all inconsistencies, to give a lifelike air of truth which art rarely has though truth often has it; in a word, to make real life of them by making their actors existent men; and he prided himself on not lessening the difficulty of his task by altering a single detail, though his creative imagination added a thousand.

For the student of history, therefore, there is not very much to be learned from Shakespeare that cannot be learned from Holinshed, except, indeed (and it is a great exception), *how* the characters whose doings he is told of did things—their motives and method of working out more fully, developed indeed from a few hints sometimes into the complete synthesis of a human mind, but still motives and method implying an agreement with Holinshed's view of the people depicted: they are seen with the historian's eyes, necessarily as the poet would have seen them, had he been obliged to glean the materials of their characters for himself. But for the student of Shakespeare there is a wealth of knowledge in these histories: to know what was most likely to arouse his enthusiasm, what seemed to him the prominent elements of English history, especially of English history, what rulers he admired and what periods interested him—the whole, what were his political and how much politics were to him—all this must teach us a great deal about a man, our desire to know whom is proportioned to the mystery which overhangs his simple and quiet English character.

The first fact that strikes every reader is that—as has often been stated, and generally overstated—Shakespeare's tendencies were aristocratic. In this, as in many things, he resembled Goethe, and perhaps Chaucer—the only two poets who can be said greatly to resemble him. Shakespeare, we must remember, was born and bred in the days when the renascent knowledge and love of classical literature were lifting those among whom they earliest spread (of whom the majority were, naturally, men of good social position) far above the ignorant and coarse dulness of the middle and lower classes: it was the succeeding age, nurse of the noble Milton, which learnt from the newly-opened Bible, and from the strongest thinkers of the Renaissance, sterner views of life than those which made joyous the splendid youth of the England of Elizabeth, a higher faith in the nobility of man, a deeper, if a narrower, religion. Had he been born fifty years later, Shakespeare could not have painted the commons of England as he did. The stern Puritans made an aristocracy of religion far liker in stubborn pride to Coriolanus and his fellows than to the wavering Roman mob they despised. Living when he did, perhaps in his later days stung by the uprising of a power with which he could not sympathise, he never introduces the people, as a political body, except to sneer at them: in *Henry the Sixth*, in *Coriolanus*, in *Julius Cæsar*, they are always shown wavering, easily led, animated by petty spite or unthinking sympathy—at the mercy of anyone who chooses to gull them. Jack Cade's insurrection is indeed the one instance in which Shakespeare has not been true to history: his Cade is a wonderful study, throughout perfectly consistent with the description of him in York's speech (2 *Henry VI.*, Act III. sc. 1), but he is not even the Cade of Holins-

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ayer, whose splendid story is
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of the boyish king, who at the l
moment centres all the interest
himself.

But Shakespeare was not a m
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ieve, in the nature of things t
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ly with men of gentle breed
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wrote—*Coriolanus*; whose hero i
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he expressly says, 'doth ring,' is a fact which we never deny nor explain. It is only Claudius, but the poet makes that line—he makes it all dignity to the cowardly who utters it; and it is con-

Richard the Second (Act

Walter Scott certainly a hundred years later, a relief; but then Walter Scott exactly a Shakespeare. The theory that a prince only perfect man suggests itself a kindred delusion; but a number of coincidences make the fact less startling.

was, then, that Shakespeare a way a reformer. Even in the sphere of politics, on the influence strengthened checked much more than it corrected; purer in every the works of his con-

as his writings are, not largely purify their the greater part of the the beginning of the the century is a chaos of unequalled even on the stage of this latter half of the century: he was like many private life, who, though less than their companions, but no elevating influence them, because they have real hatred of sin, nor the speaking out indignantly any fashionable vice.

Writer of the English language, indeed, he had to create, form: he found it, like a rude musical instrument, uneven in tone, unwieldy to brought out all its scarcely-beautiful beauties, gave it pliancy, quiety contained in true the highest sense of the made it what it now is, and peerless. If reform had been needed, he might have brought it—we cannot say: he had to accomplish was but a greater.

I.—NO. LXXVII. NEW SERIES.

And political reform was entirely out of his way. In the *Tempest* (Act II. sc. 1) he unmercifully ridicules the Utopian ideas even then creeping in—the fancies of a commonwealth where there should be no inequality, no poverty or riches, no king, no war, 'no use' (as he ironically adds) 'of metal, corn, or wine, or oil; no occupation—all men idle, all!' He in no way felt the degradation of a people ruled by despots, so long as those despots were not wicked or oppressive—though he seems to have felt their insecurity. Accustomed to the sway of Elizabeth, he probably over-rated much the influence of a king's personal character—which, great as no doubt with the Plantagenets it was, can hardly have preponderated so enormously over all other influences as he represents in *Richard the Second*, *Henry the Fifth*, *Henry the Sixth*: he shows us there the nation's fate entirely dependent on the goodness or badness, strength or weakness, of its monarch—and apparently takes it for granted as the natural state of things, without surprise or sorrow.

With this feeling towards kings, it is perhaps natural that the periods of history he has chosen to illustrate are not those of great events, but of monarchs individually interesting. Grand historical subjects—such as the struggle of some oppressed country against a foreign foe—do not seem to have attracted him; partly, perhaps, because he was above all things intensely a dramatist, and felt that not principles, but men, are most dramatic. A nation's struggle for liberty can hardly be shown on the stage as can one man's struggle for power or love. Thus the Norman Conquest and the Great Charter do not seem to him so well fitted for the stage as the downfall of Richard the Second or Henry the Sixth, the savage career of Richard of Gloucester, or the

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development of the character of his favourite Henry the Fifth—for whose sake he dramatises the reign of Henry the Fourth, so poor in incident that he has to convert it into a comedy, whose hero is an imaginary companion of the prince; the only play of the series in which he does not rely entirely on historical characters.

And this mention of his love for Henry the Fifth brings us to another fact: that for men of real greatness Shakespeare does not seem to have very much cared. Henry was not merely his favourite, but apparently almost his ideal; he has not, in all his histories, even attempted the portrait of any greater man, with the possible exception of Brutus—for Fletcher would seem to have written all Wolsey's principal scenes, and so miserable a caricature as the braggart Shakespeare has chosen to christen Julius Cæsar is not worthy of mention. The men whose names we reverence and love—heroes in the highest sense of the word, martyrs, self-sacrificing patriots—he does not paint for us; philosophers, great statesmen, mighty poets,—not one of these does he bring before us; his Ulysses is hardly more than cunning—even his Othello, the portrait of a great self-raised warrior, wants the self-control of a really great man. There is scarcely in all his works one man we can truly reverence (except, perhaps, some such minor character as Belarius, in *Cymbeline*); he makes even Brutus, the noblest hero he has chosen, seem more moved to the murder of Cæsar by the petty arguments of Cassius, than by the feeling that it was a terrible duty which he owed to his country.

In a word, the great characteristic of the heroes that he loved most to draw is that they are, as Dickens said of himself, 'so very human.' In Richard the Second, Coriolanus, and Antony, we have

types of very large class and, as we have said, of types, not ideals. It is only another side of his taking things as they are, in peopling his plays so entirely with moral mediocrities (in the shape of two or three redeemed villains—but only; not with each play, after the manner of most dramatists). He is not the kind of man that people he was surrounded by; an actor has, perhaps, less than most men of his time with veritable saints. It is most likely the friend that he most passionately loved, painted in the richest colours in three successive plays as Henry the Fifth, prince, king, to whose early wildness he has given a politic, if not an elevated excuse, and whose death he has attributed to his enemies and to the gods he has ignored. He was not a brave, accomplished, wise, witty, affectionate, of unshaken resolution, a man both of action and thought, religious and unreligious, without affectation or hypocrisy, and yet, as Gratiano says, 'whose blood is warm with it, who takes life's pleasures with reason's leave, and loves the wealth of genial humanity that comes and goes, and whom no wealth could not wish to have as a delightful friend; but one for a moment reverse him—no one could 'better spare a man,' but that there are men by the score one doubts.

Still, he was a most perfect type for a play; and this was what Shakespeare (scarcely conscious of it is probable) looked for. It is a question whether a man can be too good to put upon the stage. Nearly all great plays treat of a change in fortune, and that of a noble man overwhelmed by misery, presented as it was to the gods almost too painful for mortal spectators for a

take a modern instance: *Man o' Airlie* is but one sympathises too with its hero, and is too at his undeserved sufferings actual pain to witness. In *King Lear*, in *Othello*, Shakespeare always suffers to some extent sufferers, that is, whose the play: to the innocent are dragged down by the folly of others, he takes only very brief scenes of pathos. His ideal is a life of happiness, equated by the danger

s. At the bottom, then, of this, the other facts of Shakespeare's nature which we see in his treatment of history, the truth which Emerson spoke of 'Shakespeare the player'—that it was as if he looked upon the greatest there has ever been could have been strange to him not thoroughly and as a writer of plays; and at him from this point we shall have a chance of finding many sides of his nature not often seen to be connected. A great dramatic poet and philosopher, but he must be roughly practical; upon the terrible doom which has laughingly pronounced, 'no lives to please must live': his art must be applied to the highest judgments, to the mercy of the lowest: love and hate, enthusiasm and indifference are things to be not only felt, and yet not felt for expression: he must deal with impartial fidelity and vice, life's sublimity and—all absolutely as they

are, without a trace of the artist's mannerism or prejudice, yet converted into art by his condensing and refining genius: he must be neither wholly a man of action nor a man of thought, but he must comprehend both, and to a certain, but not the fullest, extent, be both; he must copy, and analyse, and, above all, embody: he must love his art's highest grandeur, and yet be fond of its pettiest details: he ought to teach, and yet he must not preach. He is a creator, fettered by the actualities of the already created world; and, broad as his views of laws and people may be, his creations must be thoroughly personal and human—they must be individual, types of their class, but not allegories.

And such a dramatist, far more than any other man has ever been, was Shakespeare. He did not paint a world much better than the living one he saw; he had no very intense sympathy with those who longed and strove to make it like their ideal Utopia. Life's variety is the very staple of the dramatist's work—he did not wish to decrease it by levelling either downwards or upwards. A martyr was almost as much out of his way as a bigot; he loved jovial, manly, commonsense England, and he took her history as he found it; and, without drawing any very great lessons from it, or showing us anything hidden very deep beneath the surface, he made it live—made breathing men of its dead kings, clothed its bare facts with flesh and blood—for the spectator of his own day, who accepted with bland unconsciousness what the gods gave him, and for the readers and students of all time, more grateful, let us hope, for such divinely human gifts.

EDWARD ROSE.



CHRISTIANITY AND THE NEGRO RACE.

BY A NEGRO.¹

MR. GLADSTONE, in the exordium of his celebrated article on the Church of England, in the *Contemporary Review* (July 1875), says :

To uphold the integrity of the Christian dogma, to trace its working, and to exhibit its adaptation to human thought and human welfare, in all the varying experience of the ages, is, in my view, perhaps the noblest of all tasks which it is given to the human mind to pursue. This is the guardianship of the great fountain of human hope, happiness, and virtue. But with respect to the clothing which the Gospel may take to itself, my mind has a large margin of indulgence, if not of laxity, both ways. Much is to be allowed, I can hardly say how much, to national, sectional, and personal divergencies.¹

This is a view to which the very highest minds in the world—the best cultivated and the most enlightened—would at once readily subscribe. By the word ‘dogma’ Mr. Gladstone evidently means, not the petrified formula of any particular sect or race, deduced according to their view from the Word of God, but the whole system of Christianity itself, as a living organism, in *esse* and in *posse*, in its essence as well as in its capabilities and potentialities; for in the same paragraph he uses the word ‘Gospel’ as synonymous with ‘dogma.’ Looking at the Gospel system as a whole, it may be called, with no inconsiderable propriety, the ‘Christian dogma,’ or that system of belief which distinguishes the Christian world from all others.

We have said that the very highest minds would readily subscribe to the view of Mr. Gladstone, for only the highest minds would cordially agree with the whole para-

graph. A very large number, perhaps the whole Christian Church, would give their sanction to the first two sentences; but the number is comparatively small who would read the last two sentences without feeling disposed to brand the author as a latitudinarian and a safe guide. And yet those sentences contain the lessons which all practical experience teaches must be learned by the aggressive portion of the Church before the Gospel can take root in ‘all the world and become the spiritual life of every creature.’

There is no doubt that there is only one Prophet for all times and for all nations—the immaculate Son of God; and the teachings inculcated contain the only principles that will regenerate the humanity of all races, climes, and countries. But the Gospel, though it has been promulgated for eight hundred years, has as yet taken extensive root only among one family—the Indo-European. It is established in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and on all the islands of the sea, but for the most part in different branches of the same family.

When Dean Church wished to illustrate the ‘Influences of Christianity on National Character,’ evidently exhausted his subject when he had passed in review the Greek, Latin, and Teutonic races. Dean Merivale went as far as could go when, after concluding his lectures on the ‘Conversion of the Roman Empire,’ he discussed the ‘Conversion of the Northern Nations.’ Indeed, the learned author

¹ [Author of ‘Mohammedanism and the Negro Race,’ *Fraser*, November, 1875.—Ed.]

convinced that his two of lectures embraced all he say on the subject of the of Christianity in the con- of nations, that in his pre- the second course he says, at some future time he print them together, he will y give them the general title 'Conversion of the Ancient ns.' But would such a title be accurate in view of the 'An- emitic, Mongolian, and Negro ens' who have been left out erturer's calculations? The n of the little word *the* from posed new title would pro- ect the wish to have a com- sive title without transcend- bounds of strict accuracy. ould not have escaped the aished lecturer, that only atively small portions of the ; Mongolian, and Negro of man have embraced the of Jesus. And we are dis- o think that one chief reason ie progress of the Gospel races foreign to the Euro- is been so limited, lies in the t the last two sentences of adstone's paragraph quoted are not yet understood and by those who may be called sionary nations of the earth, o, having the vigorous and nt instincts of the Aryan ave become providentially ruments through which the e conceptions of Deity and mitic inspirations of Chris- are to be spread through all

object of this paper is to he influence of Christianity he Negro race, and to en- ow far the method of its nation has affected their re- of it. And our illustrations drawn principally from the n world, as containing the

largest portion of the Negro race who have been brought under the influence of Christianity, and espe- cially from the United States, where the largest number of Negroes live together under the same Christian Government.

Everybody knows how it hap- pened that the Africans were carried in such large numbers from Africa to America; how one continent was made to furnish the labourers to build up another; how the hu- manity of a Romish priest, while anxious to dry up tears in America, was indifferent to unsealing their fountains in Africa. Out of pity for the delicate Caribs, Las Casas laboured to have them substituted in the arduous physical toil of the Western hemisphere by robust, in- defatigable Africans. Hence the innumerable woes which have at- tended the African race for the last three hundred years in Christian lands. In justice, however, to the memory of Bartolomé de las Casas, it should be stated that before he died he changed his mind on the subject, and declared that the cap- tivity of the Negroes was as unjust as that of the Indians,³ and even expressed a fear that though he had fallen into the error of favouring the importation of black slaves into America from ignorance and good- will, he might, after all, fail to stand excused for it before the Divine Justice.

But the tardy, though com- mendable, repentance of Las Casas did not arrest the flow of that blood-red stream which, 'from the fountain opened by his mistaken philanthropy, poured incessantly for three hundred years from East to West. It was not long before the transference of Negroes from Africa to the Western hemisphere became from an individual policy a national measure. Even Eng-

tan injusto el cautiverio de los Negros como el de los Indios.' Ticknor's *of Spanish Literature*, vol. ii. chap. vi.

land under a contract with Spain had the monopoly of the traffic in slaves for thirty years.³

The first slaves were landed in North America in 1620, and men whose characters were otherwise irreproachable were induced by the habits of thought then prevailing, and by the supposed necessity and convenience of slave labour, to purchase the African captives brought to their shores. Some even of the most eminent divines were so far implicated in the error, that with perfect ease of conscience they held Negroes in bondage. The distinguished William Penn, the Rev. George Whitefield, of world-wide celebrity, and President Edwards, author of several standard works in theology, were *slave-holders*. Good and conscientious men were led away by the plausible arguments of those who were turning to pecuniary account the benighted Africans who, it was alleged, were being brought under the influence of the Gospel. But, according to Mr. Bancroft, there were among the colonists some far-seeing men who foresaw the mischiefs that would ultimately result from the introduction of slavery into the colonies. Virginia and South Carolina placed restrictions upon the importation of Negroes. But the British Government, listening to her African slave merchants rather than to her American colonists, not only neutralised those restrictions, but obliged the noble-hearted Oglethorpe to relax his determination that in Georgia, the colony which he founded, there should be neither slavery nor slave trade.⁴

For nearly two hundred years Negroes were introduced into North America without restric-

tion. During six generations large interests grew up out of the system, giving it in the eyes of those upon whom it had been tailored a sanction and a sanctity which it was regarded as sacrilegious to question.

Of course the slaves who were introduced during the first hundred years, we may presume, were heathens, or with only imperfect glimpses of Christian teaching. For the Christianisation of the descendants a system was invented which so shocked the feelings of John Wesley that, in view of the resulting enormities, he denounced American slavery as the 'sum of all villainies.'

That which the early colonists of Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia opposed, having grown into gigantic proportions was not only apologised for by their descendants, but eulogised as eminently necessary and useful to the proper development of society and all the religious, political, and scientific teachings were not only tinged but deeply steeped in pro-slavery sentiments. Generations descending from Huguenot and Puritan ancestry were trained to believe that God had endowed them with the right to enslave the African for ever. And upon those Africans who became members of the Christian Church the idea was impressed that it was their duty to submit in everything to their masters. Christian divines of all shades of opinion in the South taught this doctrine and embodied it in books prepared specially for the instruction of the slaves—their 'oral instruction' for they were not allowed to learn to read.

The Right Rev. William Maude

³ The *Asiento* contract stipulated that from the first day of May, 1713, to the first day of May, 1743, the English should have the exclusive privilege of transporting Negroes into the Spanish West Indies at the rate of four thousand eight hundred a year.

⁴ Bancroft's *History of the United States*, chap. xxiv.

of the diocese of Virginia, had a book of sermons, tracts, dialogues, for masters and , and recommended them to masters and mistresses to be in their families. In the of the book, the Bishop ks :

editor of this volume offers it to all and mistresses in our Southern with the anxious wish and devout that it may prove a blessing to ves and their households.

page 93 he says :

He hath made masters and mis- for taking care of their children and hat belong to them. . . . Some He ade servants and slaves, to assist rk for their masters and mistresses, vide for them ; and others He hath inisters and teachers to instruct the show them what they ought to do, put them in mind of their several

pages 94 and 95 he says, sing the slaves :

ghty God hath been pleased to make es here, and to give you nothing our and poverty in this world, which obliged to submit to, as it is His it it should be so. Your bodies, w, are not your own ; they are at osal of those you belong to, &c.

in, on page 132 :

correction is given you, you either it or you do not deserve it. But you really deserve it or not, it is aty, and Almighty God requires a bear it patiently. You may, per- ink that this is hard doctrine, but onsider right you must needs think e of it. Suppose, then, that you correction, you cannot but say that t and right you should meet with ose you do not, or at least you lserve so much, or so severe a cor- for the fault you have committed, haps have escaped a great many ad are at last paid for it all. Or, you are quite innocent of what is your charge, and suffer wrongfully particular thing, is it not possible e have done some other bad thing was never discovered, and that y God, who saw you doing it, would

not let you escape without punishment one time or another ?

A clergyman of another denomi- nation wrote a catechism for the use of slaves, in which we find the following :

Q. Is it right for the servant to run away, or is it right to harbour a runaway ?

A. No.

Q. What did the Apostle Paul do to Onesimus, who was a runaway ? Did he harbour him, or send him back to his master ?

A. He sent him back to his master with a letter.*

A right reverend prelate tells the slave in another work written for his 'oral instruction,' that 'to disobey his master is to yield to the temptation of the devil.'⁶

It will be noticed that both these works, though written for slaves, carefully conceal on the title-page the unfortunate class for whom they were intended under the softening euphemism, in the one case, of 'coloured persons,' and in the other of 'those who cannot read.' For Christian divines to publish books drawn from the Scripture for 'slaves,' no doubt seemed to those clerical educators an incongruity which even in those days of ardent pro-slavery views they hesitated to perpetrate.

But the politicians were not so scrupulous. They, in order to uphold the system, did not hesitate to brand with folly the founders of the Republic, and to pour contempt upon the judgment of the wisest of their statesmen.

Chancellor Harper, in his *Memoir on Slavery*, takes up the sentence of Jefferson, that 'All men are born free and equal, and endowed with certain inalienable rights,' &c. ; and proceeds in a most elaborate but false and sophistical discussion to demonstrate that Jefferson was wrong.

Whism of Scripture Doctrine, and for the Oral Instruction of Coloured Persons. . Jones. Charleston, 1845. P. 120. *atechism to be taught Orally to those who cannot Read.* By Bishop Ives. New 848. P. 30.

The most audacious utterances we have read on this subject are those by General Hammond in his notorious *Letters to Clarkson*. That gallant and chivalrous gentleman says, under date of January 28, 1845, writing from Silver Bluff, South Carolina:

I firmly believe that American slavery is not only not a sin, but especially commanded by God himself through Moses, and approved by Christ through His Apostles. . . . I endorse without reserve the much-abused sentiment of Governor McDuffie, that 'slavery is the corner-stone of our republican edifice;' while I repudiate as ridiculously absurd that much lauded but nowhere accredited dogma of Mr. Jefferson that 'all men are born equal.' . . . Slavery is truly the 'corner-stone' and foundation of every well-designed and durable republican edifice.

Again:

If the slave is not allowed to read the Bible, the sin rests upon the abolitionists; for they stand prepared to furnish him with a key to it, which would make it not a book of hope, and love, and peace, but of despair, hatred, and blood; which would convert the reader, not into a Christian, but a demon.

We wonder what key would be required when such wide doors into the temple of liberty as the following stand so constantly open—Jeremiah xxxiv. 17; Matt. vii. 12; Luke iv. 18 and 19?

But not only divines and politicians, but philologists and scientific men, brought contributions from their peculiar fields to strengthen and adorn the infamous fabric whose corner-stone was slavery. John Fletcher of Louisiana, in his *Studies on Slavery in Easy Lessons*, published at Natchez in 1852, brings the resources of the Hebrew language to the support of his idol. He gives the public a paradigm of the Hebrew verb עָבַד, *abad*, to slave, in *kal*, *niphal*, *piel*, *puol*, *hiphil*, *hophal*, *hithpael*; and a declension of the 'factitious euphonic *segholate*' noun עֶבֶד, *ebed*, a slave.

Messrs. Nott and Gliddon contributed to the most honourable workshop the results of their scientific researches.

But these reasoners have, and all, been easily beaten on their own fields. Not one of these writers for slavery, whether political, theological, or scientific, ever produced anything with the mark on it of original observation or genuine reasoning. None of their effusions ever passed the limits of the time or place in which they were produced. They were entirely local and temporary, and have added nothing to the sum of human knowledge.

At last, when Charles Sumner was hurling those thunderbolts against the system which made tremble from its base to its apex when he was exposing the degenerate departure of the South from every noble American tradition, and when Calhoun the great nullifier was no more, and the voice of Hayne, the brilliant orator and accomplished politician, was silent—there came on the floor of the Senate a warrior from the South not to hurl back in impassioned oratory, as Calhoun would have done, the charges of Sumner, but to neutralise their immediate effect by a gorgeous rhetoric, as Hayne would have done, but to appeal to brute force, and by one blow to excommunicate from his seat the great Senator for four years.⁷ *Non opus est verbis, sed fustibus.*

Such were the circumstances under which the Negro throughout the United States received Christianity. The Gospel of Christ was travestied and diluted before it came to him to suit the 'peculiar institution' by which millions of human beings were converted into 'chattels.' The highest men in the South, magistrates, legislators, professors of religion, preachers of the Gospel, good men

⁷ Preston S. Brooks.

of property and standing, all in upholding a system which the Negro felt was wrong; but were the men from whom he learned his religion, and whom he was led to regard as guides. Under their teaching and discipline, is it wondered at that his morality was wry—that his sense of the dignity of human nature 'is superior—that his standard of family and social life is low and defective? Not so much by what Christian-ism said as by the way in which, through their teachers, it said it, the Negroes influenced. The things they received conveyed them no clear idea or definite possession of the religion of Christ. In their religion they were left to their intellectual apprehension of the truth than to their emotional impulses. The emotions their guide on Sunday and on day, in the conventicle and in the corn-field. No change was wrought upon their moral nature, there was nothing to act upon. Nothing was imparted from without, and nothing was checked or stifled within. The influence of the Church was exerted continually to repress—to produce outward submission. Such influence, even if it had been wholehearted, could not penetrate deep or deal with much force the inner life of the soul. It produced outward conformity to the views and will of their masters, while it left the heart untouched. Or, perhaps it might be more accurate to say that their whole nature was in a possession of, and all its faculties for thought and feeling, love and hope, for joy and grief, were completely under the control of taskmasters. Nevertheless, by that mysterious force which is imparted to man independently of outward circumstances, to not a few of them the

preaching of the Gospel, defective as was its practical exemplification, opened a new world of truth and goodness. There streamed into the darkness of their surroundings a light from the Cross of Christ, and they saw that, through suffering and affliction, there is a path to perfect rest above this world; and in the hours of the most degrading and exhausting toil they sang of the eternal and the unseen; so that while the scrupulous among their masters often with Jefferson 'trembled for their country,' the slaves who had gained a new language and new faculties were enjoying themselves in rapturous music—often labouring and suffering all day and singing all night sacred songs, which, in rude but impressive language, set forth their sad fortunes and their hopes for the future. No traveller in the South, who passed by the plantations thronged with dusky labourers, and listened to their cheerful music, could ever dream that they beheld in that suffering but joyous race the destroyers of the Southern whites. The captive Jews could not sing by the waters of Babylon, but the Negroes in the dark dungeon of American slavery made themselves harps and swept them to some of the most thrilling melodies. From a people who were so full of music no mischief could have been apprehended, excepting by the delinquent of the drama, who 'fears each bush an officer.' It is the man 'who hath no music in his soul' who is fit for stratagems and treasons and all dark deeds. We do not wonder that the *Westminster Review*, some years ago, made the following remark: 'Were we forced at this moment to search for the saints of America, we should not be surprised to find them amongst the despised bondsmen.'*

Saints, no doubt, there were

* January 1853.

among the bondsmen, but they became so not in consequence, but in default, and often, we may say, in defiance of, instruction. And it cannot be expected that a people brought out of savagery into contact with a new, if a higher life, would, under such circumstances, produce, as a rule, such characters as 'Uncle Tom.' There have been 'Uncle Toms' in the South, but they were the exceptions. As a rule, the Christianity of the Negroes is just such a grotesque and misshapen thing as the system under which they were trained is calculated to produce.

The Africans who were carried to the Western world were, as a general rule, of the lowest of the people in their own country. They did not fairly represent the qualities and endowments of the race. Even the traditions of their country they carried away in the most distorted form. And in the midst of their sorrows in a strange country, they constructed out of their dim recollections of what they had seen at home a system of religion and government for themselves, which they curiously combined with what they received from their new masters; and so the elements of civilisation and barbarism—of Christianity and heathenism—not only subsisted side by side, but, so far as the Negro was concerned, were inlaid, so to say, into each other, in a sort of inharmonious mosaic all over the Western hemisphere.

This accounts for the singular fact that a system of heathenish worship—now rare among the tribes of West Africa—is found among the Negroes, especially in the West Indies, where, the climate being more congenial and the flora similar to the African, they could reproduce with greater facility the rites and practices of their native

land. Canon Kingsley, in the record of his travels in the West Indies,⁹ gives an account of the horrible Obeah system prevalent on some of those islands, which, allowing for the necessary exaggeration into which a writer must fall who gathers his information during a flying trip, conveys a pretty fair idea of a state of things which still lingers among the more ignorant of the Negro population of those islands, and which the Christians they have thus far received seem powerless to eradicate.

Since the emancipation in the United States, the defective Christian character of the Negroes of the Southern States is constantly made the theme of essay, lecture, or newspaper article. In the report of Dr. W. H. Ruffner, Superintendent of the Public Schools of Virginia for 1874, we find the following:

Much of the glamour with which the Negro has been covered by philanthropic zeal, acting at a distance, has passed away as knowledge has increased; but the real character of this people can be learned only from those who have long lived among them. The Southern Negroes are generally amiable, quiet, orderly, and religious; and hence it is hard to believe that as a class they are without moral character. And yet such is the unhappy fact. . . . Occasionally a high type is manifested by individuals; and while there is a great deal of religious sincerity and earnestness among them, and whilst the style of piety modified by the character of the religious instruction they have received, and while families and congregations which have enjoyed special privileges exhibit better results, yet with the masses of those who claim to be Christians, their piety is of an unintelligent, sometimes superstitious, and always spasmodic type, and it covers a multitude of sins.

The *American Missionary* newspaper publishes the following from a Northern teacher who is at work among the Negroes in Louisiana:

Good teachers and preachers are very much needed in this state. I heard a

⁹ *A Christmas in the West Indies.*

telling his hearers that they must *U*, and leave their sins on the *mud*-*bell* before they can say that they *U* again. To prove this, he said would quote the fifty-third chapter *h*. Now, what do you think he

Why, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Pro*-*relation* to Christian's leaving the *Destruction*, and the falling-off of *en* at the foot of the cross. The *of* the thing was that the people *l* to believe that what he was say-*really* in the Bible. What it is to *ure* Christian very few of these *understand*. They profess to be *U*, yet the Ten Commandments are *etter* to them.

the *Spirit of Missions* for June the organ of the Episcopal *U* in the United States, we *e* following:

quite time that Christian people at *h* should be brought face to face *fact* that the salvation of the na-*pends* not only upon giving the *secular* education, but also upon *reforming* his notions of what *is*. . . . The absence from his *of* the ethical element is a radical *and* one that will bring the Negro *nation* to ruin together, if it be not *supplied*.

are less surprised at the *ce* of such a state of things *a* people of savage ancestry *we* lived two hundred years *attels* in a Christian land, *care* at the apparent surprise *writers* quoted above, when *ody* knows the sort of school *hich* the Negroes were intro-*when*, wild and untamed, *ere* brought from Africa. It *t* be possible in a generation *ect* the results of the radically *re* teachings of such popular *fluential* periodicals as *De*

Bow's Review, the *Richmond Ex-**aminer*, *et id genus omne*. They *established* a system of political *and* social morality in which the *'ethical element,'* if not *'absent,'* *was* wholly distorted and cari-*catured*—and to this system the *Negro*, having no other guide, en-*deavoured* at a humble distance to *conform*. It will be a long time *before* the intelligent Negro will be *able* to forget the injustice done to *the* moral instincts of his race, while *he* has access to the thrilling *'nar-**ratives'* of such heroic and eloquent *fugitives* from slavery as Frederick *Douglass*, William Wells Brown, *Henry Bibb*, Roper, &c.; and he *will* be able to understand, if his *quondam* oppressors will not, why *it* is that with his less favoured *brother* plunder and prayer are not *supposed* to be incompatible; why, *like* the Italian brigand, he can be *pious* without leaving a disreputable *profession*.

But even now, while white *Christians* at the North are shocked *at* the moral character of Southern *Christian* Negroes, they do not *cease*, by their practical teaching, to *impress* upon the minds of the *blacks* that there is one standard of *morality* for white and another *standard* for black men. The *shadow* of the slave system still *throws* such a gloom over the land, *that*, where the Negro is concerned, *right* and wrong are only indis-*tinctly* seen.

Many prominent Christians in *the* South still hold to the opinion *that* it is right to enslave the *African*,¹⁰ and these exert a degree

the *Narrative of the State of Religion* issued by the Southern General Assembly *Presbyterian* Church in the year 1864 is a sentence which declared that it was *sion* of the Southern Church to 'conserve the system of African slavery.' *this*, however, the Northern Presbyterian Church earnestly protested, and still *protests*. Dr. Charles Hodge, the veteran professor at Princeton, celebrated *contentious* and epigrammatic utterances, embodied the indignant feeling of the *one* memorable sentence: 'That since the death of Christ no such dogma stains *d* of an ecclesiastical body.' Chief Justice Taney's celebrated decision in the *ott* case in 1856, that 'the Negro has no rights which white men are bound to *is* the political counterpart of the dogma of the Southern Assembly.

of influence upon the North which, if it does not lead them to desire a renewal of the slave system, perpetuates among them the old feeling of contempt for the Negro. All the Christianity in the country seems helpless to remedy a state of things in which the following occurrence is possible.

Professor C. H. Thompson, D.D., of Straight University, a graduate of a theological seminary, for several years a beloved pastor in Newark, New Jersey, chosen moderator of the Presbytery, of which he was the only coloured member, whenever his turn came, appointed to examine candidates for licence in Greek and Hebrew, in the absence of the Princeton Professor, is excluded from hotel accommodations in travelling to and from a National Congregational Church, which he was appointed to address, *because he is a Negro*.

We have before us the *American Citizen*, a Negro newspaper, published at Lexington, Kentucky, dated February 27, 1875, containing a most touching Appeal addressed 'to the American People,' by the Bishops of the African Methodist Church, craving protection against the impositions and oppressions which they and their people suffer. They open their pathetic Address as follows:

As bishops of the oldest and most numerous organisation of coloured persons in the country, we beg permission to lay the distress of our people before you.

Never were Christian pastors doomed to witness the despoiling of their flocks as we have been. Before freedom, we were the hapless victims of wrong, well characterised by the great Wesley as the 'sum of villanies.' Since freedom, while we expected our liberty to cost us much, yet did we console ourselves with the belief that the strong arm that had shivered the chains which did fetter us would secure protection throughout the trying ordeal. But, alas, we have been doomed to miserable disappointment.

Now as long as the sad and practical lessons suggested by the

above are still impressed upon the Negro, as long as the Church he sees stands in such contrast to the Christ he professes, how can the 'element' be prominent in religion? How can he be brought to any sense of the 'divine human nature,' to any human brotherhood?

How can he acquire unshaken faith in the great truths about God which his teachers would inculcate upon him? How can he be brought to the recognition of a high ideal? How can he ever maintain a pure and lofty standard of moral and social life? How can his general character be so elevated, expanded, or refined?

The advantages of the Christian religion in the Western world, now that it is free, are hardly greater than the attainment of true manhood when he was in bondage. It is a far more serious difficulty to find the way of his genuine Christianity than the mere physical conveniences which his colour and that is, the impossibilities of his exile, of his individual or race development. The Negro in Christian lands has never learned in books, or from the pulpit, to have such a thing as education. His knowledge is brought to the test, of him. And why? Because he is taught from the beginning of his book-training—illustrated primer to the illustrated scientific treatise—not to do for self, but somebody else. We illustrate what we mean by the most ludicrous and incidents—but this is not to record them—of the Christian Negroes of intelligence force their outward appearance a resemblance as near as possible to Europeans. From the time he every day receives, though unconsciously imbibes the conviction that to be a great

be like the white man. He ought up—however he may—to be the companion, al, the comrade of the an, but his imitator, his parasite. To be him-country where everything him is to be nothing—rse than nothing. To be ie white man as possible—his outward appearance, iarities, his manners, the ent of his toilet, this is of the Christian Negro—his aspiration. The only hich under such circum-e develops are, of course, sitical ones. Every intel-egro, in the lands of his ist feel that he walks upon of God's earth a physical ral incongruity, and as e a subject of laughter as famous heterogeneous pic-creation of 'a sick man's

spiti cervicem pictor equinam
velit, et varias inducere plumas
ollatis membris, ut turpiter atrum
pisceum mulier formosa superne.

ion is not discipleship. ammedan Negro is a much Mohammedan than the Negro is a Christian, the Muslim Negro as a a disciple, not an imitator. , when freed from leading-may become a producer; tor never rises above a oyist. With the disciple is from within; the grows by accretion from

The learning acquired piple gives him capacity; ed by an imitator termi-itself. The one becomes man; the other is a mere This explains the dif-etween the Mohammedan hristian Negro.

ne proclamation of freedom ited States, however, the the schools which have

been thrown open to the Negro is becoming more and more palpable. We observe in the discussions in American newspapers published by Negroes, an incipient movement towards mental emancipation. But the effect of their educational training must, for some time yet, be chiefly negative or preparatory—in removing the pressure of external evils, in dissipating the superstitions and prejudices of both races, and so opening a wider sphere for the free play and development of the moral and spiritual nature of the Negro. But as his mind is strengthened and expanded by the wide and inviting prospects which continually open before him, he will feel the need of increasing measures of freedom, social and ecclesiastical as well as political. But by the nature of things he can never enjoy this complete emancipation in the United States. When this period arrives, when the Negro comes to feel the need of wider scope for the full expansion of the inherent energies of his mind, he will seek refuge in his Fatherland, for entrance into which Liberia is the most promising door.

We have followed with the deepest interest a discussion, which has been going on recently in the leading coloured journals in the United States, on the relative claims of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches to the respect and allegiance of the Negro. The Rev. John M. Brown, a Negro of high culture and a bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, wrote an article, which appeared in the *Independent* newspaper, warning the coloured people against the aggressions upon their ranks of the Roman Catholics. To this article George T. Downing, of Washington, said to be 'a coloured gentleman of education, property, and influence among his people, and a special friend of the late Senator Sumner,' wrote an able and vigorous reply,

in which, in the course of a long argument, he says :

For one, I, as a coloured man, would ask the *Independent* what there is in the Catholic Church to repel me from its communion? I would like to ask, also, what there is in monarchy more hideous, more to be dreaded, than this cruel spirit of caste, which thus finds sympathy and protection under a Protestant Republic? . . . The Protestant Church proclaims the doctrine of the brotherhood of man, and then tramples upon that which it professes to revere. . . . If I were a Russian subject to-day, I should enjoy more liberty under the Empire of the Czar than I do as a coloured man in Republican America. I should possess more real equality, more justice, more protection for all that constitutes 'life,' than I now possess as an American citizen.

I remember when my own State slammed the door of its schools in the face of my little ones (schools that my taxes helped to support) that the Catholic Church opened wide its school doors to those little ones. I remember gratefully that my children, thus excluded from Protestant schools, partook freely, on terms of equality, of the blessings of education and kindly sympathy thus extended. . . . The Catholic Church has to-day in its schools over 300,000 coloured children. It is educating coloured youth at Rome for its missionary work in America and Africa. In the West Indies, Central America, and South America, nearly 9,000,000 of Africans acknowledge its faith.¹¹

Whatever may be the ecclesiastical connection of the thoughtful and cultivated Protestant Negro—though he may *ex animo* subscribe to the tenets of the particular denomination to which he belongs, as approaching nearest to the teachings of God's Word, yet he cannot read history without feeling that the Negro race owes a deep debt of gratitude to the Roman Catholic Church. The only Christian Negroes who have had the power successfully to throw off oppression and maintain their

position as freemen were Catholic Negroes—the Negroes of the West Indies and the great Negro the Czar of Russia. The world has yet produced no other Roman Catholic—Toussaint, for instance, was a freemason.

In the ecclesiastical system of the modern, as was the case with the military system of ancient times, there seems to be a place for all races and colours :

Colchus an Assyrius, Thebis ægyptiæ an Aegyptius.

At Rome the names of Negroes, males and females, who have distinguished for piety and works are found in the catalogue under the designation of 'Negro.' Protestantism has no Negro. Mr. Ticknor tells us of a Negro, Mr. Granada, in the sixteenth century, who, brought as an infant from Africa, rose by his learning to be Professor of Latin and Greek in the school attached to the Cathedral of Granada. He is the same person noticed by Cervantes as 'el Juan Latino,' in a poem prefixed to *Don Quixote*. He wrote a poem in two books. He was married to a lady of Granada, who loved with him, as Eloisa did Abelard, while he was teaching her; and after his death his wife and children erected a monument to his memory in the church of Sta. Ana, in that city, inscribed with an epitaph, in which he is styled, 'Filius Ethiopium, pater nigerrima patrum.'¹² No such person occurs in the annals of Protestantism. In what Protestant university would a Negro professor be tolerated? The most distinguished Negro produced by a Protestant country of whom we have heard was Benjamin Banneker; an

¹¹ Several adverse criticisms have appeared from influential quarters upon Downing's position, but we find him, in his latest utterances, reaffirming his view. He follows: 'I am fully persuaded that a general alliance, on the part of the coloured people of America, with the Catholic Church of America, would be the most speedy and effective agency to break down American caste, based on colour.'

¹² Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature*, vol. ii. p. 582.

literary recognition he ever had was in an appreciative letter from Thomas Jefferson, the great infidel.

He said that in all the histories of Brazil the name of Henry Diaz, distinguished Negro General, is mentioned. The Portuguese historian, Barros, says that Negroes are, in his opinion, preferable to Swiss mercenaries, whose reputation for bravery generally stood high. In 1703 the blacks took arms for the defence of Guadaloupe, and were more numerous than all the rest of the French troops. At the same time they bravely defended Martinique against the English. When and where has there ever been a Negro killed in a Protestant army? If we asked why Protestant Negroes are not equally efficient—the West India troops did not distinguish themselves in the recent tea war—we have no other answer than the query of the poet:

enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam
quia si tollas?

Negro, under Protestant rule is kept in a state of such ignorance and irresponsibility as can only fail to make him constantly content, and useless whenever, upon himself, he has to rely in emergency.

Deputy for the colony of Martinique in the French National Assembly in 1872 was M. Pory-Papy, a Frenchman. The idea of representing British colonies in the House of Commons is often discussed. If it were ever realised, would the people of Jamaica or Barbadoes be as liberal and enlightened as those of Martinique? For the present, the answer is not.

I saw published some years ago a 'Bill of Sale of an American man.' This clergyman was

a Negro, who on account of his learning had received from a German university the degree of D.D. He was a minister of one of the leading Protestant denominations in the United States; but he was a 'chattel'—a fugitive from slavery. South of Mason and Dixon's line he would have had neither name nor character. His German diploma would have been no more than so much waste paper. His liberty had to be paid for in gold before he could become a man. We question whether such a thing has ever occurred, or could ever occur, under the administration of the Roman Catholic Church.¹³

The American nation, by the force of its peculiar circumstances and the genius of its political institutions, and, perhaps, also from its composite character, is far more advanced in its dealing with the Negro than the mother country. In Church and State laws are being passed giving him larger measures of freedom.

The American Episcopal Church has recently consecrated a pure Negro as Bishop of Haiti. A curious but significant circumstance occurred in the Episcopal Convention held in New York in October 1874, at which it was decided to consecrate this Negro Bishop. The only Episcopal voice raised during the discussion of the subject, in a tone at all dissentient, was that of Dr. Courtenay, the English Bishop of Jamaica, who, in the course of his remarks, among other things said:

We have not, as yet, in Jamaica, one priest of purely African race. . . . At the present moment no Negro in Holy Orders could command that respect in Jamaica which a white priest could command. Whether this condition of affairs in Jamaica is to control the position in Hayti is another question.¹⁴

¹³ documents connected with the sale and manumission of Rev. J. W. C. Pennington, D.D., are published in an appendix to Theodore Parker's *Additional Speeches*,

¹⁴ *Church Journal*, New York, Oct. 29, 1874.

Now, the question that must arise is: Why is it that, after two hundred years' residence in Christian Jamaica, and after forty years of freedom, the Negro population, so largely outnumbering the whites, have not been able to produce one priest? Why is it that, 'at the present moment no Negro in Holy Orders could command that respect in Jamaica which a white priest could command'? Is this a creditable state of things, after so many years of Christianising effort? Is not this state of things owing to that peculiar defect in the machinery and administration of the Anglican Church noticed by Lord Macaulay in his review of Ranke's *History of the Popes*, and which he says gives her less elasticity and less assimilating power than her Roman ancestor?

An able writer on Jamaica, in the *Quarterly Review* for July 1875, reveals the cause of the backwardness of the Negro in that island—it lies in the strong Anglo-Saxon prejudice against his elevation. Though the Reviewer writes with a degree of candour, sobriety, and generosity which it is refreshing to see in these days of sensationalism, yet he could not repress his instinctive Saxon aversion to the full manhood and equality, intellectual and social, of the Negro. He says (p. 72) with remarkable *naïveté*, as if he were writing in the middle of the eighteenth century, or in defence of the Assiento Contract: 'The cane-field, the plantation, the provision ground, and the pasture-land, not (even) the workshop or the engine-room, are the African's heritage.'

On page 44 the writer had remarked with justice that 'the Negroes have given unmistakable evidence of a notable and constantly increasing amelioration in every respect, moral and intellectual, no less than physical.'

Now, we ask, if the Negro is 'constantly' improving in those

respects, why relegate him to 'cane-field'? Why wish to confine him to menial occupations if he has the ability to perform higher? Is his colour to be the excuse for always keeping him in a state of degradation? If such be the case, if such is the teaching which is sought to be impressed by able viewers and by Colonial Bishops on the British public at home and in Jamaica—then two hundred years more will roll round and the 100th Courtenay of that day will again to announce that 'there is not, as yet, one priest of the African race in Jamaica.'

But does it not occur to the learned Reviewer that the degradation of man, though he be a Negro, includes higher spheres of life than the 'cane-field' and its purposes than to produce sugar, to raise potatoes, and rear stock? May it not be worth while to consider, if only briefly, whether the Negro may not lend something to the intellectual as well as to the resources of an island where generations, he has been confined to the labour of the beast perish?

This leads us to call attention to another remarkable fact which struck us in our researches—that the defenders of the Negro during the days of his bondage and the advocates of his full freedom and equality now that he is free, are, as a rule, found among those who are not regarded as orthodox in the Christian Church. Not the Evangelical churches in the United States, but the Unitarians have furnished the ablest and most prominent defenders of the Negro. The Channings, Theodore Parker, Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Emerson, Longfellow, have preached the most celebrated sermons, written the most brilliant essays, delivered the most stirring lectures, and composed the most touching poems in behalf of the oppressed Negro.

can Evangelicalism cannot such an array of first-class ure in his favour.

England, not the *Edinburgh*, st since the days of Jeffrey, ham and Macaulay; not the *erly*, but the *Westminster Re-* has been the constant and un-omising defender of the Negro. never joined in the general nent of Christian civilisation expense. When certain por- of the literary world were buzz of gleeful amusement e attacks made by Mr. e on the Negro, in 1849,¹⁵ the *minster Review* did not partici- n the roar of laughter, but, e contrary, administered the ing timely and touching re-

he first time in the sad history of , the good name of the Negro, his er as a man, had become of value to or the 'chattel' has neither name racter. Was it generous, then, of atest master of sarcasm of his age e first portrait painter of any age— ome into civilisation this its long d guest with nicknames and carica- to brand him with the opprobrium ness, to give him a bad character as nt because his master was wanting uculty of mastership—was wanting om and justice—was himself want- industry, in the energy needed to ut the difficulties and supply the is of his changed position?¹⁶

o would say that this able w is not entitled to bear on le-page that noble sentiment ethe—'Wahrheitsliebe zeigt larin, dass man überall das zu finden und zu schätzen ' (Love of truth shows itself , that one always knows how d and cherish that which d)—which the Anglo-Saxon, his peculiar temperament, es, does not as a rule ex- y in his dealings with foreign -a defect which unfits him in

a great degree as an instrument in the work of reconstructing fallen humanity in distant lands?

On the other hand, professors of orthodox Christianity do not hesitate occasionally to indulge in a chuckle at the expense of 'Quashee.'

Lord Macaulay has noticed this divorce between precept and practice—however it is to be accounted for—in professing Christians, as contrasted with the proceedings of men who paraded their dislike and opposition to the Christian faith. Speaking of the sect of philosophers which arose in Paris in the last century, Lord Macaulay says:

While they assailed Christianity with a rancour and unfairness disgraceful to men who called themselves philosophers, they yet had, in far greater measure than their opponents, that charity towards men of all classes and races which Christianity enjoins. Religious persecution, judicial torture, arbitrary imprisonment, the unnecessary multiplication of capital punishments, the delay and chicanery of tribunals, the exactions of farmers of the revenue, slavery, the slave trade, were the constant subjects of their lively satire and eloquent disquisitions. . . . The ethical and dogmatical parts of the Gospel were unhappily turned against each other. On one side was a church boasting of the purity of a doctrine derived from the Apostles, but disgraced by the massacre of St. Bartholomew, by the murder of the best of kings, by the war of Cevennes, by the destruction of Port Royal. On the other side was a sect laughing at the Scriptures, shooting out the tongue at the sacrament, but ready to encounter principalities and powers in the cause of justice, mercy, and toleration.¹⁷

Such are the curious facts which history unfolds. And what do they teach? Only that the best and holiest of men are not infallible—not perfect—only what the Apostle Paul announced eighteen hundred years ago—'We have this treasure in earthen vessels that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us.'

Nevertheless, because the 'treasure

occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question,' *Fraser's Magazine*, December 1849. *Westminster Review*, April 1853.

view of Ranke's *History of the Popes*.

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sure' does exist, notwithstanding the base and humble material of the 'vessel,' the Negro race is largely indebted to instruments who, in spite of themselves, have been the means of conveying to thousands of Africans a knowledge of the true God. The annals of orthodox Christianity are graced with innumerable names of champions of the Negro. The names and brilliant efforts of the Wilberforces, Buxtons, Venns, Gurneys, in England; of the Beechers, Cheevers, Finneys, Whittiers, Stowes, in America, can never be forgotten. And if they could have infused into their adherents and followers the lofty philanthropic spirit which actuated them—if they could have imparted more of their elevated and generous enthusiasm—the condition of the Christian Negro would be far different from what it now is. But, notwithstanding all disadvantages, the influences of direct Christian doctrine were silently infiltrating themselves into the Negro minds; and though, in their suffering, comparisons at times glanced through their minds; though they could not help often making contrasts which were not always favourable to their own Church; still they understood that the conduct pursued by their teachers towards them was not only not dictated by the religion they professed, but was in opposition to its teachings; hence the singular fact is patent, that, wherever Negroes exist in large numbers, in Protestant countries, they are, for the most part, members of the orthodox

denominations. The only organisation doing among the Negroes in the States, which nearly on numbers, wealth, and aggregate power with the most influential religious sects of the land is the *African Methodist Episcopal Church*. And we are persuaded that the form of Christianity which introduced into Africa by Christian Negroes from abroad will triumph over the orthodoxy of the orthodox.

Whatever, then, the shortcomings of our teachers, they have been instruments of introducing numbers of us into the Kingdom of God. The lessons they have us, from its uplifting effect on thousands of the race, who no doubt contain the elements of imperishable truth, and make appeal to some deep and distinguishable consciousness of soul. While, therefore, we recognise defects—a discrepancy sometimes on their part between word and practice—we cannot withhold from them the tribute of respect and gratitude. In would we apply the harsh rebuke of the great Italian poet to his teacher, but we may add to them these magnificent and inspiring words of that great man's song:

Chè in la mente m'è fitta, ed er m'
La cara e buona imagine paterna.

Di voi, quando
M' insegnavate come l'uom s'eterna
E quant'io l'abbo in grado, ment
Convien che nella mia lingua si m

EDWARD W. B.

¹⁸ See Tanner's *Apology for African Methodism in the United States*.

¹⁹ *Inferno* xv. 'In my memory is fixed, and now goes to my heart, the dear paternal image of you, when you taught me how man may become immortal while I live it becomes my tongue to show what gratitude I have for it.'



SOME REMARKS RESPECTING THE PURCHASE OF BOOKS IN GERMANY.

THE Germans are very often called by foreigners a nation of thinkers, no doubt, they deserve in respects that flattering appellation. Germany has certainly produced some of the greatest philosophers the world has seen, and the Germans have also done good service in all its various branches. The philosophical spirit inherent in the German mind has caused not a revolution in the world of sciences, but has also for the last years roused the, as to people, rather apathetic people to their political rights. The rise of Germany among the nations of the world is to be looked for in the school-er; education having been here whole always excellent. The number of lower and middle schools all over the Fatherland perhaps, the largest compared to other European countries; are also of acknowledged excellence, and the Universities take high rank among the academical institutions of the world. Having convinced himself of the correctness of the foregoing statement, a foreigner cannot but admit it will scarcely be possible to more really well educated people in any other country. As a natural consequence literary works are produced on a large scale, the number of persons able to write such works is very large.

A German, travelling in Italy, asked by a native of that country: What kind of book have you written?—the questioner being entirely under the impression that every German writes a book as a matter of course. Ridiculous as the question appears, there is some sort of

foundation for it. The number of different works published in Germany is really enormous; I think, larger than in France and even than in England, to say nothing of other countries. The intelligent foreigner will remark this, and observe that, considering the above-mentioned fact, it would appear strange that people in good circumstances possess, as a rule, so few books which are not absolutely needed, as school-books, &c. What becomes of all the many books that are printed? he will ask. The answer is easy enough. In spite of there being the largest number of works published in Germany, the number of copies falls certainly a great deal below those usually printed in some other countries, say England. German editions are very small; and the reason of this must be sought for in the unwillingness of the German public to buy books, and especially books that are not needed for practical purposes.

To illustrate this fact we will take that large branch of literature: Works of Fiction. We have at the outset to state that people in Germany, although they are called dreamers and sentimentalists, do not read so many of these productions of fancy as foreigners generally suppose. The causes of this indifference to novels and romances are manifold. In the first place there is an idea entertained by many worthy elderly people that the perusal of such 'sentimental stuff' will do harm to girls and youths; a notion that may be justified now and then, but which most certainly ought not to take effect in a general prohibition of books of fiction. Secondly is to be consi-

dered the great dislike of too many worthy people to read anything that will not answer a useful purpose. And last, but not least, the manner of living in Germany must be taken into account, as home life there is a very different thing to what it is in England. A German's house is not by any means his castle—he sharing the same often with three, four, or more families that are more or less unfriendly disposed towards him. The space at his command being less than he needs, he is induced by these circumstances to spend a great part of his life out of his dwelling, which style of living is carried on to the greatest extent in the south. All over Germany the small tradesman will very seldom look at a book, for business with all its petty cares absorbing all his attention, he has no time for such things, whilst in his spare hours he leaves his house for the public-house, which, being vastly superior to the English public-houses as to comfort, and, consequently, more attractive, is his daily resort for three or four hours or more. Here he finds the company that suits him best, the local paper which provides him with sufficient matter for discussion on all topics within his mind's range, and if he is inclined to reading tales of fiction, he will find in the 'Feuilleton' of the same a story that will satisfy his demand in this respect. His wife and daughters may also take in one of the cheap illustrated periodicals, of which more anon. The mechanic and the whole class of superior working men are comparatively great and eager readers of *belles lettres* and very often buyers of books useful to them in their calling. The greatest part of the middle classes are very fair readers; but here the ladies predominate, of course, which also may be said of the German 'upper ten.' The ladies of all classes are the best patrons of works of fiction, although even they

read less than foreigners would expect from the countrywomen of Richter, Wieland, Schiller, Göthe, Tieck, &c. There are thousands of well-to-do German families that do not possess the works of their greatest poets. Do not believe that this state of affairs results from coldness to poetry; by no means; it is to be attributed to a far more simple motive,—disinclination to spend money.

I think I have said sufficient to show that the love for reading works of fiction and poetry is, on the whole, by no means excessive in Germany; but if people were fifty times fonder of this branch of literature there would not be a larger consumption of printed matter; for even in such a case only a few people would buy such books, whilst the majority would go on relying on the circulating libraries. This institution is the rock on which the German publisher has to build his enterprise. In particular a publisher of works of fiction and poetry has mainly to rely on the good libraries.

Even a very good author's work will not sell much among the public so that the productions of Hackländer, Heyse, Freitag, Spielhagen, and Gutzkow—without doubt the most celebrated and popular novel writers in Germany—will chiefly have to depend on the libraries; and it is a fact that German publishers have lost money on the works of the first writers of romance. A success like Dickens's, Thackeray's, or Bulwer's, in a monetary point of view, would be simply impossible in Germany; there is also very little probability of a man of letters making even a modest fortune. The highest amount that will be paid for a writer of high standing will be 150*l.* per volume, but such cases are so rare that they do not count. If a clever young author gets 30*l.* for a volume he will be very fortunate: in the general run he will get much less.

At the best, the edition of an

author's first work will be small—say 500 copies, of which, perhaps, not more than 300—if so many—will be sold. What remuneration the author under these circumstances can receive will be easily guessed. On the whole the publishers are therefore not to be blamed. Their risk is never insignificant on their undertaking to introduce a new name to the public.

As the sale is so small they have to fix a high price—at least high according to German notions—for the work, i.e. from three shillings to four shillings and sixpence for a volume.

'Why not sell cheaper and make a larger edition?' one may ask.

Because a cheaper price would not make much difference in the sale; only a few copies more would be bought by the public. The fault lies, as will be seen, with the well-to-do people, with their great anxiety to spend no money on 'unnecessaries.'

How far this parsimony goes with some people the following fact will illustrate: A rich man wished to show his appreciation of a great friend of his, a celebrated German poet, and to carry out this intention he gave a dinner in his honour. There were, of course, a great many people, all admirers of Mr. N. Dinner being over, some guests of a poetical turn of mind begged Mr. N. in glowing terms to read some of his poems. After some customary protesting he yields. While the poetical guests are haranguing Mr. N., their host is observed to show great uneasiness, the cause of which becomes apparent when Mr. N.'s poems are called for. Alas! the rich man has not got a copy of his dear friend's works. Great consternation among the company and much secret laughter. However, the host is equal to the trying occasion. He sends his servant out to get the book. But where do you think he has sent the man? Not to the bookseller, but to the circulating

library! Fancy the poor author's feelings on taking the dingy, smeared volume in hand!

It ought to be said that a German does not think such conduct shabby, as he is accustomed to that kind of thrift; for does not everybody, both the princess and the seamstress, get their 'Lecture' from the shelves of the circulating library?

Having said thus much about the non-purchasers of books, let me make a few remarks about German illustrated periodicals. The patrons of them belong to all classes, as every taste something is gathered. The leading periodicals of this kind are, beyond a doubt, those published by the firm of Edward Hallberg in Stuttgart. First and foremost comes *Ueber Land und Meer* (Of Land and Sea), conducted by F. Hackländer, a writer who very often and not unjustly, is called the German 'Boz.' The leading novel-writers and essayists of the Fatherland, as well as the best masters of the brush, are contributors to this journal.

Then follows *Die Illustrirte Welt* (The Illustrated World), a very good paper, little inferior to the first mentioned. These periodicals are published in large numbers. *Ueber Land und Meer* having a circulation of 150,000 copies, an enormous number for Germany. Its circulation is only surpassed by the well-known *Gartenlaube* ('Garden-Bower'). This journal, excellently conducted by Mr. E. F. K. the proprietor and editor, is issued weekly at the rate of more than 300,000 copies. The influence it wields is enormous. Most families in good circumstances take it; all confectioners, restaurants, cafés and clubs keep it; so that I do not say too much when I assume the number of its readers to be at least five millions. The secret of its unparalleled success is to be sought for in the liberal ideas propounded in the journal, and the style

novels that are brought out in it. Usually written by clever women they apply themselves mostly to the feelings, with a charm that a male author is unable to emulate. But, whatever notions may be entertained of their inherent merit, they doubtless do a great deal of good, being highly interesting, and ventilating very often some important question of the day that other journals may fight shy of. The *Gartenlaube* is the Family Paper of Germany.

Pursuing a similar tendency, but with far less ability and luck, is the *Daheim*, with rather a small circulation. Then I have to mention Westermann's *Monats Hefte*, a journal that is only popular among its comparatively small number of adherents. H. Schoenlein's *Illustrated Journals* are of little importance, patronised by the lower middle classes and the lower classes, containing, for the most part, literary and pictorial matter of an inferior kind.

All the illustrated periodicals are at a very low price. The bulk of the *Illustrated Journals* costs three shillings for numbers, the *Gartenlaube* ninepence, and the others are equal; but, notwithstanding the acquirement of such goodly matter, many persons in such circumstances prefer even to subscribe to a library or reading room to purchasing the journals. The disinclination of the Germans to invest money in literature has the consequence that their best literary men generally live in straitened circumstances, and actual poverty; and that literary career seldom yields more than a very modest competency, ensuring the man of letters who has been working all his life for the mental improvement and entertainment of the public, against a terrible enemy to all mankind, especially fearful to old age, poverty.

ALBERT STUTZER.



THE AGRICULTURAL CHILDREN'S ACT.

be almost unanimous testimony of those acquainted with it, the Agricultural Children's Act is reported to have consistently failed in its operation. The result was from the first exactly anticipated. When an Act of Parliament is distinguished by the maximum of latitudinarian interpretation with the aim of efficiency in administration, it is not difficult to predict its fate. It is still less so when the elements of inherent weakness are to be added the circumstance of its breaking entirely new ground and encroaching upon in long held sacred. Its issue, already pretty well assured, can be held to be quite secured. A breakdown, so easily effected, is even calculated to create a suspicion of the failure in part designed; of the intent, such as it was, being in the nature of a diversion, and only to keep the enemy in view while a more formidable attack upon him was being meditated.

Whether this be the true explanation of the present deadlock, the advisers of the measure, with Mr. Chamberlain at their head, know upon that point will prosecute their own counsel. If it be so, the manoeuvre would be far from being indefensible.

A perfectly legitimate artifice of a statesman, as of the soldier, is to reach his ends in a circuitous rather than a direct fashion, and the highest qualities of generalship are displayed in such enterprise. It is easily conceivable that the promoters of this measure saw the chance of gaining the very end they had in view, namely, the elevation of the agricultural class—directly and im-

mediately, and that this feint was planned and put into execution principally with a view to arouse popular interest in the cause. A seeming precedent was favourable to their endeavour, and was dexterously availed of as a plea. For forty years and more the country had been legislating for manufacturing, in a similar manner to that now proposed for agricultural industry, and the results had been eminently successful. What more natural than to expect similar results from a similar action in this new direction; what more deserving of all commendation than the endeavour practically to obtain them? Upon what theory of justice, expediency, or humanity, should the tillers of the soil be left ignorant and unprotected, while the well-being of the operatives and artificers throughout the country was so carefully considered? We do not profess to say that this was actually the train of reasoning which swayed the authors of the Agricultural Children's Act in framing so singularly incomplete a measure, but only that their conduct would be both comprehensible and defensible if it were. What is more to our purpose is to draw attention to a weak link in the chain of argument which leads up to the climax, however desirable in itself, by a supposed analogy with preceding labour-regulating laws. Now, when popular interest in the agricultural class is at length effectually aroused; when that class has even itself found a voice, and more than one mouthpiece, ably to expound its cause; when the epoch has probably arrived from which it is to date a new development of progress and a new influence in the history of this country, now is the time to

examine somewhat closely such legislative measures as the crisis may produce, that no involuntary indiscretion be committed.

And in the commencement it will not be impertinent, though it may perhaps be thought unnecessary, to say, that in everything which tends towards improving the condition of the agricultural labourer we are his consistent well-wishers. His warmest advocates will scarcely desire more good fortune for him than we are willing and anxious to see him in possession of. But for that very reason there must be no confusion or misunderstanding about his true economic position, about the functions that he performs, and the utilities that he represents. The labourer in the fields is both naturally and historically, as well as economically and actually, a person occupying a very different position in the body politic from the labourer in the factory or the forge. Nothing but evil can come of ignoring nature and history to the neglect of this fact. The 'kindly fruits of the earth,' which are his especial care, are such as are only to be enjoyed 'in due time;' they are not the products of merely mechanical appliances, set in motion by an unintelligent force acting with undeviating regularity. The Law of Agricultural Industry, as we have all long since learned, differs exceedingly from the Law of Manufacturing Industry, to the full extent even of being notoriously irreconcilable with it. An initial and intrinsic difference is thus at once established between the labour of the factory and the labour of the field, a difference which has been too little noticed in recent discussions of the question now before us, and has been omitted altogether from the suggestion, at present popular, of extending the principles and practice of the Factory Acts into rural districts.

Still more strikingly appear in taking a brief retrospect of these Acts the and of the motives and that originally gave the them. When the Factory first began to develop its proportions in this country three-quarters of a century was an unheard-of and a novelty. Never since it began had such a state been imagined, even in the of the wildest theorist, as about to display itself before eyes of all. The application of subtle and potent as steam-power to the moving machinery was a circumstance without precedent in the history of mankind, so far as that history known; nor had anything approaching in perfection to the mechanical appliances then brought into use been previously contemplated more portentous in the eyes of the people than the sudden and huge concentration of labour on manufacturing centres consequent on the agglomeration of all productive manufacture in one trade centre. Hitherto different manufactures had been performed separately by far the greater part of the population; and the manufacture had been almost entirely domestic occupation. From the time when the factory system came forth domestic manufacture was altogether superseded, and the new system, of which experience was the example, and for which philosophy could discover no analogy, came into being and grew to fabulous proportions in the space of our already complex civilisation. So startling a phenomenon could not be witnessed without astonishment, and it was not so long before prophecies the most dire were freely uttered of the consequences that were to ensue. So many stories, only too well authenticated, of the evils already in existence began to find eager and sympathetic listeners. It was at this

at the first Sir Robert Peel brought the matter before the Commons with all the authority attaching to one himself a very large employer of labour. The first Bill (42 Geo. III., cap. 73) was introduced at his instance, and is distinguished by his name. It is noble to this Act is significant reference to the present state of the law. Whereas it hath of late become the practice in cotton and wool mills, and in cotton and wool factories, to employ a great number of male and female apprentices and other persons, in the same consequence of which, the health and strength of the persons are reserved the health and strength of such apprentices and other persons; be it therefore enacted, &c.—thus clearly showing that it was no abstract principle of the desirability of legal restrictions on labour, but that first arrested the attention of legislators, but the principle presented to them by the development of the factory system, the moral and physical deterioration were its immediate consequences. As long as labour remained in the condition of a comparatively individual character, it occurred to anyone to regulate it; but when it began to be a combination not only of increased productive power, but also its novel capacities and its problems naturally attracted the attention of thoughtful and philanthropic minds. Precedent was taken when Sir Robert Peel a second time brought up the subject, and more extensive provisions were passed, powers of administration were given in reply to Lords Stanley and Messrs. Finlay, Phil-

lips and others, who opposed the Bill as an unjust interference with one special kind of labour, it was repeatedly urged by him, and by his son Mr. Peel, that the factory system was in fact of a special and unexampled kind, and that the necessity for taking unprecedented precautions in respect to it was in consequence of its unprecedented character. The same plea was ever found the strongest in many succeeding debates when still further powers were called for, and was in especial favour with the landed interest. The clue to all factory legislation for many years is to be found in this fact, that it was the combination of labour and its consequences, then producing unlooked for developments in unexplored directions, that were meant to be put under control, and that no interference with known and ordinary occupations was contemplated. Upon this principle chiefly it secured that vigorous Conservative support, of which the party has ever since been proud, and obtained the ready sympathy of almost all who were not themselves engaged in textile manufacture. And this explains also the otherwise mysterious manner in which the factory acts were ultimately extended; how places apparently the most unlikely came to be called factories and subject to strict regulation, while others apparently far more entitled to the distinction remained without the pale.¹ It explains also why Agriculture, the most ancient of all occupations, was left so long untouched, and, in strict sequence, how the first legislative interference even there followed the usual course in the supervision extended to agricultural gangs (1867), several years before the more extensive measure saw the light.

¹g office, for instance, with no matter how few hands, is a factory, while distillery, if employing under 50 hands, is a workshop.

But the Factory Acts proved successful, far beyond the anticipations of their founders, and incidentally gave birth, moreover, to a system of State education, one of the most beneficial that has ever been devised. The principle that no parent or master is entitled to benefit by the labour of a child's body, unless he procures at the same time some instruction for its mind, was for the first time affirmed by them and carried to considerable perfection in practice. The curtailment of the hours of labour was found to have the effect of stimulating the invention of labour-saving machines, and the operatives to do as much work in the shorter as in the longer time, by reason of the increased energy with which they were able to pursue their work while at it. Gradually people's minds became accustomed to the Factory system as one of the characteristic institutions of the country; so much so, that now it seems scarcely possible to believe that it is not yet quite one hundred years old. A new generation arising no longer regarded it as a marvel, and finding both the Factory Acts and Factory system in full operation, assumed a natural relation between the two, ignorant of their merely historical, and, as it were, accidental connexion. Thus it came to be argued, that what had produced good results in one occupation must produce similar good results in another, by reason only of the goodness in the thing itself, and that it was at once absurd and unjust to confine the advantages of a legislative regulation of labour and an excellent system of education only to certain selected processes. The scope of the original design came to be continually enlarged, even to embracing all 'handicrafts'—even, at length, to the appearance of a Shops Regulation Act, for the supervision of those employed in retail trading,

and to the a parently arisal—em ing too from operatives themselves—to Factory Act for domestic. Nor indeed are some inclined to stop even here; and domestic well as domestic service has been invited to place itself Government regulation, as quantity and quality of that married women are allowed to undertake been permitted to be made the subject of state.

In the meanwhile (1873) appeared the Agricultural Children's Act, drawn upon the lines of the Factory Acts, but with certain modifications. In the general for restrictive legislation the of the agriculturists had come. The principal provisions of this Act were and are: No child under eight years of age is to be employed in any kind of agricultural work except by his parent on land of his own occupation. Between that age and ten years, not to be employed by any person (except apparently still by parent) unless after having attended school two hundred and fifty days, and if between ten and twelve years, then one hundred and twenty days, within twelve months preceding. A Court of Summary Jurisdiction to have power to suspend the operation of the Act under certain (and also, it is to be feared, uncertain) circumstances. A child who had passed the Public Standard of the Education Act is not to be liable to any of the restrictions. A parent is defined to be 'the parent, guardian or person who is liable to maintain or has the actual custody or control over any child.' So far as any of these provisions are concerned they were not deficient in forethought and in applicability to circumstances of agricultural labour. Supposing them to be enforced they ensured to a child employed in field work some of the advantages

factory half-time while that system ore elastic to suit umstances of the ired him, in theory e perils of excessive save in the case of er an unscrupulous serve with regret, ing, how extensive assigned to that d we note with still he retrograde step ent less responsible g of his child than t no provision for was made. The aches of the divers ie Act were elabo- but as to who was m these penalties, machinery was to on to detect and ces, upon these a hint was vouch- as if all persons ; for instance, were punish themselves dishonestly; as if a to be passed for- to be stupid, cruel, and all legis- the subject were Indeed, the ante- bility of the Agri- ren's Act being obeyed, may well een even greater of the two cases he keen competi- competitors com- arp eye upon one est traders would n surely combine est one if no other their hands. In of a law against pidity: these are ly condemned, and evoke any feelings interest in their the matter of regu- ive enactment the ture, old tradition,

long-standing custom, and the sentimental fancies of ages stood naturally in the path of crude reform. The feudal prejudices of territorial magnates, the jealous conservatism of the agricultural class generally, and the wide-spread belief in the health and happiness of rustic life, were all important obstacles to be overcome. Add to this that the universally low wages, joined to the generally large families of agricultural labourers, made every paltry accession to the common fund for the maintenance of the family of importance, and some notion may be formed of the likelihood there was on their part of them setting in motion against themselves a restrictive labour law. Finally, it was no new and extraordinary state of things that the Agricultural Children's Act was designed to remedy; there were no unusual evils to be assailed; for ages the system had gone on very much as it was, and had established conditions and relations of its own. The proprietors of the soil were thus just as little likely as the cultivators of it to disturb by the introduction of novel enactments these relations, in the constitution of which they had naturally had the chief part.

Accordingly, the Agricultural Children's Act failed conclusively in its avowed object, and the time has come to supplant or supplement it by some further legislation. Two suggestions to this end have in the course of recent discussion gained a sufficient body of adherents to make them of importance. The first is, that the enforcement of the Act, as it is, should be placed in the hands of the police; the second, that it should be altered into a sort of similitude of the Factory or Workshops Acts, and its administration given over to the inspectors of factories. With respect to the former, one objection—and the only one that we need allude to—is the ex-

treme unpopularity of such a course. The police, rightly or wrongly, have not of late enjoyed the character of being very discriminating in the discharge of their duties. To add to these, others, of so difficult, delicate, and intricate a kind, would be therefore, in our mind, an experiment of very dubious wisdom. We are indeed in this country already drifting far too much into the Continental practice of putting ourselves and our concerns under the subjection of our own police. The function of a police force is the detection of crime and the bringing of criminals to judgment, not the judgment beforehand of what is criminal and what is not, still less the assumption of the character of a 'guide, philosopher, and friend,' to any portion of the population. To imagine the rural police let loose on the rural districts for the purpose of enforcing a protective and restrictive labour law seems to us little less than to imagine an utter reversal of all the duties that properly pertain to them, and a direct incentive to resistance on the part of the labourers to legally constituted authority. To make them part of the official mechanism for bringing home the blessings of education to the humbler classes, strikes us as a device exceedingly well calculated to make the effort odious from the commencement, and to fatally retard its progress—certainly not to advance it.

The other suggestion, that the present machinery of the Factories and Workshops Acts should be applied to the case of children in the rural districts, has at first sight much to recommend it. That machinery has been remarkably successful in its own department. It is a machinery carefully elaborated, singularly popular on the whole, and well known. It is superintended by a body of gentlemen already in existence as inspectors, and long trained to their work.

Its original scope has recently very greatly extended, even to the inclusion of late of open-air making—in some sort an agricultural process, that is, to the effect of being similarly dependent on seasons and the weather. But not take one step more and add it to field labour? What practical or practical difficulties are there? With the philosophical history of this question have already occupied ourselves some length. It is an entire analogy that places the elements of agriculture and manufacture on a common basis, and the answer primarily resides in fact. Even in the case of brickmaking, what occurs to a process of manufacture, a craft, employed in the production of the finished article: it is an involuntary act of Nature. Bricks do not grow. It may be replied, perhaps, that reaping and ploughing is just as much a craft, on the grounds that it demands human skill and effort; that is not the point. Could you have a brickfield, and work may go on intermittently all the year round, and bricks be produced as required are desired. But do what you can with the cornfield, and yet the harvest will only appear in one season; the crop will be finished gathered just then, and at that time: you cannot to any appreciable extent either hasten or retard even as you cannot increase its quantity.

So, too, will it be found that the practical difficulties in the proposal. They have been stated to appear all but self-evident. It is admirable for a child to go half a day to school and work half a day in the field; every requirement of education most properly so called, seems to be served at once; and the education is easily attainable, and the precise regularity of

to the labour of the fields them would be as certainly e. The schools could not ckly planted in rural s to be always easily nor are the means of he exact hour of the day at command. At certain he year, too, it is allowed ystem should have to be altogether, while at en the child was idle, ol time might be made; does this amount to but stem of the Agricultural Act—of so many aggre- dances in the year? he system which is most already in existence name, what is the good ucing it under another, tain confounding, too, of g systems dealing with s of labour? Neither is e view much served by the adoption of the alf-time principle (which Factory Act has made of alternate day attend- even the less defensible system of ten hours' weekly. The periods of ity in agricultural work a day and over a week, what must be provided all, it should not require ch argument to convince in the country is very rom life in towns, and cannot always send our day-schools, should the our fate, even if we wish

The half-time system, aily, alternate daily, or as devised and is fitted y different set of circum- m these, and no amount g, wrenching, or padding he two reconcilable.

arts of the machinery of

these Acts are even less likely to show to advantage when trans- planted to rural districts;² in fact, they could not be so transplanted without being also transformed, and that to the extent of a total trans- formation. What the difference is between working the statute under a designation proper to itself, and tacking it on to other statutes with which it is in no harmony—or rather where the advantage of the latter course lies—it is not easy to see. The Agricultural Children's Act, whatever its genesis, is now an adult child of the British Legislature, stunted truly in its utility, but possessing within itself its own capacities for good or evil. By its fitness for its own work it should stand or fall. If interference with farm labour is really urgently demanded, let it be of a kind suited to the necessities of the case; if it is not urgently demanded, let no such interference occur. Similarly, if indirect compulsory education is to be applied to the children of the agricultural class, let it be in a form that is at all events feasible, in such an one, namely, as the Agricultural Children's Act itself provides.

Two questions, naturally sug- gested by these last remarks, remain for discussion—questions which probably go more deeply to the root of the matter than any that we have yet passed in review. First, is there now any necessity for introducing indirect compulsion into the rural districts in face of the universal direct compulsion that we are promised? Second, is there any need of protective labour legislation for farm labour at all? The first touches the skirts of another very large and very im- portant question, that, namely, of the comparative advantages of these

ping a register of names, for instance; exhibiting an abstract of the conspicuous place; selecting a public clock by which to regulate the ur, &c.

two systems themselves, a question which is without the scope of this paper. Passing it by then, and keeping strictly to our subject, we are decidedly of opinion that the necessity for an Agricultural Children's Act would be very greatly modified if a system of direct compulsory education were universal throughout the country. If young children were obliged to be at school, they could not also be at work at the same time, and further, the idle and vagrant would not escape scot-free as they do now. We are aware that this does not touch the difficulty of infantile labour; but neither does the Agricultural Children's Act itself, at least in anything like an efficient manner. By that Act, an 'employer' is forbidden to employ a child under eight years of age, but a 'parent' is not, and we have already seen how extensive the definition of 'parent' is. Practically speaking, it is not likely that any child under eight years of age would be employed by anybody but its parent, as it is not easy to see of what use its services would be to another person. Or, if at periods of great pressure, such as harvest or seed time, it were to be hired out for work, there is nothing in the present law to forbid that. The eighth section of the Act gives power to the magistrates of any Petty Sessional division of a county to suspend all its provisions at any time for a period not exceeding eight weeks, a latitude which would surely meet all such contingencies. It is precisely, then, when the child is most in need of legislative protection that the legislative protection is withdrawn. An enactment of simply one clause, forbidding any child under eight years of age to be employed at any time in field labour, whether for wages or not, united to a system of direct compulsory attendance at school for all above that age, would be far more

efficient in securing both the object professedly desired. And beyond this it has not, we think, been clearly made out that any restriction of legislation is called for. It is not necessary to forbid night work because agricultural labour ends with the daylight; it is not necessary to make provision for ventilation, because Nature provides that. As regards the circumstances of associated labour, those are dealt with by the Agricultural Gleaners Act. Whether, then, the system of education to be introduced be direct or indirect compulsion, I think the provisions affecting labour merely need to be at all events but very simple. And this brings us back again by still another route to the contemplation of the essential differences between manufacturing and agricultural industry. The theory of the Factory Acts has been to protect youthful labour from periods of great activity in business, when their energies are the most likely to be overtaxed by too long hours and too close application. The theory of the Agricultural Children's Act has been to protect them at all other times to resolutely discourage hard work when hard work is not likely to be demanded of them, but as soon as they are called upon for greater efforts than ordinary, then to withdraw all control and leave them to their fate. When such are the diverse objects aimed at, surely it would be better to acknowledge them at once, instead of proposing to confound them together. Surely it would be easier to simplify the Agricultural Children's Act by leaving out all unnecessary and contradictory conditions, than to introduce new complications from other Acts, unsuited to it, and to the good work which in its own sphere it has to do.

As to who should be empowered to superintend its operation, we have already expressed an opinion

should not be the police. It can be readily gathered, too, from the argument that we do not think it should be the Inspectors of Factories. If there is no necessary connexion between the labours of manufacture and agriculture, it is not more than that labour is a factor in both, so is there no reason why the factory department should extend its dominion into the fields. And there are practical reasons why it should not. The multiplication of methods of procedure in the centre of administration, when applying to varying and different occupations, is in itself a thing to be avoided. It weakens the powers of the administrators; it brings the respect in which impartiality should be held; it creates discontent in the minds of those legislated for, by exposing the inconsistency on one side and in the strongest inequalities of treatment, which, for all useful and even necessary purposes, have not always the appearance of being so. Besides, it would be altogether a different thing from their ordinary duty that should be thus thrust upon them, a different sort of duty, why a different sort of men to do it? Mines have already a separate inspecting body of their own; there is surely as much difference between a field and a factory as between a factory and a mine. The proper department to take up the matter would be one which we do not, however, in this country possess, a department of Agriculture. If we had a Minister or an Under-Secretary of Agriculture, upon him the burden of the problem would naturally devolve. In the absence

of that, the Local Government Board might be induced to add this to its other multifarious duties, or there might even be a separate department at the Home Office. Boards of Guardians, which would at first sight seem excellently qualified for the office, are not, we fear, to be trusted. It was found, when the administration of the Workshops Act was placed in the hands of local authorities, that they almost universally failed or omitted to carry out its provisions. We should anticipate the same difficulty in the country unions: they would be unwilling to enforce a law against their apparent (though not real) interests, and it would not be easy to compel them.

The present position, indeed, of the Agricultural Children's Act shows how little is to be expected from local effort. Any arrangement must, after all, ultimately hinge upon whether the education of the children is to be by direct or indirect compulsion. If the former, there will presumably be a proper organisation provided for carrying that system into effect, and very little more than this would be necessary for all reasonable requirements under the Act. If the latter, a staff of officials must no doubt be procured from somewhere, to require that the law shall not be suffered to remain, as it is at present, a dead letter. In either case, we trust that no mere love of uniformity, and no false analogy, will blind our legislators to the very different character and requirements of two very different kinds of labour, and that the mistake will not be committed of fusing the Factory Acts and the Agricultural Children's Act in one.

WHEATELY COOKE TAYLOR.



BONIVARD, 'THE PRISONER OF CHILLON.'

OF the thousands of tourists who every summer pass through Geneva, how many bring away any other recollection of it than that of a semicircle of sumptuous hotels, pensions, cafés, and shops fringing the end of a smiling lake, with the 'blue and arrowy Rhone' rushing through it, and flanked on the one side by the forest-clad Jura, on the other by the long ridges of the Salève and the Voirons, with the distant mass of Mont Blanc shining between the two last-named mountains? And yet those who, either from choice or from necessity, have sojourned there for a while know that behind the busy quays and the Rue du Rhône, and all the turmoil of arriving and departing tourists, there rises a mediæval city, with its tortuous lanes, its lofty houses and high-pitched gables; its recollections of old ecclesiastical days, when a Prince-Bishop endeavoured—not always successfully—to control a wild democracy; its Rue de l'Enfer, leading through the Rue du Purgatoire into the Rue de Paradis; its Rue des Chanoines, where Calvin lived after the canons had shaken the dust off their feet as they quitted the rebellious city; its streets, many of them far too steep for any vehicle to ascend: all leading up to the Vatican of Protestantism, the historic St. Pierre, more impressive in its stern simplicity than if it glowed with all the glory of the ancient worship.

Geneva, indeed, boasts a history such as few European cities can rival. And in our modern days, when the old idea of the city as an independent State is being forgotten, it may be instructive to look back upon the incessant struggles for liberty, now against the Bishop, now against the Pope, now against the

Duke of Savoy, now again French invaders, and almost every day against an intestine garchy, which have been witnessed on this narrow yet not ignoble city. The following sketch is intended simply as an attempt to interest English readers and travellers in something more than the ordinary beauties of Geneva.

It is curious that a man who played a really prominent part in the history of his time should have his celebrity in modern times based on an incident of his life to which in his autobiography he scarcely alludes, and which apparently entires his knowledge of his own history. Yet so it is. Byron's 'Prisoner of Chillon' is confined to his inn by wet weather after a visit to the famous du Lac when he was aware only of the fact—which is all that most of us know now—that Bonivard was chained to a pillar for four years in the order of the Duke of Savoy, the modest foundation of his fame. The poet raised the superstructure of his 'Prisoner of Chillon'.

Mine has been the fate of those
To whom the goodly earth and sea
Are bann'd and barr'd—forbidden
But this was for my father's faith
I suffer'd chains and courted death
That father periah'd at the stake
For tenets he would not forsake;
And for that same his lineal race
In darkness found a hiding-place

To represent Francis Bonivard as an hereditary Protestant, as suffering imprisonment rather than for the faith for which his father suffered martyrdom, is as grotesque a perversion of the truth as can well be imagined. He was, in himself, a signal instance of the abuses of the Church which produced the Reformation; and in his later years he acquiesced

es which had come about, yet it not till after the hope of his was gone, and even to the seems to have been as lax in religious observances under Cal. he probably had been under pe; he was, in fact, a man of world, accommodating himself as he could to the religion happened to be uppermost, us cultor et infrequens, er the cult was Catholic or tant, in his heart preferring d régime, because under it he rich priory, and could do as ed, whereas under the new dependent on the generosity Council at Geneva, and was, ver, liable to have his domestic rements made the subject of venient investigation; clear enough to see which way world was going, and with h of nobility of nature to the side of the many against w, but not made of the stuff which martyrs are produced. further, the two brothers Byron makes the sharers of ungeon, and whose lingering he watches in helpless agony, entire invention. It is a pity Byron should have written so little knowledge of his st, for there was in the life of ard plenty of material for a

ncis Bonivard was born in or the year 1497, at Seyssel, apparently, as now, forming of the Genevese territory.³ e end of the fifteenth century ra possessed the advantages, as exposed to the dangers, of dependent state surrounded re powerful neighbours. For years the Emperor had ac- ledged its independence under sovereignty of its elective p; but the Pope was con-

tinually intriguing to secure the nomination of the Bishop, and the Bishop to transfer the supreme authority from the people to himself. But the Republic had a more formidable enemy than Emperor, or Pope, or Bishop in the Duke of Savoy. The very position of Geneva, as commanding the route between Savoy on the one hand and Burgundy and the Pays de Vand on the other, made the Duke grudge its independence; and a turbulent democracy is always an unwelcome neighbour to an autocratic sovereign. He had by some means succeeded in gaining a footing in the Republic as holding a court of justice there, and had placed a Vidomne (vice-dominum) on the island in the Rhone. But the election of the Bishop by the citizens was the key of their position; and at last, by the aid of the Pope, the Duke had succeeded in wresting this from them. He caused a kinsman of his own,³ the illegitimate son of a prelate, to be made Bishop; and now the unhappy citizens found themselves between the upper and the nether millstone. But the spirit of liberty was too strong to be crushed out. Bands of patriotic youths, unable to resist openly, kept up a spirit of secret insubordination in the city, and, under the title of *Enfants de la Ville*, annoyed the Duke's functionaries by small acts of lawlessness, while they were careful to give no handle for proceedings against them. Among these was Francis Bonivard. It is indeed greatly to his credit that he was found on the side of the people, for all his interests lay in the direction of the Duke and the Bishop. His uncle had been Prior of the important monastery of St. Victor; and before his death he resigned this apparently wealthy

traits du Registre du Conseil de Genève, Jan. 29, 1537.

nève et les Suisses. Par Amedée Roget. Also an article on Genève au 16me siècle, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1869.

1513. *Genève*, par R. Rey.

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preferment in favour of the youthful Francis, then only thirteen years old. But although, besides the Priory of St. Victor, Bonivard held also a Canonry of St. Pierre, he was never ordained; he might have had a voice in the chapter if he would have been made priest, but this he always refused, and held his preferments, as was common at that time, as mere *beneficia*. As prior, he ranked next to the Bishop; his private and ecclesiastical property made him an important personage; yet he risked both his preferment and his liberty in the popular cause. At last, in 1519,⁴ the Duke visited Geneva in person; in conjunction with the Bishop he set about to restore tranquillity and order by imprisoning, torturing, beheading, and hanging the supporters of the popular party, 'en sorte que c'était une pitié.' At this juncture the connection between Bonivard's head and his shoulders was very far from secure; but he escaped disguised as a monk (though he was a prior, the monastic dress seems to have been an unusual one with him), and thus saved his life, though he lost his priory. After some years, indeed, he succeeded by an appeal to the Pope in getting his priory restored; but as the Duke refused to allow him to receive its revenues, which unfortunately arose from lands in the territory of Savoy, it is probable that he set but little value on the title and the ecclesiastical position. At this time, indeed, he appears to have been in considerable straits; his own property being practically lost to him, his only ostensible means of living consisted in a small allowance which he received from the Genevese Republic; and it is hardly likely that he received any assistance from his own family, with whom his intercourse seems for a long time to have almost ceased.

At last, however, in 1530, Bonivard applied to the Duke of Savoy for a safe conduct to go to visit his aged mother at Seyssel. During his absence a slanderous story circulated in Geneva, that he had gone to carry on an intrigue against the Duke against the liberty of the Republic. The calumny succeeded in its object, that Bonivard was afraid to return, and stayed the six months for which his safe conduct was available. He then applied for a renewal, which was given, apparently in ambiguous form; he left Seyssel, probably intending to go to Freiburg, at the time closely allied to Geneva. In passing through the territory of Vaud he fell into an ambush of the Duke's retainers, by whom he was carried off to Chillon.

And now began the six years' imprisonment which, though Bonivard himself it may well be supposed, as he wrote his autobiography in his old age, simple incident in an adventurous chequered life, has by a caprice of fortune rescued him from oblivion some three centuries later, and drawn thousands of visitors to the dungeon where he was confined. For the first years he seems to have been treated with respect and consideration to have lived with the governor of the castle; but in 1532 the Duke himself visited Chillon, and ordered him to be confined in the lower known 'souterrain,' some twenty feet below the level of the lake, where scanty rays of light stream through the barred windows, and where the tourist with difficulty deciphers the lines which his book duly quotes,

Chillon, thy prison is a holy place
and gazes with reverence on
footprints worn in the rock by
the prisoner of whose existence he
just for the first time heard.

⁴ Roget. *Genève et les Suisses*.

then, Bonivard languished years, not by any means a for Protestantism, nor even ty, but a victim of circumstance who had fallen into the of a powerful enemy, whose it was to keep him out of . True, if he had been to side from the first with ce against the Republic, he ave kept his priory, and he ever have been the prisoner on : he deserves the credit of chosen the weaker, though er side, and of having suffer it ; yet it is difficult to him with any very ex-orm of self-devotion. Like 's monk, he

after the new world the trace ;

that the cause of liberty stined to prevail, he chose accordingly, and he had of mind enough not to t when to be faithful to it suffering and loss. At on March 29, 1536, the was taken by the united f Berne and Geneva ; in the of the Genevese Registers, ens y ont trouvé Messire F. d et autres pris sur la foi des et le peuple s'est bien réjoui libération.'⁵ Bonivard was in triumph to Geneva ; but to a very different Geneva ut which he had quitted ven years before the Refor-

The Reformation, like one e torrents which, long pent e recesses of the mountains, th burst their barriers and before them, had in those few assed over Geneva, and swept tell-nigh all the old land-

The Bishop was gone ; nons, priests, monks were the Duke's Vidomne was and the ecclesiastical benef which Bonivard had en- comfortable share, were

gone also. There was no more Priory of St. Victor, no more Canonry of St. Pierre for him ; henceforth he must live as he could. The Council of Geneva was not unmindful of his services to their cause, but the Republic was poor, and money was urgently needed for purposes of defence ; Bonivard could only obtain the rights of citizenship, a house to live in, and a small pecuniary allowance. After a while, finding himself unable to live, he complained to the Bernese of his treatment at the hands of their allies ; and on their intervention the Council granted him a yearly pension of 140 écus d'or, besides 800 to pay his debts. But he must have found the Geneva of Calvin a very different place to live in from the Geneva of old days. The Council now exercised a vigilant supervision over the domestic life of the citizens. In January 1537, less than a year after his return, Bonivard was cited before the Council for irregularity of conduct, and was ordered to make a change in his establishment. Frequently afterwards he was cited for various offences—sometimes he was excommunicated ; sometimes he was reprimanded. Once, having received into his house in his later years, when he might have supposed that no scandal could have arisen, a person, formerly a nun, to whom he was under promise of marriage, he was punished, not by imprisonment, but by enforced attendance at sermons on Sundays and Wednesdays. The Council may indeed have thought that this was the severest punishment they could inflict, for in the matter of attendance at church Bonivard was incorrigible. And it gives one a curious insight into the state of things at Geneva when one finds a man past middle age, who had played an important part in the affairs of his

⁵ *Registre du Conseil*, 1536.

time, summoned before the Council, like an undergraduate before the dean of his college, for insufficient attendance at Divine worship. As Prior of St. Victor, Bonivard, though not a priest, must no doubt have been a celibate; but in his later days at Geneva he made up for lost time, having married four times between his release in 1536 and his death in 1570. His fourth wife, Catherine de Courtavone, was the person mentioned above; her subsequent history affords a terrible illustration of the stern discipline maintained at this time in the Republic. She was accused after her marriage with Bonivard of misconduct with an ex-monk; on their conviction, he was beheaded, and she sewn in a sack and thrown into the Rhone.

It was probably in Bonivard's later years, when the stirring scenes of his political life were over, that he turned his attention to literary work. We are told, indeed, that during his imprisonment at Chillon he composed 'tant en latin qu'en français beaucoup de menues pensées et ballades;' but his *Chronicles of Geneva*,⁶ a considerable work, relating chiefly to the history of his own times, was more likely to be composed during his long residence in the city. He also wrote a book—apparently no longer extant—against the old religion, in which we may conceive that he could be heartier in his attack on the old than in his defence of the new. Indeed, in another work, a history of the Popes of the day, entitled *Advis et Devis de la Source de l'Idolâtrie*, he gives his opinion very plainly of the 'difformes réformateurs,' as he calls them. 'Nous avons dit par ci-devant beaucoup de maux des papes et des leurs; mais quel bien pourrions-nous dire des nôtres? Ce monde est fait à dos d'âne; si un fardeau penche d'un côté et vous le voulez re-

dresser et le mettre au milieu n'y demeurera nières, mais penche de l'autre côté.' Thus in matters of religion Bonivard, though far from to Erasmus both in mind and character, yet seems to have occupied somewhat the same position as to the party—seeing the evils of it too clearly to be a Conservative and perceiving the dangers new too keenly to be a Reformer standing somewhat apart, not to utter party cries of which he could discern the hollowness inclined to exclaim sadly, 'O world, my masters!' In point too, Bonivard was an eclectic; he declares that he had always preferred a republic to a monarch, especially a hereditary monarch, but he liked a democracy more than a despotism, and seems to have been feeling after some form of representative government should avoid the tyranny of the one and of the many. Some lines of his are extant which press in admirably epigrammatic form the good-humoured cynicism of the man:

Quand seront heureuses provinces
Royaumes, villes et villages?
Quand l'on fera sages les princes
Ou (qu'est plus court) princes les

There is something in Bonivard which reminds one of Horace; the 'Epicuri de grege porcum' more at home in Pagan Rome than he would have been in Calvinist Geneva. We fancy that if Horace had been expelled by a decree of the Council to attend sermons twice a week and to give up his stroll in the Via Sacra on Sundays, he would have shrugged his shoulders and complied with as good a grace as he could, especially if he had

⁶ Called by M. Rey, 'La source la plus précieuse de notre histoire.'

receipt of a yearly stipend on account of his good service at pi; but he would have been to take a less genial view of men and things, and to conceal his contempt under a decent and conforming. Times of great change are sure to produce great effects upon some characters; who can see two sides to a question can rarely be eager recruits or zealous party leaders:

their place is rather to criticise, to moderate, to mediate if possible between extreme views. Such men must needs stand aloof from the battle; but it is in the battle that great deeds are done. Bonivard and Erasmus could see the weak as well as the strong side of the Reformation; but Calvin and Luther fought the battle of religious freedom.

R. E. B.



SECONDARY EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND.

BY PROFESSOR G. G. RAMSAY (UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW).

SECOND ARTICLE.

OUR examination into the present position and prospects of Secondary education in Scotland has led us to two main conclusions :

1st. That, in spite of the fact that the material both of boys and teachers is of high quality, the results produced by the system are meagre and unsatisfactory, not only in each department of knowledge taken by itself, but also as regards the general training and development of the scholars' minds as a whole.

2nd. That an indispensable condition of any great improvement in the character of the work done by the schools as a whole is the general adoption of certain improvements in system, and in the mode and amount of payments to teachers, which have already been adopted with great success by some of the best schools.

3rd. That these improvements cannot be introduced without a considerable addition to the income of the schools, and that in consequence the whole question is essentially one of money. Whichever way we turn in search of means of improvement, need of money stares us in the face; and the great question of the hour is, how is that money to be obtained?

To one portion of our subject we were unable to do justice in a former article from want of space—that relating to the emoluments of the masters. It is a matter of primary importance. The whole success of a system of education depends upon the quality and character of the teachers. To fill such positions

ably, not only good men are wanted but the best that can be got; and if the teaching profession cannot compete on equal terms with other professions in regard to the salary which it opens up to those who adopt it, it is vain to expect that the best intellect of the country will continue to be attracted to it. During the last ten or twenty years the expenses of living have nearly doubled, and in every other profession the scale of emoluments has largely risen: has there been anything like a proportionate rise in the incomes earned by teachers? It cannot be said that there has. The Education Commissioners in 1868 reported that, leaving out of view one or two exceptional cases, the scale of emoluments amongst the Middle-class Schools as a whole might be said to range from 120*l.* to 300*l.* per annum. And in reference to the Higher Class Public Schools constituted by the Education Act of 1872—the eleven picked schools of Scotland—the Board of Education for Scotland, in their Report for 1875, p. xxxv say:

The salaries paid to teachers in the schools are, for the most part, very moderate. There appears to be only one case of high pay—namely, that of the English master in the Glasgow High School, who drew last year 1,177*l.* from fees, of which he had to pay 100*l.* as retiring allowance to his predecessor. The Rector of the Edinburgh High School drew 759*l.*; and there are perhaps a dozen cases of salaries ranging from 400*l.* to 500*l.* a year. The rest are from 100*l.* to 300*l.* or less. It is clear that the absence of endowment in the Higher Class Schools of Scotland prevents these schools, as a rule, from offering pos-

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of one young assistant,
han five Latin classes,
k classes, three French
nd two German. Until

the Scottish public learn what
teaching means, that high mental
and moral qualifications are needed
for a schoolmaster's work, and that
these, as in other pursuits, are not
to be secured except by paying for
them their fair worth, really high
educational results cannot be looked
for.

We have thus discussed one by
one the defects of our Scottish
Secondary School system, and
pointed out the remedies which
must be applied if those defects
are to be removed. It has been
necessary to dwell at length
upon this part of the subject in
consequence of the fact that public
attention has never yet in Scotland
been decisively directed to it; and
a vigorous movement in the direc-
tion of reform and improvement
cannot be expected to set in until
the public are alive to the fact
that, if fairly compared with the
Secondary Schools of England
and the Continent, the Scottish
Schools are not producing results
with which the nation ought to be
satisfied, and cannot be expected
to produce them until their de-
ficiencies are supplied. The view
here taken of the work of the schools
is founded upon facts which speak
for themselves, and is, as we have
seen, abundantly confirmed in every
particular by the exhaustive reports
of the various Education Com-
missioners. The various evils re-
sulting from the present state of
things are well pointed out in the
final Report of the Endowed Schools
Commissioners; chap. vi. They
justly point out that it is not so
much the number of those studying
the higher subjects, as the quality
of the work they do, which is un-
satisfactory. With the exception
of seven or eight schools, they
inform us that the work actually
done in the *highest classes* of the
Burgh and other schools of the
kind 'is not in advance of that

usually given in the middle forms of the great Public Schools of England'—a statement more than confirmed by the facts brought forward in our former article. But the Commissioners, while fully alive to the present unsatisfactory state of the Secondary education of the country, appear to be under the impression that the provisions of the Education Act of 1872 may do much to improve it; and as they enlarge upon the benefits which may be expected to flow from the provisions contained in that Act for the management and organisation of the so-called Higher Class Schools, it will be well to consider how far those expectations have any solid foundation.

The Act provides that certain schools should be regarded as being specially devoted to the higher education, and lays down certain principles for their management. Such schools are to be relieved as far as found practicable by the School Boards from the duty of furnishing elementary instruction, 'so that the funds and revenues of such higher-class school, and the time of the teachers, may be more exclusively applied to giving instruction in the higher branches;' a common fee-fund is to be established, so as to prevent the competition which has often prevailed amongst the masters of a school; and the Boards are empowered to employ competent persons to conduct annual examinations of the schools, and to pay them out of the school fund. These provisions are all admirable in themselves, but they cannot be effectually carried out without a considerable addition to the expenses of a school, and to meet those expenses the Act makes no provision. The only particular in which the sacred principle, so dear to a certain type of Liberals in this country, so entirely foreign to the practice of those countries

which we should most imitate—that no nations should be expended on education—is broken through the matter of the payment of annual examiners, which made out of the school fund these examinations have been productive of the good. But in all other respects eleven Higher Class Schools supplied by the Act with hints as to the principles such schools should be on are left to make their bri out straw. Nay, more: substitute for straw wh have hitherto used is to away from them. It is that in all such schools the of elementary subjects sh far as possible eliminated, the funds and revenues schools may be more ex applied to giving higher tion.' We pass by the of speaking of the 'fund revenues' of such schools. Education Commissioners us that the total perma dowment of all the Bu other Secondary Schools u management of Town Cou not amount to 3,000*l.* a y the fact is, that in being de their elementary departme of these schools would be l of their main sources of s the teaching of the higher l A school cannot be ca cheaply and efficiently u number of scholars be larg none but the largest tow number of those learning tl branches sufficient to ma good-sized school. Ag elementary subjects can b more cheaply, and in large than advanced subjects; i well-organised school ther be a considerable margin over from the proceeds elementary department

ter expenses of the nt. I have before prepared statement and expenditure of onduarySchool—the drawn up by the cdonald; and his that after making provision for the rtment out of the own from it, there surplus of 200*l.* a presents the con- ut of the profits in epartment towards he higher. With- n to its resources rtment would be n addition to this rther advantage in epartment—that it ler to the higher. well in the former remain on in the ey might not have to it from another e instruction of the children in the s commenced at an vith better prospect advance, than it n had they taken in an elementary r that been intro- rter time, to the o- jects.

we may quote the Schools Enquiry (Report, p. 147), arks have a wider at of the subject assing :

ce to real ability in a esence of considerable l. A small school is h more expensive than fails to give thorough scholars or master. , the multiplied energy .large school are rarely / greater attention or tion in a small one.

n, that the Act of ting out the direc-

tion which reform should take in the Secondary Schools, has given no assistance whatever towards the realisation of such reform, with the single exception of permitting the examinations of the eleven Higher Class Schools to be paid for out of the rates. It fixed at their actual amount the contributions, such as they were, from the Common Good of Burghs, thus making them for the future incapable of increase. It handed over existing school buildings to the School Boards; but while permitting such buildings to be enlarged, or new buildings to be erected in their room at the expense of the school fund—an obligation formerly laid on the Burgh funds—it has made no provision for the repair and maintenance of such buildings, and there is no fund upon which such expenses can be charged. In other ways, too, the Act ignored the claims of higher instruction, recognised as these had been in the Bills previously introduced; and though an excellent and effective measure for its main purpose, that of providing universal elementary education, it bears too clearly the traces of having been produced under the influence of those ideas on the relation of the State to education which owed much of their influence—now gradually waning—to the advocacy of Mr. Lowe and his school, and which found their best expression in his famous reply to a deputation from the Scottish Universities—‘that all State aid to education must be looked upon as so much outdoor relief.’

But whatever the principles on which the Act was framed, the claims of higher instruction in Scotland to special recognition in any general educational measure were strong then, and they have lost none of their strength since. It has long been a guiding principle in our modern legislation

that wherever the State, in the exercise of its sovereign power, reconstructs or reforms, it must take account of existing facts, and must so modify the application of a new principle as not to withdraw from the people as a whole, or from any considerable section of it, any common privilege or advantage which it has been for any length of time permitted to enjoy. That instinct of social and political continuity which is our national characteristic forbids any new-born doctrinaire principle to interfere with long-continued usage, and the constitutional and political principles to which as a nation we are most strongly attached are, like our Common Law, founded not upon cut and dried theories of what ought to be, but are merely generalised and formulated statements of what has hitherto been. The very principle of which we are here speaking, that the assistance of the State should be extended only to elementary education, and that secondary education should be left to take care of itself, is not founded on any general considerations of the relation in which the State should stand to education, but is merely an apparently statesmanlike way of stating the fact that in this country the State never *has* aided directly Secondary Schools, coupled with the feeling that it is inconvenient to admit more claims than absolutely necessary to a share of the public funds. The importance of this question, and the necessity of placing it in what appears to us its true light, must be our apology for treating it at some length.

As a matter of mere principle, as has been well pointed out by a late writer in *Blackwood's Magazine*, there is literally nothing to be said on behalf of the idea that the State should aid education at one stage only and not at another. It is a mere question of political expedi-

ency, not one to be settled by any arguments of an *a priori* character, but by such considerations as these. Is it a matter of national importance, or is it not, that a high standard of education should prevail throughout the country? Is it, or is it not, a matter of supreme importance to the nation as a whole that systematic means should be afforded by which talent of whatever character, and in how ever humble a rank it may be found should be freely developed, and the best brain-power of the country thus rendered available to do the work of the nation, in whatever capacity, public or private? These questions can only be answered in one way, and amongst the thoughtful statesmen of every country whether in Europe or in America have only been answered in one way. Amongst ourselves, public opinion has been gradually ripening on the subject. A generation ago it was thought as generally to be beyond the province of the State to provide elementary instruction as it is now by some to assist secondary; and we may safely predict that, a generation hence, the supervision and, where necessary, the providing of education of every grade, from the highest to the lowest, will be looked upon as being as much within the legitimate province of the State, and as essential to a high state of national life, if not to our national existence, as the maintenance of justice or the support of the army or navy. No doubt it would not be wise for a practical politician or a Minister, in a country like ours, to act at once as if public opinion here were as enlightened and far-seeing as in Prussia or America. A member of Parliament may hesitate, with a view to his constituents, to pledge himself to a policy involving considerable expenditure of money on objects the importance of which the country

yet sufficiently alive. But round of conduct does not a *principle*; it is merely why, as a matter of practicality, it may not be wise at the present moment to attempt to go in a particular direction. In the absence of principle, the question must be decided on the grounds stated above; and if we answer the questions there put, as they are answered, in the affirmative, the ultimate decision must be based on these two considerations: maintaining the national importance of a high standard of education, secondary as well as primary, throughout the country; and the illegitimacy of using State funds for such a purpose, does this not follow largely enough in itself, as compared with other necessary national expenditures, to justify the immediate application of public money? Secondly, can this object be achieved in no other way, or can it be achieved only by the operation of the natural supply and demand? In fact, on this latter ground, the advocates of this so-called 'principle' of no State funds for education have taken their stand in doing so they have surrendered the whole question to the market. Once granted the supply of higher education is left to the working of the natural supply, and it follows that if supply and demand are not found to furnish the means for higher education in quantity and of such quality as is desirable on national grounds, the country is not to possess, in principle, the right to demand it. An advocate of the 'demand' principle must argue on this proposition: education to shift for itself; it will be provided in proper quantity, and of proper quality.

Now that there does exist at present a demand for education of some sort, and that some sort of education will be provided in obedience to that demand, is not to be disputed; so that, to be fairly stated, the argument must be stated thus: The effective demand for education on the part of the public gives the exact measure of the amount and type of education which it is desirable, on national grounds, to see provided. In other words, the educational ideal for practical statesmen, as such, to aim at is precisely that which the natural demand, left to itself, will supply.

Thus stated, the position is seen to be one which it requires no argument to overthrow, and which is contradicted in the most direct manner by both the experience and practice of every civilised nation. The plausibility which attends the doctrine is derived entirely from its association with the terms 'Free Trade' and 'Demand and Supply'—terms of almost magic potency amongst the commercial classes of this country—and rests upon a completely false analogy. The principle of supply and demand applies only to those cases where the desire and the power of gratifying the desire on the part of the individual are the only tests that have to be applied, and where no injury is caused to the community at large in consequence of the desire remaining unfulfilled. In such cases the individual is the sole judge; he knows what it is he wants, and the strength of his demand—supposing it to be an innocuous demand—is the only element that has to be taken into consideration in regard to the means to be taken to supply it. But in education it is otherwise. There is a demand for education, but it is not an effective demand. Education is not an article as to the quality of which

the mass of the people are capable of forming a judgment. It is not a palpable article to be judged by external tests, which alone the mass are capable of applying. Its effects are remote, not immediate, not certain, but problematical. Amongst great masses of the population there is probably great doubt whether education is a thing worth having at all. In short, it lacks every one of those external tests by which the payer of a shilling can perceive that he obtains his shilling's worth; while the supreme importance to the State of its being sought for and obtained in requisite quantity and quality is such that it cannot afford to run the risk of the supply running short in consequence of a deficiency of demand.

In every essential particular, therefore, the principle of supply and demand is seen to be inapplicable to education. But it is unnecessary to argue further upon general grounds; we have only to appeal to the universal experience of the past. It is a simple fact that in no country and in no time has the demand for education left to itself proved sufficient to secure the supply of such an education as to a civilised community in modern times is simply a matter of necessity. And the higher the character of the education given, the less capable has it shown itself of being conducted, to any large extent, upon self-supporting principles. The highest class of all, no doubt, are so alive to the advantages of education that they are willing to pay the full cost price of the best education that is to be had; but the class that can afford to do this is comparatively small, and, as a matter of fact, in the great schools to which our wealthiest classes most resort, the education given is actually given *below* cost price, for such is undoubtedly the effect of the great

endowments of the English Public Schools. Whether the balance required to bring a sound secondary education within the reach of the best talent in the whole community, over and above what the recipients can afford to pay, is to be provided out of endowments, or voluntary subscription, or taxation, whether local or imperial, is beside the question, so far as our present purpose is concerned. If the natural working of the law of supply and demand does not place within the reach of the best talent of the country, high and low, as good an education as it is of supreme importance to the State to see provided for it, and at such a cost as to make it available to the great body of those qualified to benefit by it, the whole supply and demand principle falls to the ground, and the sole question left is the practical one of ways and means—from what available source is the extra cost of the education given, over and above what can be extracted from the recipients, to be provided?

It is idle to attempt to draw a hard and fast line between Primary and Secondary education. No practical educationist can say where the one ends and the other begins; and the attempt in practice to keep the two apart is injurious equally to both. It has been the fashion of late amongst those whose moral sense is offended by any application whatever of national funds to education, to justify the expenditure on the ground of the recent extension of the franchise; in the cant phrase of the day, we must 'educate our masters.' If such a plea be seriously advanced, as affording the only ground for State aid to education, it is obvious that mere instruction in the use of the tools of education will not be sufficient for the purpose. An education, which furnishes the citizen with nothing more than the means of

ing and disseminating what-ideas, good or bad, may come way, without furnishing him the information or supplying mental discipline which may him to distinguish between argument and sophism, will, to say the least of it, but a ful benefit to the community; as, according to our present n, it is precisely at the point the education given is ready oduce in the scholar those intellectual results for the of which alone it is of national tance to subsidise education, that the aid of the State is rawn altogether. Even within mits prescribed the results are ed by the consciousness that is no connection between the and higher grades of educa- and both teacher and scholar eprived of that most potent lus—the influence of which itherto been so clearly marked best Parish Schools of Scot-—which is derived from the ledge that success in the Ele-ary School affords a natural to the Grammar School or niversity, and so ultimately ccess in life. On this point ay quote Mr. F. Adams' work e *Free School System of the l States*, p. 211 :¹

erience has proved that elementary on flourishes most where the provision her education is most ample. If the ary schools of Germany are the best world, it is owing in great measure fact that the higher schools are ac- to all classes. In England not ave the aims of the elementary een educationally low and narrow, impassable gulf has separated the s schools from the higher schools of ntry. In the United States the n schools have always produced the ults where the means of higher on have been most plentiful.

entire accordance with the

spirit of the above remarks is the following passage from the Boston School Report for 1874, p. 398 :

The common school is always feeble and inefficient where high schools, academies, and colleges are wanting. Educational science teaches that educational improvement works from the top downwards, and not from the bottom upwards. It was, therefore, with the wisest foresight that the Prussian Government, in undertaking the regeneration of the State through education, after the crushing defeat of Jena, began by the establishment of the great Frederick William University at Berlin. Since Sadowa, Austria is following this example of developing, strengthening, and liberalising the higher education, not only for its own sake, but as a means of promoting general intelligence throughout the schools. Our own history affords a striking illustration of this principle. Harvard College was, for a long period, the mainspring of the success of the common schools of Massachusetts.

And on this principle we find that in the United States the programme of the Elementary School is usually framed in the anticipation that a considerable number of scholars will pass on to the High School, and from thence again a fair proportion to the College or University.

In all probability, the idea that Secondary education is not a legitimate and even necessary object of national expenditure would never have been developed into a political principle but for the magnificent educational endowments of England, which, until a comparatively recent period, have sufficed to meet the demand for a higher education—a demand hardly extending below the higher classes of society. To the chief of those endowments the English people applied, in their peculiar way, their national genius for quiet development and social organisation, and without the intervention of the

¹ Chapman and Hall. 1875.

Legislature produced in their great Public Schools that remarkable system of school government and organisation which we know by the name of the English Public School system—a system which, with all its shortcomings in particular respects, has stood the test of searching criticism when looked at in its main broad features, and stands forth not only as characteristically national, but as one of the most admirable, as it is certainly the most original, of educational phenomena. But that system is essentially aristocratic; it has developed the great educational endowments of the country entirely in accordance with the tastes, sympathies, and interests of the upper classes; it has carefully fostered and disseminated the idea that the higher education is the exclusive right of gentlemen, and has taught our governing classes to look upon the social value of a good education as one of its main advantages. When, therefore, Mr. Lowe declares that State aid to education is to be looked at merely as an equivalent to so much outdoor relief, he takes his stand upon the old narrow aristocratic platform, and declares that education is a social luxury which must be reserved for the exclusive benefit of the rich. But views like these cannot now maintain their ground. Statesmen are beginning everywhere to recognise the fact that whatever mere physical courage and enterprise may have been able to accomplish in the past, one of the main factors, if not *the* main factor, in the continued prosperity of a nation, in these days of complex civilisation, is the disciplined intelligence of the great bulk of the community; and that if we permit ourselves to fall behind rival nations in this essential respect, we cannot hope to retain our place among them. It is not only a matter of national

concern, but of the very gravest national concern. We need, as a nation, all the intellectual power that is born amongst us; and that power is useless unless it is developed. We cannot trust only to the intellect of our well-to-do classes; we cannot afford to allow humbly-born ability to take its chance of being able, by rare good fortune, to struggle out into usefulness and recognition; we must go to meet it, search it out wherever it is to be found, and, by a carefully organised system of graded education, placed within the reach of all such as are able to profit by it, do everything that is possible to swell the bulk and improve the quality of the national intelligence. If all this can be accomplished by voluntary agency or by a wise utilisation of endowments, good and well; but the end of such resources will soon be reached, and then, as a matter of national necessity, the taxpayer, national and local, must be appealed to, and where the principle of supply and demand fails, there the State must come in.

The requirements of the country cannot be better stated than in the words of the Schools Enquiry Commissioners' Report, pp. 78, 79:

The most urgent educational need of the country is that of schools of the third grade—that is, of those which shall carry education up to the age of fourteen or fifteen. It is just here that the endowed schools appear most signally to fail, while nothing else takes their place.

When it is considered how large a proportion of the population is included in these classes, it is evident that no other deficiency in our provision for education could well be more important. It is not only the case, however, that the number concerned is larger than that of any other class except the lowest, but that the wealth and prosperity of the country depend to a great degree on the industry, and the industry on the intelligence, of those who are left thus uneducated. We have already made a special report on the statement made to us regarding the inferior rate of progress said to be visible in British manu-

when some of the productions of our country are compared with those that are sent by other nations to the Exhibition at Paris. This is ascribed in some quarters to a want of technical instruction in our artisans, as well as in their employers and workmen. Such a want, however, would be a less serious matter if it stood alone, and we are bound to add that our evidence does not show that our industrial classes are even that far from a basis of sound general education on which alone technical instruction can rest. It would not be difficult, if our artisans were otherwise well educated, to establish schools for technical instruction of every kind might be needed. But even if such schools were generally established among us, there is reason to fear that they would fail to produce any valuable results for want of the essential material, of disciplined faculties and sound elementary knowledge in the learners. In fact, the deficiency is not merely a deficiency in technical instruction, but, as Mr. Arnold says, in general intelligence, and unless we remedy this want we shall gradually and surely find that our undeniable superior wealth and perhaps in energy will be brought to us from decline. If we could provide good schools for our artisans up to the fourth grade, then those who showed aptitude for special industrial pursuits would be in a fit condition to enter on the needed study. But our first object should be to give the whole of this large population, in the education we are now considering, a fair share of their children's understandings, and make them really intelligent men. We need schools that shall provide good education for the whole of the lowest grade of what is commonly called the working class, and we cannot overstate our sense of the importance of the need. These are the schools that we have called schools of the third grade.

Our legislators, no doubt, are alarmed at the prospect of such an extension to the rates or the imperial contribution as a systematic support of secondary education would involve, and will point to the dissatisfaction already caused in Scotland and elsewhere by the heavy and, it may be added, in some cases unnecessary expenditure of the School Boards. But in the first place, as we will show, effective assistance to Secondary education can be given at a tithe of the cost entailed by Elementary educa-

tion; and, in the second, it would be well to compare our own present expenditure on national education with that of other countries. From the third Report of the Scottish Education Commissioners (p. xvi) it appears that at that time the total expenditure from all public sources on education in Scotland, both in the elementary and higher departments, amounted to 16s. per scholar. In France the State grants amount to 1*l.* 17*s.* for each scholar, besides grants by the municipalities; and in Prussia 1*l.* 1*s.*, besides about 20*s.* from the municipalities.

If we compare England and Scotland with America, the result is still more striking. For the year ending August 31, 1874, the amount of the Education Grant for Public Elementary Education in England and Wales was 1,268,773*l.* The amount raised by School Board rates for the same year was 136,693*l.* and from voluntary subscriptions 616,326*l.* Thus the total amount raised by taxation and subscriptions together amounted to about 1*s.* 9½*d.* per head of the population; by taxation alone to no more than 1*s.* 2½*d.*

In Scotland, the total sum collected by rates in the year 1874 was 223,433*l.*, the Government grant came to 85,867*l.*; the two together are equivalent to about 1*s.* 10*d.* per head of the population.

In America, the sums raised for educational purposes vary considerably in different States; but if we take the average taxation for education of the whole of the twenty-six States for the year 1873, as given on page 71 of Mr. Adams' work, we find the average sum raised per head of the population is no less than 6*s.* 8*d.*—exactly four times the amount levied in Scotland, more than five times the amount levied by taxation in England. In some States as much as 10*s.* (New

Jersey) and even 12s. 2½d. (Iowa) per head of the population is raised. New York raises in the year no less than 1,932,261l., or at the rate of 8s. 9¾d. per head. Kentucky, the lowest taxed of all the States, raises 2s. 4¼d. per head, a third more than the amount of public money expended on education in Scotland, nearly twice the amount spent in England.

Wherever we look, we find that the foremost nations of the day—those whose competition with us we are every day more keenly feeling—take a view of the relation of the State to education radically different from that hitherto prevalent in this country; and it is becoming every day more apparent that no utilisation of existing endowments will suffice to place us on an equality with them. Even as regards this source of help, the present Government have entered on a reactionary policy; and every hindrance thrown in the way of the complete throwing open of endowments for the benefit of the entire nation does but accelerate the time when the State must step in and do her part. We may close this part of our subject with Mr. Matthew Arnold's summary of the work done for education out of the revenues of the single canton of Zurich:

A territory, with the population of Leicestershire, maintains a university, a veterinary school, a school of agriculture, two great classical schools, two great *real* schools, a normal school for training primary and secondary teachers, 57 secondary schools, and 365 primary schools; and many of these are among the best of their kind in Europe.

Sooner or later, then, we believe the State must be prepared to lend its hand to the development of Secondary education to a much larger extent than it has hitherto contemplated. But, as already indicated, Scotland has peculiar claims

for assistance in this direction, a claims which cannot with just be set aside. For more than 2 years she has enjoyed the benefit of a national system, supported by taxation, embracing Secondary as well as Elementary education, and opening a door for 'every promising spirit,' as the old deeds have it, into the Grammar School and Universities, and so into the professions. Such was the recognised object of the system from the very first; and however inadequately it may have been carried out; and as a matter of fact, in consequence of the superior instruction afforded in the Parish Schools, the advantages of a liberal education have been within the reach of the whole community. Both towns and country parishes—the former, no doubt, to an inconsiderable extent—have during all this time submitted to taxation for the express purpose of providing all capable of profiting by it with an education superior to that which supply and demand by themselves would provide; and, as, in addition to the sum thus raised, the people have been willing to pay for their children's education on a far higher scale than is usual in other countries, it may be fairly said that the amount raised by local assessment was raised mainly for purposes of Secondary instruction. In this manner the heritors of Scotland, previous to the passing of the Act of 1872, raised yearly 47,000l., a sum considerably in excess of the legal requirements; and undoubtedly the whole of the excess was contributed with the express purpose of raising the character of the school masters and of the education they supplied.

Now by the Act of 1872 the whole of this 47,000l. was swept away. In place of the 47,000 from the heritors of the country parishes only, the Act has sub-

nd disseminating what good or bad, may come without furnishing him information or supplying discipline which may to distinguish between ment and sophism, will ay the least of it, but a nenefit to the community; cording to our present s precisely at the point ducation given is ready in the scholar those ectual results for the ch alone it is of national to subsidise education the aid of the State is altogether. Even within rescribed the results are the consciousness that connection between the higher grades of educa- oth teacher and scholar d of that most potent he influence of which o been so clearly marked Parish Schools of Scot- h is derived from the that success in the Ele- school affords a natural he Grammar School or sity, and so ultimately in life. On this point e Mr. F. Adams' work *School System of the es*, p. 211 :¹

has proved that elementary shes most where the provision eation is most ample. If the hools of Germany are the best it is owing in great measure at the higher schools are ac- ll classes. In England not he aims of the elementary ducationally low and narrow, sable gulf has separated the ls from the higher schools of In the United States the ls have always produced the where the means of higher e been most plentiful. e accordance with the

spirit of the above remarks is the following passage from the Boston School Report for 1874, p. 398 :

The common school is always feeble and inefficient where high schools, academies, and colleges are wanting. Educational science teaches that educational improvement works from the top downwards, and not from the bottom upwards. It was, therefore, with the wisest foresight that the Prussian Government, in undertaking the regeneration of the State through education, after the crushing defeat of Jena, began by the establishment of the great Frederick William University at Berlin. Since Sadowa, Austria is following this example of developing, strengthening, and liberalising the higher education, not only for its own sake, but as a means of promoting general intelligence throughout the schools. Our own history affords a striking illustration of this principle. Harvard College was, for a long period, the mainspring of the success of the common schools of Massachusetts.

And on this principle we find that in the United States the programme of the Elementary School is usually framed in the anticipation that a considerable number of scholars will pass on to the High School, and from thence again a fair proportion to the College or University.

In all probability, the idea that Secondary education is not a legitimate and even necessary object of national expenditure would never have been developed into a political principle but for the magnificent educational endowments of England, which, until a comparatively recent period, have sufficed to meet the demand for a higher education—a demand hardly extending below the higher classes of society. To the chief of those endowments the English people applied, in their peculiar way, their national genius for quiet development and social organisation, and without the intervention of the

¹ Chapman and Hall. 1875.

school in every parish, and thus stimulate as well as direct the educational zeal of the community. No better illustration of the great effect of such a system judiciously administered in raising the education of a whole district can be desired than that afforded by the administration of the Dick Bequest in the three north-eastern counties—a bequest which we may here state affords almost the solitary instance of an educational endowment in Scotland administered in such a wise and enlightened manner as to produce the good that was to be expected of it.

2. The next step in the educational ladder is the founding of bursaries in every parish or district of Scotland to be awarded either by open competition or by some judicious mode of selection, to enable the best scholars of a parish or district to prosecute their studies for at least two years in the nearest or most suitable Grammar School. The boarding out of scholars, when the school is at a distance from their homes, is no new thing in Scotland. It has been commonly done in the islands, especially in Orkney and Shetland; and even in the lowland districts it has not been uncommon for a farmer's or shepherd's son to be boarded with neighbours for the sake of a good schooling. I may mention the excellent parish school of Yarrow, in Selkirkshire, as having been distinguished in this way.

To such a purpose as this we would not propose the application of public money. But local endowments of all kinds might be combined and thrown open in such a way as to afford to all first-rate talent an opportunity of further study; while, where there are no endowments available for the purpose, the generosity of individuals in each locality might fairly be appealed to, and without doubt, if the

want were once fairly put before the country, it would be supplied.

An admirable example of what may be effected in this way is afforded by a scheme for providing Grammar School Bursaries for Gaelic-speaking young men by a recently organised association consisting of members of the Free Church of Scotland, and of which the Rev. J. C. Macphail is the secretary. By a combination of local and central funds forty-four bursaries, value 18*l.* a year each have been awarded during the five past years by a strictly competitive examination among Gaelic-speaking students, held at no less than eighteen different centres in the Highlands. The successful competitors take a course of one or more generally of two years at a Grammar School; and it is a conspicuous proof of the success of the scheme that out of the forty-four bursars appointed since the scheme was started, no less than twenty-six have gained subsequently open bursaries to the University—principally that of Aberdeen. What has been thus done for a specially poor district by a particular Church might be done systematically all over Scotland and organised assistance of this kind would produce invaluable results in schools of every grade.

It is impossible to have had practical experience of the teaching of University classes in Scotland without being strongly impressed with two feelings—a sense of admiration for the high level of natural ability and the great industry and perseverance in study, in spite of all difficulties, shown by the great body of the students; and secondly a sense of regret that in the majority of cases the opportunity of culture has come too late, and that much of the best teaching of the University will be fruitless of result because the student who re-

res, when some of the productions of our country are compared with those that sent by other nations to the Exhibition at Paris. This is ascribed in some measure to a want of technical instruction in artisans, as well as in their employers and workmen. Such a want, however, would be a less serious matter if it stood alone. We are bound to add that our evidence tends to show that our industrial classes are not even that basis of sound general education on which alone technical instruction can rest. It would not be difficult, if artisans were otherwise well educated, to establish schools for technical instruction of whatever kind might be needed. But if such schools were generally established among us, there is reason to fear they would fail to produce any valuable result for want of the essential material, namely, disciplined faculties and sound elementary knowledge in the learners. In our deficiency is not merely a deficiency in technical instruction, but, as Mr. Arnold states, in general intelligence, and unless we remedy this want we shall gradually surely find that our undeniable superiority in wealth and perhaps in energy will leave us from decline. If we could provide good schools for our artisans up to the age of fourteen, then those who showed aptitude for special industrial pursuits would be in a fit condition to enter on the needed technical study. But our first object should be to enable the whole of this large population, to receive education we are now considering, to cultivate their children's understandings, to make them really intelligent men. We need schools that shall provide good education for the whole of the lowest portion of what is commonly called the lower class, and we cannot overstate our sense of the importance of the need. These are the schools that we have called schools of the third grade.

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school in every parish, and thus stimulate as well as direct the educational zeal of the community. No better illustration of the great effect of such a system judiciously administered in raising the education of a whole district can be desired than that afforded by the administration of the Dick Bequest in the three north-eastern counties—a bequest which we may here state affords almost the solitary instance of an educational endowment in Scotland administered in such a wise and enlightened manner as to produce the good that was to be expected of it.

2. The next step in the educational ladder is the founding of bursaries in every parish or district of Scotland to be awarded either by open competition or by some judicious mode of selection, to enable the best scholars of a parish or district to prosecute their studies for at least two years in the nearest or most suitable Grammar School. The boarding out of scholars, when the school is at a distance from their homes, is no new thing in Scotland. It has been commonly done in the islands, especially in Orkney and Shetland; and even in the lowland districts it has not been uncommon for a farmer's or shepherd's son to be boarded with neighbours for the sake of a good schooling. I may mention the excellent parish school of Yarrow, in Selkirkshire, as having been distinguished in this way.

To such a purpose as this we would not propose the application of public money. But local endowments of all kinds might be combined and thrown open in such a way as to afford to all first-rate talent an opportunity of further study; while, where there are no endowments available for the purpose, the generosity of individuals in each locality might fairly be appealed to, and without doubt, if the

want were once fairly put before the country, it would be satisfied.

An admirable example may be effected in this direction afforded by a scheme for a Grammar School Bursaries for Gaelic-speaking young men, recently organised associating members of the Church of Scotland, and the Rev. J. C. Macpherson, secretary. By a combination of local and central funds, bursaries, value 18*l.* a year, have been awarded during the past years by a strict competitive examination among Gaelic-speaking students, held in more than eighteen different localities in the Highlands. The competitors take a course of two or more generally of two years in a Grammar School; and it is a conspicuous proof of the success of the scheme that out of the four bursars appointed under the scheme was started, no less than twenty-six have gained the frequently open bursaries to the University—principally that of Glasgow. What has been done for a specially poor district in a particular Church might be systematically all over Scotland, and organised assistance of this kind would produce the best results in schools of every kind.

It is impossible to have too much experience of the practical difficulties of the University classes in Scotland, without being strongly impressed with two feelings—a sense of the need for the high level of natural ability, and the great industry and perseverance in study, in spite of the difficulties, shown by the body of the students; and a sense of regret that in the majority of cases the opportunity of higher culture has come too late, much of the best teaching in the University will be fruitless, because the student

ed a uniform rate, raised from the whole community, amounting in the year 1874, as we have seen, to £1,000l.; but while the amount has thus increased, its application has been altered, and the conditions under which it has been raised and applied are such that, as we have shown in a former article, the higher education which had for centuries the birthright of the able Scot is gradually being diminished. We maintain that the result is not only contrary to public policy, but at variance with the principles on which new education is introduced into this country. The people may be said to have enjoyed and established a common-law right to the advantages of higher education in every parish, capable of leading them on to the Higher Schools and Universities—let us say, an education equivalent to what the

Enquiry Commissioners have secured an education of the Third Grade; the State, by its no doubt very active action in the matter of secondary education, has seriously interfered with that right, and it is both as a matter of public policy and in the recognition of long-established privilege, to what it has taken away. In a similar state of things in England, we feel sure that the tenacity of custom, and the superior regard paid to established popular rights both by the people and the statesmen of that country, would not have permitted the loss of so great a value to the community to be summarily introduced.

We have stated thus strongly our views on the just claims of Secondary Education in Scotland for assistance and taxation, whether local or imperial, not only because the doctrine of non-interference lies as yet but feebly in this country, but also from the conviction that though the

endowments we possess, if utilised as they should be, may do much for Secondary education, especially in its higher grades, they cannot do all that is required; and that even if they were completely utilised and thrown open on the principles laid down in the most important cases dealt with by the English Endowed Schools Commission, they would still fail to bring within the reach of the whole population, in whatever district, those educational opportunities which have so long been open to them. The needs of Scotland, in the matter of public Secondary education, may be stated as follows, and it will be at once seen in which of the directions pointed out an application of public money may be legitimately made, and what are the objects for which recourse should rather be had to the endowments.

1. In every parish in the country, in accordance with old usage, there should be at least one school with the staff and equipment requisite to provide the best scholars in the parish with an education equivalent to what we may term, following the distinctions laid down by the Schools Enquiry Commission, an education of the third grade—that is, an education including the beginnings of a liberal training in languages, history, literature, and science, and carried on to the age of fourteen or fifteen. This object may be obtained by an extension, under suitable restrictions, of the payments made under the Code. Contingently upon the fulfilment by the local Boards of certain conditions as to accommodation, staff, and appliances, to insure that the locality shall itself do its part in providing the means of higher instruction, and contingently further on the results obtained by examination, the Code should contain a special rate of payments for the higher subjects for the selected

school in every parish, and thus stimulate as well as direct the educational zeal of the community. No better illustration of the great effect of such a system judiciously administered in raising the education of a whole district can be desired than that afforded by the administration of the Dick Bequest in the three north-eastern counties—a bequest which we may here state affords almost the solitary instance of an educational endowment in Scotland administered in such a wise and enlightened manner as to produce the good that was to be expected of it.

2. The next step in the educational ladder is the founding of bursaries in every parish or district of Scotland to be awarded either by open competition or by some judicious mode of selection, to enable the best scholars of a parish or district to prosecute their studies for at least two years in the nearest or most suitable Grammar School. The boarding out of scholars, when the school is at a distance from their homes, is no new thing in Scotland. It has been commonly done in the islands, especially in Orkney and Shetland; and even in the lowland districts it has not been uncommon for a farmer's or shepherd's son to be boarded with neighbours for the sake of a good schooling. I may mention the excellent parish school of Yarrow, in Selkirkshire, as having been distinguished in this way.

To such a purpose as this we would not propose the application of public money. But local endowments of all kinds might be combined and thrown open in such a way as to afford to all first-rate talent an opportunity of further study; while, where there are no endowments available for the purpose, the generosity of individuals in each locality might fairly be appealed to, and without doubt, if the

want were once felt in the country, it would be met.

An admirable example may be effected in the Highlands, as afforded by a scheme for a Grammar School for Gaelic-speaking young men recently organised, consisting of members of the Church of Scotland, and the Rev. J. C. Macdonald, secretary. By a local and central bursaries, value 18 have been awarded in the past years by a competitive examination to Gaelic-speaking students, more than eighteen different in the Highlands. Competitors take part in the scheme or more generally in a Grammar School as a conspicuous proof of the scheme that on four bursars appointed to the scheme was started twenty-six have frequently open bursaries—principally in the Highlands. What has been done for a specially poor particular Church systematically all and organised assistance of this kind would produce results in schools of this kind.

It is impossible to overstate the educational experience of the University classes in Scotland without being strongly influenced by two feelings—a sense of the high level of the education and the great indifference in study difficulties, shown by the body of the student, a sense of regret at the majority of cases that the culture has come to much of the best. The University will be a result because the

it is destitute of that nary training which, if it acquired at school, will not be required at all. Now we have seen that the circumstances of Scottish students are such that in proportion, if not the majority of them, must continue to give the bulk of their education at elementary schools; in consequence, what is actively demanded is that the promising scholars in elementary schools should be encouraged and enabled to supplement the education they have received in Parish School with at least three or four years—still better three years—of thoroughly equipped and organised Secondary School. A Secondary School should be as modern as well as a classical institution, and would thus be able to prepare scholars either in the full advantages of a university course, or for practical life, according to their tastes or abilities might demand. In this way every scholar in the educational system would receive its appropriate stimulus. The elementary schools would be distinguished in character by their connection with the Secondary Schools. Secondary Schools would be benefited, both by receiving an accession to their numbers and by having seen to be essential to give and economical teaching, also by gathering in the able scholars of a whole district who would thus form a kind of our class amongst the rest. The Universities, enabled by this system to impose an effective entrance examination, would receive none but properly qualified students, and be able to devote themselves exclusively to their work.

A third main object to be achieved is the proper organisation and equipment of the Secondary Schools themselves. In the

chief town of every county or district there should be one thoroughly good Secondary School, with a sufficient staff of qualified teachers not only to meet the demand for higher education in the locality itself, but also to serve as a finishing school for the best scholars from the elementary schools in the whole district. Such schools, as we have seen, exist already in almost all the important centres of Scotland; but they are universally starved from want of money, and their usefulness crippled by the vicious system of teaching and organisation which that want of money has entailed. These schools are practically entirely destitute of endowments; and for some reason or other, which it is difficult to explain—partly, perhaps, for the reason that, being a burden on the burgh funds, they were supposed to be sufficiently provided for—benevolent testators in Scotland, who desired to further education, have left their money for any purpose rather than that most needed, the assisting the ordinary schools. We may possibly find a further reason for this in the manner in which, as a rule, the Town Councils charged with the management of Burgh Schools have discharged that duty. Had those schools been so conducted as to command public confidence, and had their wants been properly put before the community, we may be certain that such an appeal would not have been made in vain. It is certainly extraordinary that in a city like Edinburgh, in which enormous sums have been squandered on educational endowments of every description, an excellent school like the High School should have been doing good work for three centuries without ever having received one farthing of bequest, as publicly stated a few weeks ago by Dr. Donaldson.

Where, then, is the money needed

to make these schools efficient to be obtained? As to one of the answers to be given to this question, we believe that there can be no doubt in the minds of those who have studied the Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners and the evidence laid before them. Wherever there exist in a town educational endowments intended for, or that can properly be applied to, the higher education, we are of opinion that the proper support of the public Secondary School of the town should constitute the first claim upon the surplus revenues of such endowments. As a matter of fact, with regard to some of the most important of these endowments—as, for instance, the Heriot's Hospital in Edinburgh, Hutcheson's Hospital in Glasgow—there is express provision made in the founder's will that a certain number of promising boys, who have distinguished themselves at the founder's school or hospital shall receive assistance to enable them to complete their education at the High School. Had the managers of these institutions wisely interpreted such a provision as this, and acted up to the founder's intentions, they would have drawn closer the connection thus established between themselves and the High School, and, as their funds increased, have continued to devote something like an equivalent proportion of their revenues to the increasing of the numbers and strengthening the teaching of those schools, not only by the institution of a greater number of High School scholarships to be either held by their own boys or competed for by all comers from the class which the founder intended to benefit, but also by contributing to the general expenses of the school, and thus enabling it the better to fulfil the function in virtue of which the testator recognised it in his will

—that of being the best public finishing school of the locality. Were this principle carried out only to a moderate extent, and the existing educational endowments in our large towns required to contribute to the maintenance and improvement of the existing public Secondary Schools, we should have High Schools handsomely equipped and able to do effectively, and at a moderate fee, the work expected of them, in all the great towns—Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, Stirling—while those towns would be saved from the reproaches to which they are now exposed, having splendid educational endowments which are to a large extent, as now applied, wasted, and in some cases are doing absolute harm. Such an application of the disposable funds would be altogether in harmony with the intentions and wishes, often with the expressed wishes, of the majority of the founders of such endowments. It is melancholy to see how, in numerous instances, the wise and liberal intentions of testators in Scotland have been frustrated and the whole character of the institutions they wished to found dwarfed and stunted, by the unintelligent and parochial manner in which their wishes have been carried out. Such is, in effect, the verdict of the Endowed Schools Commission; and when we find that, stated on their authority that less than 112,000*l.* a year of endowments are localised round the forty chief towns in Scotland, and that much of that sum is so spent as to do little or no good to the community, the least that can be demanded of them is that they should be required to put into a state of complete efficiency the public Secondary Schools of those cities which are acknowledged by all to be doing admirable service to the community, and to be only hindering

doing still greater service to want of funds.

At such available endowments do not exist in every place in which Secondary Schools are needed, in which Secondary Schools of this sort exist already. In such cases we are distinctly of opinion that the necessary funds should be raised from public money, partly local, partly by imperial taxation.

As we have seen, this is no principle. The fact that the Burgh Schools was now a burden upon the burgh itself—which are nothing else but funds of the community—established the principle that public money might legitimately, and where necessary, be applied to the maintenance of a Secondary School open to the whole community; and a legitimate extension of that principle would at least require the School Boards of each county to pay a certain proportion of the expenses of such schools out of the public school fund. It is, no doubt, a question whether, if the Secondary School is to be regarded as belonging to the whole district, the area of taxation should not be wider than the burgh, and power be given to raise a special county rate, not to exceed, say, a penny or a halfpenny in the pound, to be expended by a County Board on the maintenance of the County School. This is a matter of detail; and meantime it is sufficient to point out that in Scotland such a measure would involve no new principle, and that without such a measure it is vain to hope to see established throughout the country a system of Secondary Schools with a rate of fees as to make them practically available to the whole community. In supplement of the fees thus raised by local rate, a contribution should be further made by the Imperial treasury; that

contribution should be made in definite proportion to that raised locally, and upon such conditions as not only to insure the efficiency of the school, but also to secure that the school thus assisted should be open to all classes. This security would be obtained by fixing a scale of fees, and providing that no school which charged less or more than the rate specified should be entitled to public grants. The lower limit would be necessary to show that the parents or guardians of a boy or girl were ready to do their part, the higher to prevent public funds being spent upon those classes which stand in need of no assistance, or who will choose their school from social as much as from educational considerations. The widely diverse character of the Secondary Schools at this moment can be judged of from the various rates of fee charged in different places; the Commissioners (1868) report that they found three distinct scales of fee prevalent in such schools, the lowest average rate being 3*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* per annum, the highest 13*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.*

To the adoption of such a scheme, therefore, a necessary preliminary would be a complete enquiry into the public Secondary Schools, with the view of determining which of the existing schools are needed, and what new ones should be admitted to the privileges of the new system. Some of these schools, by the mere rate of fee charged, proclaim the fact that they are only Elementary Schools, with perhaps a Secondary department. Such schools should be excluded from the list of State-aided schools, and none included but those which are proved to be *bonâ-fide* Secondary Schools, offering their advantages at a moderate fee to the whole community, and of which the locality has testified its appreciation by contributing a certain proportion of the expense of maintenance out of the school fund.

4. Fourthly, such a scheme would imply an efficient system of examination and inspection. The eleven Higher Class Schools are at present yearly examined, but each Board appoints its own examiners, and there is in consequence no uniformity of plan, no means of comparing the results produced by different schools. What is needed is a special staff of Secondary School Inspectors—probably a couple would be sufficient to do the work for all Scotland—who should annually inspect and report upon the whole condition of the schools, the buildings, the system of teaching and organisation adopted, and by a careful examination of the schools as seen in ordinary operation test fairly and state publicly the results they are producing. ‘Such an examination should not be competitive,’ in the words of the Schools Enquiry Commissioners, ‘but a fair test of average work. It should, as far as possible, follow the Prussian rule, and be such as a scholar of fair ability and proper diligence may, towards the end of his school course, come to with a quiet mind and without painful effort.’ The expense of such a system of inspection and examination should be borne by the State.

5. The last step in the educational ladder would be the foundation of a sufficient number of open-competition bursaries from the Secondary Schools to the Universities. Some might be attached to particular schools, some to counties or combinations of counties, while, best of all, the number of absolutely open bursaries competed for at the Universities themselves should be largely increased. For this purpose the endowments may to a large extent be called upon; for the rest, appeal may with confidence be made to private benefactors. Here again the managers of educational endowments have, as a rule, shown them-

selves in Scotland far behind the founders of them in intelligence and width of view. George Heriot expressly provided in his will that the scholars in his foundation should, after receiving their education at the Hospital up to nineteen years of age, either be sent to the Grammar School, there remain till they were fit for college, or else bound as apprentice and in a codicil ordered the foundation of ten bursaries to the University of 5*l.* a year each. Since that time (1623) the value of the property has risen from a capital sum of 23,000*l.* to a revenue of 19,000*l.* and 20,000*l.* per annum, and that year increasing; and yet, though the managers have been absolutely at a loss how to use their funds, as applied in 1836 for an Act to enable them to use them for purposes contemplated by the founder, they have only increased the amount given in bursaries to 469*l.* per annum. Alongside of this they are spending 7,198*l.* per annum in supporting free out-door schools, and are actually about to spend more in the same way. In other words, they are taking away that sum from the objects contemplated by the founder—which was the education, maintenance, and assistance of decayed members of the middle and lower-middle class—and expending it on objects for which there is now ample provision made by law. They are absolutely throwing away the money of George Heriot, so far as educational objects are concerned—be it though their schools are efficient; there is no reason to suppose they are more efficient than ordinary public schools—and putting it into their own pockets and those of the other ratepayers. The will of the Hutchesons in Glasgow in the same way contained an allusion to college bursaries, but no attempt

made to carry it into effect, though vast sums have been sent without authority upon a plan not contemplated by the

these endowments, then, considerable sums might be taken from the property admitted by the Act obtained by Hutchison's Hospital—100 bursaries at the Universities partly for scholars from the schools attached to the endowment—where there are such—to be competed for by all

Private benefaction will do more is needed. During the years large sums have been given to the Universities to found scholarships and fellowships; and even the county societies, as if to shame the carelessness of the managers of the great endowments, have begun to found open bursaries competed for by natives of their counties. Thus bursaries have been founded in the University of Glasgow for students from Perth, Aberdeen, Argyllshire, Ayrshire, and other counties, by county societies; cannot doubt that the good example will be followed on a large scale in separate localities by county societies and by individuals. We have thus gone through one

the requirements of our new Secondary School system, suggested from what sources the requirements are to be supplied.

We have pointed out the difficulties of Secondary education in Scotland, and shown that it possesses a strong claim to be maintained out of national as well as local taxation, large contributions might and should be made to its support out of the endowments of the country, the whole history, management, and present application have been so fully put before the public by the Reports of the Endowed Schools Commission. It is too late now to lose of an article to enter into a complete analysis of the work of that Commission. But

the subject is so important, and it is of such consequence that some action of some sort should follow upon that report, that we must at least insist upon the expediency, nay, the absolute necessity, if the whole of the educational policy which has been pursued by the country during the past ten or fifteen years is not to be reversed, of appointing an Executive Commission with power to deal with and modify the constitution of the governing bodies, and the application of the revenues of all educational endowments throughout Scotland, on the lines so carefully laid down, and followed with such immense benefit to the country, by the Endowed Schools Commission of England.

The case made out for such a mode of dealing with the endowments is complete. It could not well be stronger. We can only regret that the Commissioners have throughout thought it necessary to adopt a somewhat apologetic tone, and have felt apparently so oppressed with the strength of the facts which they had to bring out, that they have attempted to discharge their duty in the most gentle manner possible, and have hesitated to use that robust and decided language which the facts demanded. But no amount of softening down can do away with the significance of the state of things which they have brought to light. Scotland, it seems, is splendidly provided with educational endowments; those endowments have been applied in such a way as to be almost useless, in some cases positively hurtful, to the community. We find testators filled with wise and far-seeing views as to the modes in which their wishes may be carried out, with an eye to other classes beyond that which they specially designed to benefit, comprehending in their schemes every grade of education, high and low, and leaving to the

trustees of their benefactions a free discretion as to the means they are to employ. That discretion we find in numerous instances abused, or at least unexercised under circumstances which specially called for its exercise; the express wishes of founders systematically neglected; their wise, large views narrowed down to the most parochial interpretation; the doors of generously designed institutions shut so close that the injury inflicted has fallen on those let in rather than on those kept out; precious educational resources tainted by the fatal touch of pauperism, and their benefits, withdrawn from or rendered useless to the class for which they were intended, finally hawked about and put up for sale, under cover of regard for the pious founder's intention, to anyone who found it worth his while to pay a five-pound note to be the possessor of a burgess ticket. To enter into a detailed criticism of particular foundations would be an endless task; nothing less than the five octavo volumes of the Commissioners would be required to enumerate the various modes in which money wisely left for education may be wasted or misapplied. It is enough to point to a few conspicuous examples.

First of all come the great Hospital endowments, amounting in all to no less than 79,245*l.* per annum. It might have been expected that such a magnificent sum would have been so applied as to produce institutions of national importance, or even to found some great system of national education which might have been to Scotland what the great public schools have been to England. But no such result has been accomplished. In no single instance have the Hospital funds been devoted to work out a type of education worthy of being imitated, scarcely even of being preserved. They have been of no benefit to the community at

large; they have set no example and what good they have accomplished has been confined entirely to their own beneficiaries. The most that can be said for them is that they have been giving, at an excessive cost, to a certain number of children, in few cases belonging to the class for which the benefit was intended, an education of possibly a superior character to the which their friends could have provided for them. But a considerable number of the children benefited have not really been in need of the help afforded; they are mostly drawn from classes other than those which the founders intended to benefit, and from those which they would desire to benefit now, could they see the existing state of things; while the good actually done has been largely counterbalanced by the special evils of the so-called monastic system prevalent in these institutions, as well as by the pauperising effects which a system of indiscriminate gratuitous education necessarily fails to bring in its train. George Heriot, the founder of Heriot Hospital, contemplated only orphans. At present, out of 116 foundationers only 62 are fatherless. The foundationers were to be the sons of burgesses; at present the burgess ticket, which anyone can buy for 5*l.* plus three years residence in Edinburgh, gives anyone a claim to be on the Hospital funds. That the claim contemplated was not a low claim is proved by the fact that the boys were to be educated till they were fifteen, and then either be apprenticed or to enter the University; a large proportion of the foundationers now belong to the operative classes. Dr. Balcanquhall in his statutes extended the age of education up to sixteen complete and provided that all the boys were to have a classical education at the Grammar School of Edinburgh.

age has now been dropped to seven, and the Grammar School bursaries have been quietly dropped.

The University bursaries, as we have seen, instead of taking up the twentieth part of the entire income, now do not absorb one-tenth part. By the testator's will they were not necessarily to be conferred on Hospitallers; in practice bursaries are given only to Hospitallers, on an average of two per year.

And while so many good objects are neglected, what is the cost of education and maintenance up to the age of fourteen of these 180 pensioners, mostly from the opera-house classes? Positively *no less than 18s. a head per annum*, a sum well exceeding that at which it has been found possible in England to supply the highest education with every modern appliance of instruction and recreation, in the most of the great boarding-schools lately established. Or if we take the total results of the five hospitals in actual operation in Edinburgh, we find that they maintain and educate 638 children—a proportion of whom belong to the lower classes, some even to a pauper class—from the age of five to fifteen, at a cost of 27,256*l.*, or an average rate of 42*l.* 14*s.* a head, without counting the cost of the buildings. But this is not the worst. While thus throwing more and more the burden of education at its upper extremity, the managers of Heriot's Hospital have been sowing it broadcast at the lower. On their free or elementary schools they expended 7,198*l.* in 1873, and in spite of the passing of the Education Act of 1872, which has thrown upon the community the entire burden of elementary education, they have added three more to the elementary schools thus provided, and to this extent paid over the Hospital revenues into the pockets of

the ratepayers. A more monstrous case of misapplication of funds destined for education could not be imagined. No doubt the governors are sheltered by their Act of 1836; but since the passing of the Education Act they should gradually have withdrawn from this part of their operations, sold or handed over their school buildings to the School Board, and devoted their funds to their proper purpose—the development of education upwards, in some form or other, from the point at which the national system ends.

In fact, the splendid endowment of George Heriot has become a source of demoralisation to the whole community. No candidate has a chance of being elected a member of the Edinburgh Town Council unless he be 'sound upon the Heriot question'; and to be 'sound' on that point means that the candidate must enter the Council pledged to maintain the diversion of the hospital funds from the purposes contemplated by the founder, to prevent their being strictly, economically, and wisely administered in the true interests of education and of the people themselves, and to insist that money designed for a particular class to provide its members with an education which they could not otherwise obtain, shall continue to be spent for the benefit of a totally different class to provide its members with an education which they are not only not unable to obtain for themselves, but which the whole community is obliged by law to provide for them. And if we were to analyse closely the composition of the Council, and of the various committees which manage the affairs of the foundation, we should find still stronger and more imperative reasons for placing the management of funds of so great importance both to the community and the nation in independent hands.

We cannot entirely agree with

the Commissioners in the grounds on which they condemn the Hospital system. Their arguments would condemn equally schools like Rugby or Winchester, and we cannot but regret the absence among their number of some practical educationist who might have pointed out how the principle of the boarding-school might have been retained without the evils of the system as developed in the Hospitals. That system has failed, not because it was a boarding-school system, but because it lacks the essential conditions under which such a system has proved successful elsewhere. The Hospitals are placed in towns, without sufficient space for health or recreation. The scholars have no open free life; the foundationers, belonging exclusively to some depressed class, have not been intermixed with boys in happier circumstances; they have been kept under continual espionage; they have been strangers to the freedom, the self-government, the ambition and open rivalries of healthy school life. No wonder they have failed. We believe that the true way of utilising such foundations as Heriot's would be to convert them into great county schools for the middle class, on the model of such schools as Framlingham College, or the Bedford and Devon County Schools. Such a school should contain a limited number of foundations, and admit on payment all who wished to enter. Such admixture of paying boys with foundationers is essential to form a healthy tone in a school, and to enable the endowment to be really utilised. It should be near a town, to admit of the attendance of day boys, and should be organised as far as possible on the English Public School system. Thus the Bedford County School, officered with a full staff of University masters, with gymnasium, five-courts, and twenty-two acres of ground for recreation, affords a

first-class practical and education to three hundred at the rate of 36*l.* per each, including maintenance in the Devon County & similar education is giving similar advantages for seven or twenty-five guineas according to age. Such would meet a real want, and provide a type of education as a kind of training which would be within the reach of the classes in Scotland.

But space fails us. Hospital, no doubt, afford case of the mispending of endowments; but few such endowments in which reforms of income are not required. In the Hutcheson's Hospital, Glasgow find that whereas, by the foundations, the sums to be applied to education and charity were as nearly as possible equal, as 6,808*l.* was spent on pedagogue for the year 1873, on education; and here the education given, intended for higher class, was practised upon the upper operative artisan class, and the boys of the school restricted entirely to 240 boys upon the foundation. Of other educational endowments in Glasgow Mr. Meiklejohn states that of thirteen elementary schools in actual operation, 'four efficient, two are inefficient, seven are inefficient to the extent of being a gross waste of these seven show every weakness, and 'actually children going to the schools they might be educated elsewhere.' conclusion, like that of those who have enquired into the matter is 'that free schools, when side by side with paying schools are permanent sources of dissatisfaction to parents of the lower-middle classes' (*J. E. B. vol. i. pp. 316, 317*). T

everywhere—powers misapplied: not applied at all. In Inverness Academy there is a large endowment called the Mackintosh Fund. The trustees have power to establish three University Bursars of the value of 60*l.* a year each. This power has never been exercised. In Dundee there is aerguson endowment for the maintenance of two boys at the school for four years, with power to send them to the University of St. Andrews when their course is finished; this has never been exercised. In Glasgow there is a fund for supporting eight poor and orphan children; the patronage is in the hands of the Provost. All manner of power is used to get these bursars; the educational part of the bursary is the least valued, and is told, *the attendance on the bursary is being rather a penalty and a privilage.* The school bursary is administered by the Assistant Commissioner in 1867, 'are occasionally a great evil.' 'In Banff and Aberdeen the same tendency manifested itself to disparage the educational part of the bursary, and to value the pecuniary advantages.' In Aberdeen twenty-six school bursars are given without competition; the course of twenty-two years, or, as is said, only twice or thrice a year, next, or even a good scholar, has been a bursar. Of seven bursars held by the Town Council two are usually the boobies of the school. In Dundee various instances of such endowments are given. In the fifty-two Webster Bursars used to attend the High School where they were often a great hindrance on the class from their idleness. In consequence of a quarrel with the master, they were all withdrawn from the school, and turned over to the Inverness Academy. The Inverness Academy has changed three times, and on each

occasion the Webster Bursars have formed part of the consideration. Not '12 per cent. of these bursars really need the money.' Other bursars at the High School are 'a complete drag—a perfect nuisance,' Mr. Meiklejohn's general judgment is thus expressed:

I am obliged to come to the conclusion that a large part of the Dundee endowments are not doing one quarter of the good they might do, while a large part is doing positive harm. No fraction, or, if any, the very smallest fraction, is operating to raise the standard of education for the whole community.

In Banff Mr. Laurie reports that 'the majority of the bursaries given are mere charitable doles,' and in consequence there is 'a pervading eleemosynary spirit in Banff in regard to education.' The Philp bequest, confined to certain parishes in Fife, is now worth 3,000*l.* per annum; and the whole of that sum is spent in providing elementary education in those parishes. That is to say, the ratepayers of the district are thus relieved from their proper obligations, while the higher education of the locality, to which the fund would be appropriately devoted, is allowed to starve. In short, whichever way we look, in town or country, we find the same result—valuable funds so administered as to be useless or worse; educational chaos everywhere; no public conscience, no enlightened judgment as to the principles on which educational endowments should be administered; while in many cases where the principles of administration adopted might have been justified previous to the Act of 1872, that Act has so completely altered the position of such endowments relatively to the community that a revision of the whole has been rendered absolutely necessary. In most cases, what needs reforming most of all is the constitution of the governing body: it is impossible for govern-

ing bodies of some 76 persons as in the case of Hutcheson's Hospital, Glasgow, or some 54 as in the case of Heriot's—bodies at once unwieldy and fluctuating—to carry on steadily and efficiently the supervision of a school system. In such bodies the sense of responsibility is apt to be lost, and everything tends to become an affair of canvassing and interest. We are not surprised to learn that in a body of this character not long ago not one individual could be found who had ever seen the schools of which he was a manager, or could even tell where they were to be found.

To one further point embraced in the Report of the Commissioners we must for one moment allude—their recommendations with regard to University endowments. Here again they have displayed a hesitation of tone which was certainly not warranted by the evidence laid before them. The Universities have been struggling for years to rid themselves of the incubus of private patronage to endowments, especially in the case of bursaries; and yet, in spite of the strongest evidence as to the proved inutility of such endowments as regards their true functions—namely, the raising the whole standard of University teaching, and attracting intellectual merit to the Universities—they have hesitated by a majority to advise the complete and total abolition of patronage exercised by individuals,

although they are agreed that in the hands of corporation or other public bodies should be away with. Now to prove the utility, or even worse, of University bursaries given only on grounds of private interest, is to flog a horse; but it will be well to put up in one view the evidence on this subject laid before the Commission on the part of the Senate of Glasgow University, that it may be seen how very strong the case is in favour of the total abolition of private patronage rights, with a view of throwing open all endowments to free competition within such limits of area or otherwise as may be thought advisable in each case.

The University of Glasgow has bursaries in the patronage of (1) the Senate, (2) the Duke of Edinburgh, and (3) the Town Council and other public bodies. The bursaries in the gift of the Senate are given wholly by open competition up to 1870 they were given partly by competition, partly by selection. The University career of holder of any one of the bursaries from 1860 to 1870 has been carefully examined; and the following table shows exactly the position of merit attained by each student in every class which he attended during his University course; the certificates being given in four classes—*Good, Fair, Different, and Bad*:

Name of Bursary	No. of Holders in ten years	Mode of Appointment	No. of 'Good' Certificates	'Fair' &c.	'Indifferent'
Dundonald Bursaries .	23	Duke of Hamilton, patron .	20	37	28
Hamilton Bursaries .	14	Do.	10	16	13
Exchequer Bursaries .	14	Appointed by Senate, without examination	58	12	8
Competition Bursaries	29	Open competition	100	46	12
Bursaries in gift of public bodies	19	Appointment by town council, magistrates, &c.	10	24	31

following table shows the all holders of the bursaries during the same ten years :
 r of prizes gained, whether
 rizes or University prizes, by

Kind of Bursaries	No. of Holders in ten years	Patrons	Number of Class Prizes in ten years	University Prizes	Total Money received by Bursars
Donaldson . . .	23	Duke of Hamilton . . .	31	1	£3,800
Do.	14	Do.	10	1	
			(8 of these by one student)		
Exchequer . . .	14	The Senate, without examination	72	4	£1,500
Competition . . .	29	Senate, upon examination	176	14	
Bursaries in gift of public bodies	19	Magistrates, town council, &c.	5	0	Amount small

These tables speak for themselves. I show—

The conspicuous excellence of competition bursars, and of those appointed by the Senate without examination.

That the great bulk of the bursars appointed by individuals or by public bodies are far below the average in point of merit. They have not obtained, on an average, one good certificate during the whole of their course.

That the bursars appointed by the Senate, with or without examination, have been the best in the University.

That the worst of all are the bursars appointed by the public.

Such bursaries are little valued, are small in value, and are not cared for by the appointing authorities, except for the patronage conferred.

If we look at the prize list exclusively the result is as follows: The Duke of Hamilton's bursars gain on an average about 1 prize apiece each year; the Exchequer bursars about $6\frac{1}{2}$; the Competition bursars $6\frac{1}{2}$; bursars appointed by the public about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a prize apiece!

If we look at the relation of the value of prizes given and prizes earned, the result is equally striking. By

the private patronage bursars one prize was gained for 88*l.* of money received, while the competition bursars and those appointed by the Senate carried off a prize for every 5*l.* spent upon them. In short, the bursaries in the gift of individuals and public bodies are bestowed, without regard to merit, on those who can in any way bring the proper influence to bear upon the patron; and there can be no doubt whatever, that in the interests of education the total abolition of all private rights in the patronage to public University endowments is as imperatively called for in Scotland now as it was twenty years ago in the English Universities.

If, after consideration of the facts thus adduced, it be maintained that no decisive legislative action is required, it is vain to appeal to evidence at all; and it must be plainly admitted that the wise principles which have guided the educational policy of both parties in the State during the last fifteen years are to be acted on no more. But, unfortunately, inaction is not the worst alternative to be feared: far worse and more disastrous would be the adoption of the faltering policy attributed by some to the present Government—that of simply extending the powers of the present

managing bodies. To give larger powers to bodies which have in every possible way misused the powers they have, would be to stereotype abuse, and render reform impossible; to those who would recommend such a solution as this, statement of facts and argument are alike irrelevant. Above all, let it be clearly understood that, if decided legislative action is not to be taken to re-model the educational endowments of Scotland, and, as the first preliminary, to re-constitute the bodies which manage them, Scotland is to be treated differently to England. If the appointment of an Executive Commission was called for in the case of the endowed schools of England—and the measure was passed with the full concurrence of both parties in Parliament—it is doubly called

for in the case of Scotland. The burning question which occasions difficulty to that Commission in England—the ecclesiastical difficulty—does not exist in Scotland. The one ground on which a stand has been made against the scheme of the English Commissioners is the ground of Church supremacy; the Conservative party are unable to bear the spectacle of the control over all education, secondary as well as primary, passing out of the hands of the Church. In Scotland the difficulty does not lie here; public opinion is entirely on the side of reform, and there is no power to stand up against the interest of the nation but that of actual or possible beneficiaries, and the ignorant pretensions of petty parochial patronage.



GRAPES, WINE, AND VINEGAR.

WEARY and wasted, nigh worn-out,
 You sigh and shake white hairs, and say,
 'Ah, you will find the truth one day
 Of Life and Nature, do not doubt!'

Age rhymes to sage, and let us give
 The hoary head its honours due:
 Grant Youth its privileges too,
 And notions how to think and live.

Which has more chance to see aright
 The many-colour'd shows of time,
 Fresh human eyes in healthy prime
 Or custom-dull'd and fading sight?

Gone from the primrose and the rose
 Their diversely delicious breath,
 Since no fine wafting visiteth
 An old, perhaps a snuffy, nose!

Youth has its truth: I'd rather trust,
 Of two extremes, the ardent boy,
 Excess of life and hope and joy,
 Than this dejection and disgust.

Vinegar of Experience—'drink!'
 Why so, and set our teeth on edge?
 Nay, even grant what you allege,
 We'll not anticipate, I think.

Who miss'd, or loses, earlier truth,
 Though old, we shall not count him sage:
 Rare the strong mellow'd Wine of Age
 From sunshine-ripen'd Grapes of Youth.



OUR INDIAN ARMY.

AT a time like the present, when in every part of the world Kings and Governments are setting their houses in order as regards the defence of their territory, an enquiry into the actual condition and wants of our Indian forces can hardly prove unacceptable.

It would be foreign to our purpose to discuss in this paper the much-vexed question of a Russian invasion of India; but those who have for some years past read between the lines which record public events in the East cannot but feel certain, although they may not avow it, that the authorities in the East are quietly preparing for any event, or threatening of events, which future complications in Europe may cause to start up beyond our north-west frontier. All soldiers that are sent from England to India now go straight to Bombay in magnificent troop ships, which pass through the Suez Canal. Instead of being detained at their port of disembarkation, as was the case in former years, they go direct from their transports to the railway station; and in five or six hours are comfortably housed in good barracks in a comparatively cool climate. From this, their first station in India, they are taken by rail to whatsoever point they may be wanted, or wherever their respective regiments may be quartered. So quickly and with such regularity are these transfers of troops effected, that during the cold season now ended there was an instance of some officers and men belonging to a regiment stationed

at Peshawur who reached their destination on the thirty-ninth day after leaving Portsmouth. Fifteen, or even ten years ago, it would have taken these troops at least six months to reach their corps from the shores of England. In the matter, therefore, of the transport of troops to our north-west frontier there is little left to be desired. Whether the troops themselves are as fit as they ought to be for foreign service is a question on which there is considerable difference of opinion.

On the 12th January last an army of more than 20,000 men marched past and saluted his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on the plains near Delhi.¹ It was composed of no less than four complete troops of Royal Horse Artillery, six batteries of field artillery, a mountain train carried by mules, and a heavy battery of field guns drawn by elephants. Following the artillery came the cavalry, consisting of five regiments of English hussars and ten regiments of Native Horse. To the cavalry succeeded the infantry, composed of nine English infantry battalions and eighteen battalions of Sepoys. To the casual observer or to the new military looker-on who did not look below the surface of what he saw, nothing could be finer than this splendid exhibition of our strength. But it was otherwise with such as were present who knew what the requirements of an army really were.

Amongst these there could only be one verdict, viz., that near

¹ The present writer does not quote what he advances from any book or document. What he describes here he saw and heard when the Prince was at Delhi in the month of January of the present year.

regiment present was extremely weak in numbers and lamentably under-officered. To be acquainted with the history of it is a well-known fact that it is the backbone and mainstay of our armies who take the field in it is the British cavalry. The single and very lamentable exception which occurred during the Sepoy war, the very sight of the presence of British dragoons has been enough to turn the scale in our favour. But within the last few years an English cavalry regiment in India numbered in its ranks seven hundred horses, with the same number of rank and file. It mustered on the field (always excepting men and horses in sick quarters) eight strong companies, each consisting of eighty-four men, and was officered by two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, two captains, sixteen lieutenants, sixteen cornets, and one adjutant. The four regiments (the 10th, 11th, 12th, and 15th Hussars) which were sent past at Delhi mustered four hundred and thirty horses and were divided into six troops, nominally officered by two lieutenant-colonels, one major, two captains, as many lieutenants, perhaps one or two subalterns. With such a *cadre* of officers there can be no margin for casualties which may occur; the consequence was, that when the corps marched past at Delhi there were in many instances not more than half a dozen officers to perform squadron duty, besides one lieutenant-colonel and the adjutant. What would become of a regiment officered if it took the field? The history of the Crimea can tell. A few sore backs among the troopers, a few wounded men; the troopers, and not more than the ordinary amount of sick-

ness amongst the officers, would render the corps more of a burden than an assistance to any general officer, and would certainly entail upon the force generally far more trouble than it was worth in the field. Nor were English infantry regiments much better off. Like their mounted comrades, they were in appearance, drill, and general smartness, simply perfection. But in few instances had they more than one officer in each company, and many of their companies were commanded by lads just out from Sandhurst. In a word, so far as our British forces in India were concerned, the officers themselves say that there is no margin whatever left for the usual casualties which must occur in the field, and that from Peshawar to Madras there is not a corps fit to be marched from cantonments into camp and to stand the wear and tear of a campaign.

But if these grave faults could be found with the British regiments at Delhi, what should we say of the different Sepoy corps? In the English cavalry and infantry there is at least this advantage, viz. that the men know their officers and the officers know the men. But it is far otherwise with the native troops. With rare exceptions, the officers of these regiments are with them but a very short time; they all belong to what is called the Staff Corps, from which they are sent to command or to hold posts in the Native cavalry or infantry. In all these latter regiments the officers are but few in number, so few that in the event of a native corps having to go through a lengthened campaign, or even a couple of hard-fought battles, it would follow as a matter of course that hardly a European officer would be found to command a company.

In a well-known modern work,¹

¹ Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War*, vol. i. p. 201.

the author gives an exhaustive account of the rise, progress, and decline of the Native army. The history of that army may be said to extend over a hundred years, viz. from 1756 to 1856. What he says of the past we may say of the present and even of the future of India, viz. it is the creed of English statesmen that India has been won by the sword and must be retained by the sword. So long as we hold that sword firmly in our hands there can be but little apprehension of any internal danger.

Our first Sepoy levies were raised in the Southern Peninsula, when the English and the French powers were contending for the dominant influence in that part of the country. They were few in number, and at the outset commonly held in reserve to support our European fighting-men. But little by little they proved that they were worthy to be entrusted with higher duties, and, once trusted, they went boldly to the front. Under native commandants, for the most part Mahomedans or high-caste Rajpoot Hindoos, but disciplined and directed by the English captains, their pride was flattered and their energies stimulated by the victories they gained. How they fought in the attack of Madura, how they fought in the defence of Arcot, how they crossed bayonets foot to foot with the best French troops at Cuddalore, historians have delighted to tell. All the power and all the responsibility, all the honours and rewards, were not then monopolised by the English captains. Large bodies of troops were sometimes despatched on hazardous enterprises, under the independent command of a native leader, and it was not thought an offence to a European soldier to send him to fight under a black commandant. That black commandant was then a great man in spite of his colour. He rode on horseback at the head of his men, and a mounted staff officer, a native adjutant, carried his commands to the soubahdars of the respective companies. And a brave man or a skilful leader was honoured for his bravery or his skill as much under the folds of a turban as under a round hat.

When the great outrage of the Black Hole called Clive's retributory army to Bengal, the English had no Sepoy troops

on the banks of the Hooghly. But there were fourteen native battalions in Madras numbering in all ten thousand men, as Clive took two of these with him across the black water to Calcutta. Arrived there and the first blow struck, he began to raise native levies in the neighbourhood, and a battalion of Bengal Sepoys fought at Plassey side by side with their comrades from Madras. Eight years after this victory, which placed the great province of Bengal at our feet, the one battalion had swelled into nineteen, each of a thousand strong. To each battalion three English officers were appointed—picked men from the English regiments. In 1765 they increased to five. There was then a native commandant and ten soubahdars to each battalion. The native element was not so strong as in the Southern army; but good deal of substantive authority still remained with the black officers.*

Such then was the constitution of the native army in the latter part of the last century, or rather, let us say, up to the year 1796, about which time a material change in the better became the order of the day in the Company's troops. Up to that time the English officers of Sepoys held virtually no rank amongst his own countrymen. He was looked upon as a kind of a venturer who had gone to the East to make money, a sort of Duple, Dalgetty, or soldier of fortune, who had sold his sword to those who could pay him highest for it. But after the stagnation which followed the excitement caused by the war of Harris, of Lake, and of Wellesley, the officers of the Company's army began to assert their rights and the result was an entire reorganisation of the whole service. By the regulations which were gradually framed, the regiments of Sepoys were numbered. Each company contained two battalions. To these regiments as many officers were posted as if it had belonged to the King's service, and all took rank according to the date of their commission.

* Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War*, vol. i. pp. 240-250.

England, the number of candidates for cadetships in the East India Company's army increased tenfold; a liberal scale of pensions was instituted, to induce the older officers to retire; and the whole system was placed upon a footing which secured them, perhaps, the best of officers that ever engaged in any civilised power. Finally, as the eighteenth century came to a close, and the nineteenth grew older, more and more reforms were introduced into the service. From about 1809 to the commencement of the Affghan War, of thirty years, our Indian army was at its climax of utility, of all that constitutes a large body of men ready to go anywhere for anything. But about 1839 commenced a serious change for the worse. The number of men attached to each regiment was not augmented, but the extra regimental posts which they were ordered to fill—the Commissariat, Pay Department, political appointments, the command of irregulars, and the like—increased sevenfold. An officer joining one of the Company's regiments had to pass in one or two native regiments and he was sure to get a promotion which increased his pay and allowances fourfold, while he was obliged to a mere nothing the inconveniences and dangers of an Indian climate. Nominally, every regiment had a *cadre* consisting of one lieutenant-colonel, one major, six captains, twelve lieutenants, and four ensigns. But in fact it was far different. More than one field officer was never attached to any corps, and it was almost uncommon to see a captain of a thousand men commanded by a captain. Of the latter, out of six there were rarely more than two, and at times only one present with the battalion; of the subalterns, if more

than half were with the headquarters, the regiment was spoken of as 'very strong indeed in officers.' Then, as now, the Government in India was penny-wise and pound-foolish. If they had, early in the first half of the present century, decreed that all officers serving on the staff were to be drafted into a staff corps, it is more than probable that we should have been saved many of the disasters that have dogged our steps in India for the last thirty years. But from about 1839 to the outbreak of the great Mutiny, eighteen years later, it would almost seem as if some evil genius reigned over our Indian Councils, and forced upon the authorities a *laissez aller*, combined with a petty economy that was certain to ruin the service.

To such an extent had been carried this system of drawing away from their regiments for the purpose of filling staff appointments all the most intelligent officers of the army, that it became almost a term of reproach to say that Captain or Lieutenant So-and-so 'was doing regimental duty.' And it must be confessed that there was some little reason in the taunt, for it was only those gentlemen who were too idle or too stupid to pass in the native languages who formed the captain and subalterns in each regiment; and, when a corps was ordered on service, the very fact of their taking the field made matters worse. Officers who had not done regimental duty for many years then joined their corps. They were invariably grumblers at having been ordered from their comfortable appointments to the hardships of camp life. Of their regimental duty they knew nothing, or rather what they had known they had entirely forgotten; and yet, in many instances, owing to their regimental rank, they superseded their brethren who had borne the heat and burden of the

day doing regimental duties in cantonments while they were absent in lucrative staff employ.⁴ That such a state of things could continue, or that such an army should not become by degrees morally deteriorated, would have been something short of a miracle. In the period of which we are now treating, viz., from 1839 to the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857, it would almost seem as if Indian military affairs were managed by those who had at heart the downfall of our Indian Empire. That such results very nearly came to pass, those who run may read in the history of the bloodthirsty and treacherous conduct of the Sepoys during the great Mutiny, and in the risk we ran of losing India whilst attempting to stamp out the fire of rebellion which burnt, more or less, from Calcutta to Peshawur. If not a truthful, the natives of India are, at any rate, a most observing race, and they could not help remarking that, for nearly a quarter of a century before the native troops rose against us, there had been practically a determination on the part of the Indian Government to leave the least brilliant of the officers with their regiments, and usually to degrade those who did duty with their respective corps.

While speaking of the Indian army during the second quarter of the present century, we must not forget to mention the local European corps which were raised for service under the Company. For the work for which they were designed nothing could possibly be better than these corps. To the bulldog courage of their race they

united a practical knowledge of India, and although perhaps not always total abstainers in the way of liquor, they certainly showed well in every campaign in which they were engaged. They were perhaps not more plucky than the Royal regiments, but their knowledge of what to eat, drink, and avoid in a hot country always made them most efficient during a campaign. The rank and file were a class, or rather a mixture of classes, seen in no other regiments in the services. They enlisted exclusively for service in India, and India was virtually their home where they expected to serve until they were either pensioned or went to their long account. The standards of their respective corps might almost have served as a history of our campaigns in India. Thus on the colours of the First Bengal Europeans⁵ were inscribed the words 'Plassey,' 'Buxar,' 'Guzerat,' 'Deig,' 'Bhurtpore,' 'Afghanistan,' 'Ghuznee,' 'Ferozeshah,' 'Sobraon,' 'Pegu,' 'Delhi,' and 'Lucknow.' The colours of the Madras Europeans⁶ bore the inscription 'Arcot,' 'Plassey,' 'Condore,' 'Wyndewash,' 'Sholinger,' 'Nundy,' 'Droog,' 'Amboyna,' 'Ternate,' 'Banda,' 'Pondicherry,' 'Mahidpore,' 'Ava,' 'Pegu,' and 'Lucknow,' whilst those of the Bombay Europeans⁷ boasted in the same manner of their deeds at 'Plassey,' 'Buxar,' 'Carnatic,' 'Mysore,' 'Guzerat,' 'Seringapatam,' 'Kilkee,' 'Beni Boo Ali,' 'Aden,' 'Panjaub,' 'Mooltan,' and 'Goojerat.' That such corps were highly thought of by the Indian military authorities may be adduced from the fact that

⁴ The present writer remembers on one occasion having seen a major who had been absent from his regiment in political employment for twenty-five years join his corps, Sepoy battalion then ordered on service. He took command of the regiment, but actually did not know how to form open column from line, and was so bad a rider that his horse had to be led by a Sepoy orderly. This was about three years before the outbreak of the great Mutiny.

⁵ Now 101st Fusiliers.

⁶ Now 102nd Fusiliers.

⁷ Now 103rd Fusiliers.

in the years 1838 and 1848 and then a third European regiment was added to each presidency; and thus spread over the peninsula of India there were 10,000 English troops, who were stationed at home in the Punjab, Madras, or in the Deccan, as a regular infantry corps would be at home in England or Dublin. Regiments of the Royal army came to, and time were relieved from the garrisons in India. But it took many years to acclimatise them, as the Company's European troops were ready at all times to the most deadly climate. There was one fault that could be ascribed to these regiments, and that was the work of the authorities. Their comrades doing duty in the Indian army corps, the officers of the Indian regiments were eligible for appointment, and when away from their corps their places were not filled up. For this reason they were, like the rest of the Company's army, greatly under-officered, though by no means to the same extent as in the Native

the regular Native cavalry and the Native artillery little can be said that would not apply equally to the Indian infantry. In the Bengal Presidency there were ten Native cavalry regiments, in that of Madras seven, and in the Bombay Presidency

With a little alteration in the system, making it more Oriental and therefore more fitted to the Indian regiments would have been more useful in every way; but must be confessed that they were more especially the three regiments belonging to the Bombay Presidency—did, with one or two exceptions, good service when upon to act. But they also were greatly under-officered; and a cavalry man leaves his post for ten or twelve years he has gotten much more, and has

much more to learn, than his infantry brother officer. Of the Native artillery, horse and foot, in the service of the Company prior to the great Mutiny, little need be said. Whatever may have been their merits in olden days, they proved themselves the blackest of traitors, and the first to turn against those whose salt they had eaten when the Mutiny of 1857 broke out.

Alongside of the regular army of India there were corps of what were then termed irregulars, both cavalry and infantry. The former were enlisted from high-caste men, who could not brook the petty annoyances of the regular army. The horses, clothing, saddlery, and arms all belonged to the men themselves. They had few English officers, a commandant, a second in command, and an adjutant being deemed sufficient for each regiment; and the nominations to these corps were deemed staff appointments, and generally given to smart and efficient men, drawn from either the cavalry or infantry of the regular army. With these old irregular corps are associated the names of many Englishmen who have made for themselves great names in India, such as Skinner, the two Chamberlains, Jacob, Probyn, and a host of others too numerous to mention. The discipline in the irregular cavalry regiments was by no means as strict as an English dragoon regiment would have liked to see. But the system worked well, and even when the Mutiny broke out more than half of all these corps remained faithful to their colours. The irregular infantry regiments, of which there were but few in India, differed little from the corps of the regular army. They were dressed like their brethren in the regulars, and also drilled after the English fashion.

They were officered by a commandant, a second in command, an adjutant, and a quartermaster. With this exception, and the fact that they were known by their name and not by number—such as the ‘Kelat-i-Gilzie Regiment,’ ‘the Goorka Corps,’ ‘the Bheel Corps,’ ‘the Mhairwarra Battalion’—they were not to be distinguished either in dress or discipline from the regular Native regiments.

Such then is an outline of what the Indian army was before the great change took place—before the Mutiny, and before the country and its army were transferred to the Crown. It is curious to note throughout all this period of our military history in the East, how near perfection our army was, how easily that perfection might have been ensured, and how often any attempt to make matters better than they were seems to have been systematically obstructed by the authorities at home or in India. The old jealousy between the Company’s and the Queen’s army had much to answer for in this matter. If a Queen’s officer commanded a brigade or a division it seemed to be an article of his faith that every Company’s officer below him was a sort of Eastern clodhopper, who thought of nothing but gathering together rupees, and did not know his right hand from his left. On the other hand, if the head military authority was vested in a Company’s officer, he generally regarded the Royal officers commanding corps under him as so many wooden-headed martinetts who had not an idea in the world beyond pipe-clay and seeing their men buttoned up to the throat in cloth jackets. Another source of jealousy and dislike between the two services was that of obtaining staff appointments. A Company’s officer, even while a young man, could get away from his regiment, and make a name

for himself before he was in middle age, provided he had passed in one or two native languages, and could command a little patronage among the bigwigs in the service where he served. No Queen’s officer. He might be conversant with every language with every dialect that was spoken in India; but whether in the regiments or in a campaign he aspired to nothing higher than the routine of his regiment. It is true that some Queen’s *aides-de-camp* in India belonged to the Royal regiments, but these were few and far between, and as a rule it was enough to see a Royal officer with thirty-five or forty men present, not one of whom by any chance obtained a pointment in the country where he was serving, no matter what his qualifications might have been.

As a matter of course, the rules did not increase the difference between the two services. It was rare, save in certain cases, that those who were sent on missions in the Queen’s army or the Company’s services came back together. From time to time there were monstrous demonstrations of the mutiny, in which Sepoy regiments were stripped of their English officers, and appeared in the Anglo-Indian press as the ‘naked’ regiments, and to all military men it was but a matter of time that the service would collapse in the service of the Queen. But both the India House and the Councils of the East Company, and the General in India, seemed to have a thorough conviction that it was better to leave bad alone than to try to make it better for the day, in their eyes. They were the evils thereof. They appeared to think that all that was to be done was to keep the bad and all alterations in the service must be for the worse and not the better. Millions of money were squandered in and out of the service, which were only begun to

to an end. Each man in appeared to have taken for *après moi le déluge*.

so late as after the last war a thorough system of had been commenced in the ny, it is more than probable Mutiny of 1857 would ve broken out. What d in the service was an taff corps, in which the ould not have interfered ay with the regimental of their less fortunate

In order to leave a r regimental officers on r temporarily absent from s, every Sepoy regiment have had actually doing it a lieutenant-colonel, s, with one captain, two s, and one ensign per

The pay and allowances doing regimental duty have been increased, o belonging to the Staff ht, as regards their emo- o have been placed more with their comrades in : corps. But nothing was ings went on from bad

Sepoy regiments of a strong were officered by ne Englishmen, of which lf were youngsters still heir drill. At last the e came. From Barrack- eerut, and from Meerut vur, nearly every Hin- Sepoy proved himself a only watched his oppor- break out into rebellion e Government he and n generations before him lly served.

uities of the Sepoy war, es that the Native sol- mitted whenever they ce, and the utter igno- their English officers that which was going undred yards from their es, have now become

matters of history, and have been depicted at great length by one of the most eloquent writers of the present day. But it is not with this we have to deal. The military insurrection was stamped out. Men more or less culpable and treacherous were punished for their misdeeds. After a long period of bloodshed and terror, order was restored throughout the country; India was transferred to the Crown, and a thorough reform—altering some things for the better, many for the worse—was decided upon and carried out.

Whatever may have been the faults of the Indian army system previous to the mutiny, they were tenfold increased after that mutiny was at an end. It is true that a number of Royal regiments, both cavalry and infantry, were largely increased; but, on the other hand, the numerical strength of those corps was so diminished that, as regards them, the latter state of things was worse than the former. The local European regiments, nine in number, were disbanded altogether, and English corps, much weaker as to rank and file, were sent out in their place. A more palpable blunder was never committed in any army or service in the world. To India these regiments were very much like what the Zouaves are to Algeria. The men had cast in their lot for service in the East, and had none of those longings after home that so many soldiers sent out to India against their will have invariably evinced. They had proved themselves, in almost every campaign we had been engaged in for the last hundred years, climate proof and always ready for their work. The mere fact of their not having to be sent home in a body every ten or twelve years was in itself a great argument in favour of retaining them. In short, their abolition was a grievous mistake.

But blunders of even a more palpable kind, and still more detrimental to the Indian army, were subsequently promulgated by those who had the power and authority to do so. The system of irregular regiments having worked well in several isolated instances, it was thought proper to extend it to the rest of the army. In other words, a state of things was inaugurated which stamped out all *esprit de corps* among the English officers of the Native army, and insured one great fact, that henceforth in few if any of the Sepoy corps would the English officers know their men and the Sepoys their officers. Up to this time, when a youngster joined the Indian army, he did so with the rank of ensign, and did duty for a time with any corps to which he might have been appointed; thus, from the very outset of his career, he began to know something of the Native soldiery, to learn their ways and habits, and to fit himself for his future work. When India was transferred to the Crown all this was changed, and remains so to the present day. No officer can now enter the Indian army except through Sandhurst. If he obtains a commission he must do two years' duty with an English regiment before he can apply to be transferred to the Indian army. A worse school than a Queen's regiment for a young man whose future career is in India can hardly be conceived.

In an English corps a youngster generally finds a number of genial companions. He is a member of a large mess, in which is combined the comforts of a home with the good-fellowship of an excellent club. If he has anything of the spirit of a soldier in him, he becomes imbued with that *esprit de corps* which is the distinguishing mark of our army. At the utmost

he is stationed six or eight miles away from home at one time, and he does not know his men and does not understand him, and does not understand his men. If he is stationed in the colonies, and anxious to be quartered at home, he can obtain what he wants by the payment of a comparatively small bonus. On the other hand, if he is stationed in the United Kingdom, and anxious to go to the East, he always finds men willing to change with him, and to go from one to three hundred guineas for so doing. Is it, then, to be wondered at that there are in the Indian army so very few young men who try to qualify themselves for the Indian Staff Corps? Or can we be surprised if in the twenty-three English regiments quartered in India the average is below one officer per corps every year who is to be transferred?

But the few who are anxious to join the Indian army have a somewhat severe ordeal to go through. They are obliged—and very properly so—to learn one of the native languages, and that in a country where anything like hard study is not recommended to one man in a hundred. Had they no alternative it might be otherwise; but a young man who fails to qualify for the Staff Corps has always to go to an old regiment, his pleasant mess, the comrades with whom he has spent his life to fall back upon. If he succeeds, he joins the said corps, and is sent to do duty with a Native regiment at an age, at a period of life, when he is too old to take any interest in the ways and habits of the men. He may be sent to-day to the 12th, soon after to the 20th, and by to the 30th Native Infantry. Except in rare instances, when his new regiment takes the place of the old, there is no mess which he can go to. Instead of the score and a half of officers in his old corps, he has four or five in his new, and a

three are in all probability good men, of whom he sees none except on parade or on duty. In short, he abandons genial society and a number of men who, in his own way of thinking, are the companionship of the two bachelor officers of his new

the Sepoy regiments under the same time were insufficiently officers—what can we say of the present system? In each of the three Presidencies there is a Staff Corps, and from this Staff Corps the officers are selected to do duty with the native troops. Under the old system there was, at any rate, something like an *esprit de corps* in each regiment. In the present instance there is nothing, nor can there be anything of the kind. Little as the officers of the old Company's regiments may have known of their position under the present regulations, they now know far less. The reason is simple. They are here to-day and gone to-morrow. Insufficiently as they were officered before the Mutiny, they are far more so now. The officers themselves see and feel the anomalousness of their position when they compare their regimental duty with the duties of the English regiments. The service is every day becoming more unprofitable.

They cannot rise in army rank in their present regiments, must do so step by step in the Staff Corps. They know that the Sepoy regiments are much under-officed, and are fully aware that they had to endure a severe campaign—there would be no margin for casualties; and for want of being properly led, the Sepoys probably not go through the campaign with much credit to themselves.

In the English army an officer is sent upon his regiment as home; in the Indian service his corps is only be regarded as a temporary resting-place, or a stepping-

stone to a better appointment. As we have shown before, there were in every regiment of the Native army a number of officers struggling to get away to staff appointments; to-day it is not a part, but the whole, who feel themselves but as temporarily with their men. The Staff Corps of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay are each several hundred strong; but the great majority of the officers are men who have been too long in the service to take junior regimental appointments. Of the young men of that class which virtually conquered India there are few, if any. If a lieutenant of an English regiment in India knows he has sufficient local interest to obtain a lucrative appointment, it is probable that he becomes a candidate for the Staff Corps; and after his short probationary term is over, he is pretty sure to have his desires gratified. On the other hand, we find captains of fifteen and twenty years' standing, and even field officers, doing duty as adjutants and quartermasters with Native corps. No officer in the Native army now makes boast that he belongs to such and such a regiment; and this for the reason that he belonged to one corps yesterday, to another to-day, and may be appointed to a couple of others in succession before the year is out.

But perhaps the strangest anomaly among the many evil regulations of the Indian service is one which astonishes, and not a little, those men who hear about it for the first time. In the respective Staff Corps—which in point of fact are but another name for the English officers of the three Presidencies—there are more field officers than the authorities know what to do with. Many of these gentlemen—familiarly known by the term 'doing-duty wallahs'—reside at the several stations in India. They have nothing whatever to do except sit

occasionally on a court-martial, and at long intervals of time go their rounds as field officers of the week; thus it is that while senior officers of the Staff Corps are far too numerous, the juniors are very much too few. In the days of the East India Company upwards of a hundred cadets went out every year to join the Indian army; whereas at the present day there not two dozen young men a year who seek to join the Staff Corps. Where, in the event of a long campaign, the officers of the Indian army are to come from, is a problem which is yet to be solved.

But one thing is certain, namely, that the present system must either be entirely abolished or very largely modified before the Native army can ever distinguish itself in the field.

A few weeks ago, the special correspondent in India of the *Times* telegraphed as follows:

It is stated that the scheme for the improvement of the Native army has been sent home for approval. The details have not been divulged, but the changes will probably be slight, as the present administration is believed to be hostile to any radical reformation. A sweeping reform is urgently wanted, and delay or half measures will only increase the difficulty.*

The latter sentence of the above telegram ought to be inscribed in letters of gold in every room in the India House. The changes which are required in our Indian army are perhaps not very many, but they ought to be sweeping, and if any good is to be expected from them they must be thorough.

To begin with, there ought to be a Staff Corps; and the officers who compose it ought not to be selected merely because they know one or two native languages. They ought to undergo a training as regular and as severe as that of the

officers who pass that course at the Staff College in Sandhurst. Candidates passing this examination ought to be eligible for military staff appointments. One of the greatest mistakes made in that country, as the most demoralising in the Indian army, is to put men in civil employment who ought either to be in a corps of officers eligible for political appointments; or, in case, when an officer is specially adapted for employment of the kind, his name ought to be placed on an unattached list. He should himself be no longer in military employment. No man can serve two masters, and it is for this reason that the officer who has spent twenty or more years as a cantonment magistrate, a sub-divisional officer, an intendent of police, or the judge-magistrate of some Native court, is no longer fitted for military employment, and therefore ought to be removed from the road to promotion either the staff or regimental officers.

But above all, the number of officers with each Native regiment ought to be largely increased. Besides a lieutenant-colonel and a major, there ought to be at least two subalterns in every company. Men who go out to the East do so because they are poor and wish to make an income for their old age. For this reason the pay of officers in Native regiments ought to be materially increased. If an officer chooses to qualify himself for the Staff Corps, he ought at once to be removed from his regiment, and the promotion ought to be given to the bottom of the list to be made up by sub-lieutenants. The longer any difference in the

* Vide *Times*, March 20.

the Indian and the armies, and therefore ought to be allowed officers who find it their duty to do so. A field captain, or a subaltern, be permitted to exchange Line, just in the same as two officers in the Line are allowed to change corps. The men from which the junior ranks of the Indian army are recruited ought to be from the Line; in the same manner as the authorities not long ago permitted the establishment at Addiscombe for the education of Indian engineers, they ought to establish an Indian Military College, in which all young officers joining the Indian army ought to be educated.

A reform sorely needed is the establishment of the European corps. Indian officers, belonging to both the Indian and English armies, find that it takes nearly three years to acclimatise the regiment to the climate of England and fit it for its Indian work. But the present day infantry of the Line can only go to the East for a period of ten years, and consequently, by the time they are fit for campaign, they begin to long for home, and on the first day when they will be home.

It is not only the Sepoy regiment which ought to be increased, but the number of English officers. Commissioned officers of the English troops now in the East are lamentably few in numbers. This reform is the more urgently needed in the English cavalry than in the infantry of the Line. Fifteen years ago, when a regiment was sent to India augmented by two troops; now it is decreased by the same number. Previous to the state of things being in-

augurated, English cavalry regiments in India were composed of four strong squadrons, with officers in proportion; now they only muster three squadrons, which are so weak in strength as to look more like troops than squadrons. Even at Delhi, when the grand parade before the Prince of Wales took place, and when as a matter of course all officers were supposed to be with their regiments, the four hussar regiments in the field would barely have furnished more effective sabres than two such corps under the old *régime*. In point of fact, the Indian Government have in the country doubled the number of regiments that they had previous to 1860; but these regiments are so weak in officers, in men, and in horses, that if they took the field their condition before six months of campaigning were over would be much the same as those in the cavalry camp of Sebastopol during the latter part of the siege. This is not merely a pessimist view of the case adopted by those who know nothing of the subject. Throughout the English cavalry corps in India every officer of experience holds the opinion here given. 'The Government,' they say, 'will soon make it impossible for any hussar regiment to join in a campaign; they seem determined to leave us no margin for casualties.'

It would, however, be utterly unfair, while discussing the affairs of our Indian army, if we did not make mention of certain improvements which have worked their way into the service since the Mutiny of 1857 took place. Thus the ranks of the Native corps are no longer filled with the high-caste Hindoo and Moslem Sepoys, who, while they ate our salt, hated our rule, and were always ready at the instigation of their priests and fakirs to discuss

what was their duty before they made up their minds whether or not they would obey their faringee masters.

The Sepoy (says Sir John Kaye) was altogether a paradox. He was altogether made up of inconsistencies and contradictions. In his character, qualities so adverse as to be apparently irreconcilable with each other met together and embraced. He was simple and yet designing, credulous and easily deceived by others, and yet obstinately tenacious of his own inbred convictions; now docile as a child, and now hard and immovable in the stubbornness of his manhood. Abstemious and yet self-indulgent, calm and yet impetuous, gentle and yet cruel, he was indolent even to languor in his daily life, and yet capable of being roused to acts of the most desperate energy. Sometimes sportive and sometimes sullen, he was easily elevated and easily depressed; but he was for the most part of a cheerful nature, and if you came suddenly upon him in the lines you were more likely to see a broad grin upon his face than any expression of moroseness or discontent. But light-hearted as was his general temperament, he would sometimes brood upon imaginary wrongs, and when a delusion once entered his soul it clung to it with the subtle malevolence of some ineradicable poison.*

That a change was needed in the rank and file of our Sepoy army had been reiterated over and over again by those who knew the country best. But it was only after the great military revolt had been crushed out, after Delhi and Lucknow had been taken, and after a certain degree of tranquillity had been restored to the country, that the authorities took any steps in the matter. The best, the wisest, and the most prompt action they took was regarding the Native artillery. Since 1857 not a gun has been trusted in the hands of natives. The troops, brigades, companies, and battalions of Hindoostani gunners and drivers were at once, and, as it is to be hoped, for ever, disbanded. The regular Native cavalry and infantry belonging to the Ben-

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* Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War*, vol. i, p. 327.

dragoon jackets of the old
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now, with their white hel-
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used to do in olden times.
e helmet is, in fact, now the
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European soldiers lived in
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s of the monsoon, were till
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re rare exceptions—of the

European soldier's barrack through-
out the East. At present, and for the
last dozen or more years, neither ex-
pense nor care has been wanting to
find suitable habitations for our
troops in the East. The consequence
is that the mortality among English
soldiers in India has greatly de-
creased, and, with the exception of
those who cannot be kept away
from drink, the men are as healthy
as if they were doing duty in Alder-
shot.

But these advantages tell only for
the soldier in time of peace; and,
if we can read between the lines of
the silent preparations made by the
authorities in the North of India it is
evident they believe that before ano-
ther generation has passed we shall
have to meet, either at or beyond our
north-west frontier, an enemy who
will give us far more trouble than
ever did either Affghan, Mahratta,
or Beloochee. From Bombay to the
river Chenab there is uninterrupted
railway communication, and in two
years more the line will be carried
up to Peshawur itself. In every
other part of India the railways
constructed by Government—com-
monly called State railways—are
being neglected for the purpose of
laying down the iron road all the
way to the entrance of the Kyber
Pass. No doubt the Indian Go-
vernment believe in this case that
prevention is better than cure.
But of what use will be the very
best lines of rail if the troops that
are to pass them are woefully
incomplete in their numbers, and
very much short in officers of the
numbers that ought to be with
their corps? The late Sir Charles
Napier, conqueror of Scinde, used to
say that no regiment was fit to go
into action unless all the company
or troop-officers could be changed
three times. But the English army
in India, as at present constituted,
could barely afford to lose one set
of officers. If they did so, in most

instances there would be none to replace them. The army that marched past the Prince of Wales at Delhi looked exceedingly well and very soldierlike. But it was in one material respect neither more nor less than a peace army. The number of officers present in each corps ought to be three or indeed fourfold what they now are. And from this point of view there is no doubt that the Indian troops, English as well as Native, were far more fit for a campaign before the Mutiny than they are at the present moment.

With regard to the Sepoys, there is a difficulty which has long been overlooked—or, rather, put aside like a disagreeable subject until some fitting opportunity for settling it should occur. We allude to the standing and position of Native officers with the Native troops. In the first Sepoy regiments ever raised in India these men held a respectable and responsible position, as they do even now in the states of the native Rajahs. But little by little, as the number of English officers in the Company's army increased, they found themselves left out in the cold; and their position now is one of the greatest anomalies to be met with, even in India. In every company of infantry, as in every troop of cavalry, there are two native officers, namely, a soubadhar and jemadhar. These hold as regular commissions as does the English officer commanding their regiment. Many of them have been twenty, thirty, or even forty years in the service, and yet the youngest ensign who joins the corps, or even the sergeant of the regiment, can, and does, command them on parade. It is the reverse of creditable to us that, amongst these Native officers, some of them wearing half-a-dozen medals, and not a few who have fought in campaigns and battles now nearly forgotten, whose grey

advanced age, and by young men in a red jacket than two or three months, a year or a year and a half construing Juvenal or Horace English public school. respect the French more better in Algeria than we India. In their Native or cavalry or infantry, the officers take rank and place with their French comrades as the rank of captain in the company, absent from head-quarters for officer is a native, or if he succeeds to command his post, and issues orders to the French officers who are subordinate. Of two things, we should either give the native of Sepoys a chance of rising in service, or else dismiss them, and do away with them in every regiment. At present his position is one which cannot be defended on any grounds, and without delay to be placed on proper footing. To see soldiers and jemadhars trading with their companies, as commanded by mere boys in the of English officers, must be a humiliating sight for all. Not a few of these Hind Moslem officers are men sixty, and even seventy years of age, and their presence with the can only serve to remind of the utter hopelessness of ever advancing to a responsible position in the service. The in Algeria are quite as able as are in India to the fact that the European must always be the commander and the native be commanded. But nearly half a century of experience has shown them that the native can arise from allowing Native officers up to a to take rank with their comrades. It

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Native army, and, if perse-
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ready quoted more than once
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which he writes will be
vledged:—

It is difficult to conceive two conditions
of life more dissimilar in their social
aspects than soldiering in India and sol-
diering in England. In England few men
enlist into the army as an honourable pro-
fession, or seek it as an advantageous
source of subsistence. Few men enter it with
any high hopes or pleasurable emotions.

But the native soldier of India was alto-
gether of a different kind. When he be-
came a soldier he did not cease to become
a civilian. He severed no family ties; he
abandoned no civil rights. He was not the
outcast, but the stay, and pride of his
house. He visited his house at stated
times. He remitted to it a large part of
his pay. It was a decorous boast in many
families, that generation after generation
had eaten the Company's salt. Often, in-
deed, in one household you might see the
past, the present, and the future of this
coveted military service. There was the
ancient pensioner under the shade of the
banyan tree in his native village, who had
stories to tell of Lawrence, Coote, and
Meadows; of battles fought with the
French; of the long war with Hyder
and the later struggles of his son. There was
the Sepoy on furlough from active ser-
vice in the prime of his life, who had
stories to tell also of 'the great Lord's
brother,' the younger Wellesley, of Harris
and Baird, perhaps of Bekrem Sahib and
Egypt, and how 'Sick Sahib,' the fine old
man, when provisions were scarce in the
camp, had ridden through the lines eating
dried pulse for his dinner. And there was
the bright-eyed, supple-limbed, quickwitted
boy, who looked forward with eager expec-
tation to the time when he would be
permitted to take his father's place and
serve under some noted leader. It was no
fond delusion in such pictures as this. The
Company's Sepoys had a genuine pride in
their colours, and the classes from which
they were drawn rejoiced in their connection
with the paramount State. It was honour-
able service, sought by the very flower of
the people, and to be dismissed from it was
a heavy punishment and a sore disgrace.¹⁹

To do away all at once with the
centralisation system, which has
been inoculated on the Sepoy
army for the last half-century or
more, will no doubt be a difficult
task; but that it has to be done, and
done before our Native regiments
can ever be what they were in

¹⁹ Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War*, vol. i. pp. 253-255.

days of old, is a fact about which there is not two opinions amongst all the officers who have served or are serving with these corps. It is a curious fact that the Indian authorities, who admire most the extension of Horse-Guard red-tapeism to India, have been themselves the very first to condemn, although unconsciously, what in practice they praise. At the termination of the Sepoy Mutiny no doctrine was more zealously preached by the powers that be than that the irregular system in the Native regiments was greatly superior to what is called the regular system. Now the plain facts of the case are these. The real difference between the regulars and irregulars of the Native army was not because in the one system there were more officers or more discipline than the other, but because in the regular corps the commanding officers had more real power over their men; the men were taught to look up to them, and to none beyond them, as the source of all reward and all punishment. There is scarcely more difference (to use the school-boy's simile) between a chestnut horse and a horse chestnut, than there is between the ideas of an Asiatic Sepoy or trooper and an English soldier, gunner, or dragoon. If the latter believed he had no appeal beyond the captain of his troop or company, or the colonel of his regiment, he would from that very fact consider himself an ill-used man, governed by a despot. Not so, however, with his dusky comrade the Hindoostani Sepoy. Teach him that his immediate commander has all power over him, and he at once understands who and what he has to deal with. But let him know that there is a power beyond the commander he sees in the flesh, and he will immediately, when it

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when required. But that should be massed, and when kept in time of peace to has become an axiomatic discipline; and in a like India, where no one can at a day may bring forth, ctice is as necessary, if not, as in Europe. have in the East the maffor as fine an army as ever en in the world. But it be is to make the most of that and not to allow it again enerate for want of a few

necessary and common-sense reforms. We have to look to the future and not to the past. If we are to hold India at all, it must be by the sword, but let that sword be so tempered and so fit for use that our enemies, whether external or internal, will pause before they provoke us to draw it. That to ensure peace we must be ready for war is not only the wisest but by far the most merciful maxim that the rulers of a land like India can adopt.

M. LAING MEASON.

—While these pages were going through the press, a Bombay newspaper containing the following extract reached us. Confirming as it does our views concerning the deficiency of officers in the Indian army, it may not be amiss to put it before our

in India the cost of living in British regiments is becoming much greater than it used to be. Enter the mess at dinner time, and about a dozen officers are sitting down at the table together. If one asks where all the others are, it is found that three or four are candidates for the Staff Corps, and have gone to other regiments, half-a-dozen are going through a course of garrison instruction, and the rest are filling various appointments on the staff. Now all these absentees make the full heavily on those who remain with their regiments, and these complain very much that a British regiment nowadays is merely a nursery for the Staff Corps. If, in addition to all these things, the commanding officer is a man who thinks that the "honour of the regiment" is dependent on keeping up a showy and costly mess, then the life of the officers is worse out here than at home, where the number is greater. . . . In the British regiments in India have cause to grumble on this account, the case of the Native regiments is well-nigh desperate. Two officers constitute the mess in the Native regiments, and when one of these is asked out to dinner the other finds himself alone, and has to eat his cheerless meal as speedily as may be. In some regiments every officer is married, and in that case, of course, the mess ceases to have any *raison d'être*, and all the members take their meals in their own houses. Again, there being no officers in a Native regiment, the expense of entertainment falls very heavily on the Natives, and particularly on the juniors. We have always thought it a hardship that a Native lieutenant with but scanty pay should be called upon to pay as much for a dinner in the name of the regiment as the commandant, with his extremely liberal salary, but so it is, and, as military men are conservative above all things, so it is to remain."—M. L. M.

¹¹ *Times of India* (Bombay paper), March 18, 1876.



IZAAK WALTON.

By THE REV. M. G. WATKINS, M.A.

IN the pleasant sunshine and fitful showers of May 1653, a little book first saw the light in Fleet Street which was destined to exercise a wonderful influence upon all peaceful lovers of country life. And not merely was this enviable privilege to be its lot, but its publication may be regarded as an epoch in our literature, the beginning of the strength of the English tongue which was then commencing—and we may add a hope, will long continue—to fill the earth with the masterpieces of national genius. Its birth was not loudly trumpeted by fame. The *Perfect Diurnall*, announced from May 9 to 16, ‘*The Compleat Angler, or the Contemplative Man’s Recreation*, written by Iz. Wa. Also the known Play of the *Spanish Gipsie*, never till now published. Both printed for Richard Marriot, to be sold at his shop in St. Dunstan’s Church-yard, Fleet Street;’ while the *Mercurius Politicus*, from Thursday, May 12, to the following Thursday, May 19, added that it was ‘newly extant at eightennence price.’ What angler worthy of the name would not at once rush off to Fleet Street, even in those distracted days of civil war and religious dissension, in order to possess himself of the little square duodecimo covered with brown calf. Unluckily we have no record of such a visit. Probably Sam Pepys added the book to his library, for he seems to have cherished a love for the gentle sport, as may be gathered from an entry in his diary in 1666:

This day Mr. Caesar told me a pretty experiment of his, of angling with a minikin, a gut-string varnished over, which keeps it from swelling, and is beyond any hair for strength and smallness. The secret I like mightily.

Evelyn did not often leave Saye Court, where he had just finished planting his orchard, during May 1653; and on the 29th, when he did come up to town, it was ‘to take my last leave of my honest friend Mr. Barton, now dying,’ so that probably his anxiety left him no time for visiting Mr. Marriot’s shop. Besides, he was at this time busy also in paying his debts, as may be seen from his quaint remark on June 19, which many at present, a month or two after Christmas, are only too glad to echo—‘This day I paid all my debts to a farthing. Oh, blessed day!’ Walton’s book, with its scholarly allusions and pleasing vein of melancholy, would be dear to him who wrote *Il Penseroso*; and we may easily fancy Milton tempted away from his well-loved classics in his study at 19 York Street, Westminster, when he was living in 1653, to stroll down to Fleet Street, whence he may have carried back *The Compleat Angler* in his doublet. Certainly, many a cavalier, with godless love-locks fastened with coloured ribbon waving over his shoulders, ruffled along to Mr. Marriot’s—many a gallant Greville and Cary, disgusted at the turn things had taken in the State, and only anxious now to be off to his estate in Devon or Hants with the last new book on fishing to console him in his retirement. For Oliver had entered Westminster on the previous 19th of April, and summarily ‘ended the prating’ of the Long Parliament, causing the members, with his musketeers, to ‘give place to better men,’ and even pouring contempt on ‘the bauble’ of a mace. London was now no place for Royalists, so we will let the young gallants disappear to their

streams with their prize, under fowls of Levellers, Antinomians, Baptists, Fifth-monarchy men, other sectarians. With what must these have looked upon Izaak's little fishing book as asked Master Marriot for the old Mr. Sibbes's *Saints Cordials*, *read in sundrie Sermons*, or by Mr. Thomas Tymmes's *Sil-atch Bell, the sound whereof is to win the profane worldling, to see the least sparke of Grace living in him*, not, we may re, without many a glance of eye at the lack-graces who were idly lingering over Izaak's book of the tench and perch. In the dark cloud which in Puritan days overhung all things and every cheerful pastime the little book won its way to a sunny window-sill in Eng-land country-houses, and accom-panied many anglers to the water for in two years' time another edition was required. Izaak's book counsellor and friend, in those silent times, to everyone who sought quietness and sought content, whether he were angler or no; so that in many cases, were soon and ruined with rain and damp, the admirer forgot it amongst the things in his delight at capturing a pike, or thrust it hastily with a stickle into his satchel, and all calamities befell it which usually attend the book which men carry in their pocket companion. The many discourses, meanwhile, of William Holland or Benjamin Jonson needed no reprinting. Their copies disappeared outside the city conventicles where they first thundered at the elect. Added to the library's congenial company their tall folios and precise quartos were gradually given up to the spider and the mouse. The sweet breath of Heaven, and the true devotion which comes of it, and mental faculties alike

well exercised, were conspicuously absent from their contents, and they deserved their fate. *The Compleat Angler*, on the contrary, is of men and for men at all times and places, a welcome companion at the fire-side or the river's edge—a faithful reflection of that natural unassuming religion taught in the New Testament, which affects every bodily and every mental faculty with divine sweetness and content, dwarfing no part of man's microcosm, while the rest of it is unduly exalted, but, like His love whose goodness is so often praised in both books, suited to all ages and conditions of men. It is not, therefore, cause of wonder that *The Compleat Angler* at once endeared itself to Englishmen; has since then run through edition after edition; and still lies very near the heart of every lover of rural delights.

What manner of man was he who has thus earned the gratitude of so many contemplative souls? His portrait may be seen in the South Kensington Museum, taken by Huysman with all the precision of the Flemish school, and brings before us the father of angling as we love to fancy him. The long flowing silky white hair befits the patriarchal face, with its bronzed and ruddy complexion redolent of healthy breezes on his favourite Dove or Lea. The soft and sensitive mouth would tell of his kindly, sympathetic disposition without a glance at the eyes, sparkling with the thankful joyousness which pervades his book; while the long tapering fingers, almost feminine in their delicacy, with the well-made pair of gloves they hold, point to artistic tastes, fine appreciation of beauty in every form, and that neat, well-ordered precision of touch which befitted one whose tactile nerves needed to be in exactest correspondence with the slightest nibble of the fish he loved so well.¹

¹ The Craft of Anglers is allowed a phraseology of its own.—Ed.

It is the portrait, even the most careless interpreter of portraiture would at once confess, of one, to use the words of Walton's bosom friend, Sir H. Wotton :

Who God doth late and early pray
More of His grace than gifts to lend ;
And entertains the harmless day
With a well-chosen book or friend.

We seem often to have met him in our dreams by the side of the trout stream—a good-natured friendly sage, simple and unaffected as the limpid currents by which he is wont to ramble, yet deep and full with well-digested knowledge, like their pools where a cool shade falls from the overhanging alder ; the trusty friend of age, the venerated companion of youth, the pulses at each extremity of human life beating in harmony with his serene innocent disposition, which never accosts a man without leaving him some of the sunshine that dwells upon so peaceful a life. In many respects, H. D. Thoreau the American poet-philosopher's thoughts were in direct opposition to those of Walton, yet even he could appreciate such an intensely human life, so to speak, which never separated itself (as did Thoreau's) from its fellow-man, and which in some sort belongs to every scholarly well-governed angler. He observes :

It enhances our sense of the grand security and sincerity of nature to remark the still undisturbed economy and content of the fishers of this century, their happiness a regular fruit of the summer.

And his picture of a contented angler may well be appended to the features of Walton which we have attempted to call up. Speaking of one who haunted the Concord river, he says, in words which remind us of Lamb's genial portrait of the old scholar in the Bodleian :

I can just remember an old brown-coated man, his old experienced coat hanging long and straight, and brown as the

yellow pine-smothered enough. In serene afternoons, almost rustling with the sedge ; so sunny hours in an old man's life, not a silly fish, almost grown to be the familiar. His fishing was not a sport, solely a means of subsistence, but a solemn sacrament and withdrawal from the world, just as the aged read the Bibles.

Very little is known of the life of Walton's life after the most careful modern investigations. Admirers are content that it should be so. With Homer, Shakespeare and other immortal names, his can thus shine with the great lustre in the surrounding darkness. Yet what has been ascertained of his biography only serves to bring into greater prominence his amiable disposition. Born in 1593 at St. Dunstan, or the vicinity, he is now found as a wholesale linen-draper or Hamburg merchant probably in one of the little shops which Thomas Gresham erected over the Burse. His stock-in-trade could not have been extensive if it were confined to this apartment, which is but seven feet and a half long by five wide. At St. Dunstan in the West he was a frequent hearer of Dr. John Donne's sermons. In 1624 he inhabited a house on the north side of Fleet Street two doors west of the end of Chancery Lane, 'abutting on a messuage known by the sign of the Harrow.' He soon moved a few doors higher up Chancery Lane, his wife seemingly carrying on the occupation of a sempster. There is no further memorial of this his first wife that is contained in the parish registers of St. Dunstan, Fleet Street. She was probably grand-niece to Archbishop Cranmer. He had at least two sons by her, who died in infancy. About 1643, however, he was able to leave London, having

* *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (Boston, 1849), p. 27.

a competency by industry
gality, and settled on a small
near his native town. Here
ered, we may gather, for his
, and here we may fancy
according to the wish of his
aracteristic lines, 'loitering
ys near Shawford Brook.'

re meditate my time away,
angle on; and beg to have
quiet passage to a welcome grave.

good man's euthanasia, how-
as not to come till his nine-
year, at Winchester, during
at frost of December 1683.
an angler has mused over
mains, beneath the black
slab of Prior Silksteed's
in the cathedral, and mar-
hat the doggerel which tells
'resteth the body of Mr.
Walton' is not replaced by a
scription. The only memorials
in Westminster Abbey are
ials scratched on the tablet
c Casaubon, whom he may
en in his youth, and after
Dean Stanley has ingeniously
ted, he may have been named.
ering Walton's pure life and
lmirable influence of his
s, would it be asking too
or anglers to crave permis-
erect a simple marble tablet
resting-place of English
to the memory of the husband
mer's niece, and the brother-
of the saintly Bishop Ken;
end of Archbishops Usher
eldon (himself as a youth
or his skill in taking barbel,
vy and dogged fish to be
ithal'), of Bishops Morton,
, and Barlow, of Dean
, Donne, Herbert, Fuller,
ond, Hales, Sandys, Cranmer,
n, and whoever was of
ly and virtuous disposition
ge?

descriptions of Walton's
at Angler can rival the grace
ib's commendation in a letter
ridge, dated October 28,
XIII.—NO. LXXVII. NEW SERIES.

1796. For this and for bibliogra-
phical details of Walton's book we
must express our obligations to Mr.
Westwood's enthusiastic *Chronicle
of the Compleat Angler*.

Among all your quaint readings, did you
ever light upon Walton's *Compleat Angler*?
I asked you the question once before. It
breathes the very spirit of innocence,
purity, and simplicity of heart; there are
many choice old verses interspersed in it;
it would sweeten a man's temper at any
time; it would Christianise every discor-
dant angry passion; pray, make yourself
acquainted with it.

In truth it is the peacefulness of
the book which has endeared it to
Englishmen, reflecting as it were in
an idyll of their own brooks and
meadows the security and beauty
of rural life. No one would dream
at present of turning to its pages
for instruction in baits or flies; its
antiquated directions have long been
superseded; but the rustle of May
breezes pervades it, the scent of hay
meadows and hawthorns blows round
it, the accuracy of its descriptions
and the thankful atmosphere into
which they are elevated are always
charming. The grace of the style,
the simple and natural tone in
which it is written, the sentiments
of love and devotion which breathe
through its pages, are infectious,
and he must be a very hardened or a
very careless man who can peruse
its cheerful dialogue without per-
ceiving his own nature improved
thereby. All can read it with
pleasure and profit, whether anglers
or not. It appeals in every age to
the gentler side of human nature,
and the experience of two hundred
and twenty-three years has shown
that it has never appealed in vain.

It is easy to discover the literary
excellencies of Walton's style. The
language is always clear as one of
his own trout streams, and the periods
more broken up than was usual in
the stately prose of the period.
Without the long-drawn sweetness
of Milton and the ponderous march

of Hooker, it is yet eminently picturesque, and the homeliest descriptions are relieved by a sudden flight of fancy, so that the reader is insensibly drawn on, and that with pleasure, which is, after all, the perfection of a serviceable style. Thus, having spent a couple of pages in giving, after the manner of the angling writers of the century, a most elaborate method for cooking pike, he adds: 'This dish of meat is too good for any but anglers or very honest men, and I trust you will prove both, and therefore I have trusted you with this secret.' Again, speaking of the red and black spots with which trout and salmon are freckled when in season, he says, these 'give them such an addition of natural beauty as I think was never given to any woman by the artificial paint or patches in which they so much pride themselves in this age.' The perch, which love to flock together, so that if one is taken the rest generally follow its example, remind him of 'the wicked of this world, not afraid though their fellows and companions perish in their sight.' Once more, 'As you see some willows or palm trees bud and blossom sooner than others do, some trouts be in rivers sooner in season; and as some hollies or oaks are longer before they cast their leaves, so are some trouts in rivers longer before they go out of season.' A pleasant turn is given to his disquisitions at other times, as when Walton discusses the question whether fish can hear, and sums up, 'All the further use I shall make of this shall be, to advise anglers to be patient, and forbear swearing, lest they be heard and catch no fish.' Another charm by which even those who are not anglers are attracted to the book springs from its graphic terseness. Thus, the bleak, a fish of no great account at present, is transfigured into 'a fish whose back is of a pleasant sad or sea-water green; his belly

white and shining as the morning snow.' The trout, again, has 'some part of it as yellow marigold, and part of white as a lily.' When come to enter into a prosaic account of flies, 'you are to know,' he adds, 'that there are so many kinds of flies as there be of fruits.' A touch of music and poetry runs through the narration, which is incredibly pleasant, reminding the disciple of the art of fishing the murmurous song of the many a Scotch and Devonian. The poetry too is 'old fashionably good, I think much more than the strong lines that are in fashion in this critical age,' a remark which the student of poetry will certainly echo, as he peruses certain transcribed volumes of verse which have issued from the press. The treatise breathes exalted peace, and quietness. Indolence is its key-note—that frame of mind which is seen in the healthy out-door exercise of a thankful heart. Honest, I never weary of enlarging upon them. / My advice is to endeavour to be honestly contentedly poor,' and much in his finest manner in which The many keen allusions to lawyers show either that he had in his own person experienced the law's uncertainties and or was suffering his Cavalier to come into the foreground disgusted at lawyers like Pym had lately swayed the destinies of his country in Parliament, stronger tyrant had sent them flying from Westminster. His allusion to lawyers, however, is probably a playful artifice calculated to render the book more agreeable to ordinary readers, and to serve as foil for 'honest anglers,' as inferior writers think it not on all occasions to scoff at wit and love. //

ther feature of the book, must have commended it to the taste of the time when it was issued, lies in its perfectly ideal description of scenery and of sights. The interminable scenes of the Middle Ages, with faithful swains and simpering shepherdesses, were beginning to be distasteful to an age which had the trumpet of civil war, and men who had many of them the delight of battle with their

The tedious formality and artificial colouring which a long succession of writers had given to ideal life could not but prove repulsive to men who had recently been in the sternest realities of life infinitely despicable as *Amadis* or Sir P. Sidney's *Arcadia* appear to the Puritans, even cavaliers, when they read these amid their ancestral groves, from the fictitious estimate of a gay Court had set upon them were compelled to own their weakness and remoteness from life. Zelmane and Philoclea, Calidorus and Gynecia, resembled shadowy forms of dreamland confronted with the sorrows of distressed yeomen and the brave life of many a noble family had lost kith and kin, and, might be, lands and home as in the recent troubles. Even Sir P. Sidney was awaking before his untimely death to the vanity of imaginative Arcadias. After a sonnet, which commences

me, O Love, which reachest but to
st,
hau, my minde, aspire to higher
ngs.

which we should like to quote
ll,³ he adds, with the air of
hose fond illusions have been
ly dispelled, the memorable
, *Splendidis longum valedico*

While this revulsion of sen-

timent was gaining ground, Walton opportunely presented his readers with a succession of charming pastoral pictures, animated by kindly feeling, and utterly free as well from conventionality as from ribaldry. Mandlin, the 'handsome milkmaid, that had not yet attained so much age and wisdom as to load her mind with any fears of many things that will never be, as too many men too often do,' is a veritable queen of curds and cream.

I now see it was not without cause that our good Queen Elizabeth did so often wish herself a milkmaid all the month of May, because they are not troubled with fears and cares, but sing sweetly all the day and sleep securely all the night, and without doubt, honest, innocent, pretty. Mandlin does so. I'll bestow Sir Thomas Overbury's milkmaid's wish upon her, that she may die in the spring; and, being dead, may have good store of flowers stacked round about her winding-sheet.

Swains and shepherdesses were to continue in favour with polite society for another century and a half; but a protest had effectually been made against them in a popular book like Walton's, and every year weakened their reign. Comparing the debased tone of the eighteenth century with the purer nature-love of the present age, who but must be thankful to Walton, the precursor of the Lake poets, of Ruskin and Tennyson?

Walton himself is a happy example of natural good sense and healthy instincts elevated by loving sympathy with every form of beauty and goodness into a near kinship with genius. He was not learned. He was not deeply read, in the sense in which his age understood the expression. But he possessed a great aptitude for learning, and loved the society of the learned. Several angling books had been printed before his, ranging from Dame Juliana Ber-

ners to Gervase Markham and Barker. He digested these into his work, obtaining details respecting ponds and fish stews from Dubravius and Lebault, and studiously inserting those marvellous stories which were so much to the taste of his age from Dr. Philemon Holland's translation of Pliny, from Aldrovandus, Gesner, Cardan, Rondeletius, and the like. Thus a critical eye may occasionally find somewhat of the laboured citations of Burton in his descriptions, but the thought is immediately effaced by a passage full of fancy and appreciation of outward nature. Indeed, much of *The Compleat Angler* is prose poetry, as anyone may verify for himself by opening the book at random. The comparatively tame sport of angling with bait, at which even Johnson and Byron thought it worth their while to scoff, is surrounded by honest Izaak with a halo of imaginative pleasure; and this suggestiveness it is which places his book amongst those which, as Milton says, contain 'a potency of life.' Estimated merely by the number of happy hours Walton has given to so many generations of his brother anglers, he may indeed be esteemed a benefactor to the nation. Unluckily he knew little or nothing of the highest and purest branch of the art—taking fish with the artificial fly. Dame Juliana Berners (or whoever wrote the *Treatyse of Fysshynge with an Angle* in 1496) gives a list of twelve artificial flies; and just as Walton largely followed the lines she laid down in her treatise, so he too details 'a jury of flies likely to betray and condemn all the trouts in the river;'⁴ but his directions for using them show that he had little practical acquaintance with this more artistic branch of his craft.

Indeed, beyond the usual allusion to fly-fishing as Lyly's in *Euphues and his England*, A.D. 1580, 'all fyabe are not caught by flye, all womenne are not allured with personage' (i.e. 'personage'), intermediate literature did not trouble itself with the subject until Thomas Barker, to whose book, first published in 1651, Walton was largely indebted, descanted what he terms this 'delightful sport.' Cotton, it is well known, added a second part to the first edition of *The Compleat Angler* (published 1676) in order to supply this deficiency, having himself had much practice on the Staffordshire and Peak rivers. Since that time the two friends have been renowned by the long lineage of their disciples as the patriarchs of the art. Cotton could not catch the peculiar charm of Walton's style. The savour of peaceful content which breathes around the first part is missed in the second; it is no slight praise that for more than two centuries Cotton has been able to hold his own with 'Father Walton,' as he gratefully terms his coadjutor.

The recent issue of a very complete fac-simile of Walton's *Companion*, perfect even to false spelling, the half-dozen curious plates of fish, paper of the same shape and even the red and blue springing of the edges which the book wore when first set to sale, has led us to dwell on the merits of *The Compleat Angler* to the exclusion of bibliographical details. A few books own so singular a passage. In the second edition, 1676, Walton seems to have used the first form as a draft by which this new edition should be remodelled. Hence it is almost entirely rewritten, many of the fine passages elaborated from the

⁴ *Compleat Angler*, part i. chap. iv.

in the former edition; Viator obbled to Venator, and Auceps ewcomer. This change ad- of disquisitions on hunting nithology, and relieves what otherwise become wearisome. originals of these editions, ally of the second, are very lt to be procured, owing to ay people collecting angling

This taste seems a fashion age; the earliest instance of ording to Mr. Westwood, helibrary of one Philip Splidt, which came to the hammer 14. Strong evidence to the rity of the book is found in t that from 1653 to 1864 no an fifty-three editions of *The at Angler* were published, one at every four years. During rst half of the eighteenth y angling sank into disre- nd Walton's book was much ted. A literary miscreant

Moses Browne in 1750 y endeavoured to improve, ie, and refine it, giving out ample of his knowledge and to edit the book that Cotton d Walton's daughter! Mr. rood dates the beginning of editions and of a true appre- of the book in 1760, when ns's edition appeared. A t of the original book of as published by Bagster in but much of the issue was tally burnt. This book was ted with so-called fac-similes ton's six figures of fish struck lver plates in conformity with alent belief (shown, however, Westwood to be groundless) Pierre Lombard, supposed to een Walton's artist, had so ed them. In the recent fac- these cuts of fish are repro- with absolute fidelity by a raphic process, which also tes the very tasteful title- of the original, with its pair bins and the fish strung to tails. We will go further

than the modest announcement it bears in conformity with Walton's first edition, that it is 'a discourse of fish and fishing, not unworthy the perusal of most anglers,' and assert that not only every angler, but also everyone possessed of scholarly tastes, should esteem it part of the allegiance he owes to Walton to add this curiosity of printing to his favourite books; always supposing that he is not one of those fortunate bibliophiles who have been able to secure copies of the original early editions.

Many men have written one good book; few have succeeded in producing two, especially when the second belongs to a totally different province. Yet this felicity has befallen Walton, whose *Lives* are an English classic reproducing all the tenderness and lightness of touch which his *Angler* showed, and possessing many distinct merits of their own. We are inclined to estimate them amongst the most charming biographies of the language. Boswell's Johnson may be more amusing and versatile; Lockhart's Scott, a completer portrait, every feature and grace of expression being admirably caught in it by one whose artistic touch in literary portrait-painting has seldom been rivalled; but no one has ever so faithfully depicted the deeper virtues and hidden graces of good and worthy men with such breadth and fulness of *chiaroscuro* as has Walton. For the gravity of his portraits we mentally compare him with Vandyke; while in strong contrast of lights and shades, for solidity of effect and vivid presentation of his sitter, he resembles rather Velasquez. Would that he had granted us a gallery of the divines of his time as Prince has done in his *Worthies of Devon*! What would we not have given for a life of Jeremy Taylor, for instance, or of Dean Nowell, who, 'though he was very learned, yet

knowing that God leads us not to heaven by many nor by hard questions, like an honest angler, made that good, plain, unperplexed catechism, which is printed with our good old Service Book!² As it is, we have to be contented with the five 'Lives,' but they contain more lessons in cheerful godliness, and more pleasing narrations of the manner in which 'holy men of old' were wont to order their daily lives, than any other book of the kind in the language. They are eminently fitted to cherish that sober religion, which, based on deep and wide learning, seeks to conform itself to the wisdom and practice of antiquity, and was wont to be considered the special glory of the English Church, before the ill habit of wide and discursive reading, which at the present day finds favour with not a few, had arisen amongst us.

In these 'Lives,' as in the *Angler*, the even flow of the narrative is lightened by the oft-recurring insertion of unexpected incidents or of anecdotes which bring the portrait into greater prominence. The play of Walton's fancy is naturally checked by the nature of the subject on which he treats, but the characters and reflections to which they give rise are more elaborated and exhibit more felicities of language than do the descriptions of natural beauty in his other book. Sometimes indeed it must be confessed that Walton has allowed his fancy to run riot in these, like a honeysuckle that smothers its support and lades the air with its sweetness. Chastened eloquence and a terse gravity have taken the place of this exuberance of fancy in the *Lives*. The well-sustained narrative and the high moral purpose of the writer culminate in the death of each of his characters, when the

circumstances attending it are tailed with a sympathy and a depth of feeling that at once command attention. The man's will is appended, in order to give a more faithful reflection of his thoughts and feelings; inasmuch as testators of the seventeenth century entered length into their belief and in a manner which our moral age has discarded. By this method a few weighty pages are found to raise a lively image of a person portrayed, and to give a faithful impression of his excellencies than the diffuse biography of our own time often succeeds in producing. So, with perhaps a little exhortation or some earnest reflections, each of the 'Lives' concludes with the artlessness and simplicity of the whole narrative, while it is a witness to the art with which the life has been written, also to the truth of the details.

Dr. Donne's life is remarkable for the tone of deep regret which pervades Walton's part which pervades the whole. If the reader smiles at the conceit which led him, when dismissed from the service of the Earl of Elmsore, to write to his wife with the signature, 'John Donne, un-done,' the earnestness with which he felt the death must strongly impress him. As soon as he felt the approach of his last sickness he caused to be dressed in his funeral robes and then standing on the figure of an urn which had been constructed for the occasion, having lit several charcoal fires, he set his study to heighten his pallor and bring out his features, he had his portrait painted and kept it by his bedside until he expired. Scarcely has a man of infinite unworthiness, according to the account by an inexpressible joy at the prospect of dissolution, been more co-

² *Complete Angler*, chap. i.

n in this eccentric but saintly vine.

H. Wotton, on the other presents a striking example of a successful religion. Full of an accessible wit which was never wounded, of refined learning, adorned with native grace much needed by foreign travel and friendship of the greatest and men of his day, as Provost of Eton, he led a blameless and useful life. Walton loves to dilate on his life for angling; 'his very notion of angling were sufficient to convince any modest censor of it;' and again, 'he would not have been an employment for his life, which was not then idly spent,'⁶ often professing that 'he would rather spend one May month in angling than twelve months in study.' By way of expressing his dislike of religious exercises, Walton credits him with the well-known answer to the priest's question, 'Where is your religion before Luther?' 'Angling was to be found then, but yours is not to be found now, in the Written Word of God.' Very good is the account of his visit to Eton—his old school—in the year of his life, and the words which he utters on seeing his school at play, and contrasting his present experience with their hopes. With consummate skill Walton thus gives unity to the picture he strives to paint, and shows the consistency of Sir H. Hooker's character.

The life of Hooker is in many ways the most interesting of English biographies. As that great scholar died in 1600, his panegyrist and biographer have seen him, and it is not doubted, beautiful as the picture is which he presents to us, that it altogether does justice to the strength of character. He

represents him as eminently displaying patience in all the events of life, and in his resentment against Mrs. Hooker forgets, what at all events those who have studied Hooker's book are most inclined to deem its chief characteristic, his extreme resolution and indomitable spirit. It is not easy, however, to agree with Dean Church that Walton's account of Hooker's marriage and after-life 'exalts Hooker's simplicity, at the expense of his good sense and good feeling, in a way which provokes suspicion,' or to allow that 'Walton's idea of humility and meekness, charming as are the pictures in which it is embodied, had in it something which often strikes a modern reader as one-sided and unreal.'⁷ We had rather believe that Walton put on record his honest impression of the good man's character, as derived from the narratives of friends who must have known him intimately and had no adequate motive for gross misrepresentation; while, if a modern reader finds Walton's idea of humility exaggerated, it is just possible that his own conception of the virtue may fall short of that held by men of distinguished holiness, such as Hooker, or (to give a striking example of our own time) the late Mr. Keble. Our jealousy for Walton's fair fame, however, must not lead us away from the quaint language in which he describes Mrs. Churchman's choice of a wife for the diffident divine. The story to which it relates is too well known to require quotation. 'Now the wife provided for him was her daughter Joan, who brought him neither beauty nor portion; and for her conditions, they were too like that wife's which is by Solomon compared to a dripping house;' so that he had no reason to 'rejoice in

⁶ *Ibid Angler*, i. 1.

⁷ Preface to Book I. of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* (Clarendon Press, 1873).

the wife of his youth,' but rather to say with the holy prophet, 'Woe is me, that I am constrained to have my habitation in the tents of Kedar.' At Drayton Beauchamp he gives us another trait of Hooker's humility, which certainly seems to us pitched in no false key; whenever the old parish clerk conversed with him, the two invariably continued both with their hats on or bare-headed before each other. It was at this place that Edwyn Sandys and George Cranmer, on visiting him, have put on record, in Walton's words, that beautiful idyll of his retired life which has doubtless solaced many a country incumbent, who, however much he may seem 'by the world forgot,' still strives to perform with diligence his daily round of duty. They found Hooker, in the absence of his servant, with a book in his hand (it was the *Odes* of Horace), tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field; nor did he disdain, much to their wonderment, when they entered the house to rock the cradle upon occasion. English literature contains no more touching episode than the narrative of Hooker's death, and his summoning on the previous day his dear friend Dr. Saravia, 'who knew the very secrets of his soul,' to prepare him for his departure. He died worth a considerable sum, considering his charitable habits, which gives Walton an opportunity to add with epigrammatic humour that 'it was much more than he thought himself worth; and which was not got by his care, much less by the good housewifery of his wife, but saved by his trusty servant Thomas Lane, that was wiser than his master in getting money for him, and more

frugal than his mistress in living it.'

George Herbert has left post so admirable a delineation of daily life in *The Country Poet* that Walton's agreement with outlines, in the view he takes of poet's life, the more confirms our belief that his character Hooker has not been overdrawn. Herbert's poetry was always to Walton, as those know who studied his *Angler*, partly its sweetness and devotional but perhaps still more because he says of its composer) 'I heard he loved angling, and the rather believe it, because he a spirit suitable to anglers.' account of Herbert's self-denying charitable life at Bemerton on a deep impression of the excellence of the best amongst the clergy during the seventeenth century. He married Jane Danvers, one of nine daughters, concerning whom their father had expressed desire that Mr. Herbert should marry one, but (once more told our author) 'rather his daughter Jane than any other, because she was his beloved daughter, he had often said the same to Herbert himself, and that she could like her for a wife, and him for a husband, Jane's parents have a double blessing; and Danvers had so often said the same to Jane, and so much commended Mr. Herbert to her, that she became so much a Platonic lover fall in love with Mr. Herbert unseen.' These humorous views Walton on the courtship of grave divines whose lives he lived together with the fact that he was careful to record the second marriage of both Hooker and Herbert.

* For his wife, she was so unlike Jephtha's daughter, that she stayed not a come to bewail her widowhood; nor lived long enough to repent her second marriage which doubtless she would have found cause, if there had been but four betwixt Mr. Hooker's and her death. But she is dead, and let her other infirm be buried with her.—*Life of Hooker*.

dispose us to regard him as to look down somewhat contemptuously upon the sex. Scarcely hear a word of his wife, the sister of Bishop Wake, the allusion to 'my wife' in *The Angler's Wish*, and the laudatory epitaph, which he composed, in the *Lady of Winchester Cathedral*. Why he has a distinguished reputation for this reticence in a man who never bestows a favourable notice on any

Besides which, the habits of a sea angler, who must woo the sea-side rather than the chimney, as they are not on the same level consistent with feminine domestic happiness, somewhat induce on the other to independent and depreciatory views of the domestic life of angling. The same art which he displays in the life of Wotton, Walton contrasts the happy married life of Herbert at Bemerton with the sternness of Mr. Ferrar's Little Gidding. It is to us that we owe that beautiful story of Herbert taking off his coat one day while walking in the snow, and helping a poor diseased horse had fallen under his load, to disengage it and ease its burden, charging him at the same time 'that if he loved his horse he should be merciful to it.' And so with mutual respect they parted, Herbert, who it is to be trim and neat, to be disdained at by his friends for his shabby coat and discomposed attire, when he replied, 'that the thought of what he had done would be music to him at midnight.' This was an accomplished musician, and these very journeys to the cathedral, which he undertook twice were in order that he might hear the music of the cathedral

of Sanderson's music, on the 17th, as he tells us, consisted in

'the repetition of one of the Odes of Horace to himself,' for his memory was very tenacious. His biography, which, in gravity of language and arrangement, excels the others, was written when Walton was eighty-five years old; but he was of perfect memory in his ninetieth year, and even then contributed a preface to a friend's poems. In this *Life* Walton treats of Sanderson's work as Proctor and Professor at Oxford, and afterwards of his stay at Boothby Pannell and the persecutions which he underwent from the Parliament's soldiery. The circumstances attending the publication of Sanderson's celebrated book on *Cases of Conscience* are also detailed, and are noteworthy when it is remembered that, except Taylor's *Ductor Dubitantium*, Sanderson's casuistry is the only work of authority on the point which the English Church possessed until the recent publication of Keble's *Spiritual Letters*. Contrasted with the huge literature of the subject owned by the Roman Catholic Church, we cannot but think the circumstance a striking testimony to the straightforward temper and simple code of morality inculcated by our own Church. Perhaps the most characteristic passage in this *Life* is the narration of Walton's meeting him

accidentally in London in sad-coloured clothes, and, God knows, far from being costly. The place of our meeting was close to Little Britain, where he had been to buy a book, which he then had in his hand. We had no inclination to part presently, and therefore turned to stand in a corner under a pent-house (for it began to rain), and immediately the wind rose and the rain increased so much, that both became so inconvenient as to force us into a cleanly house, where we had bread, cheese, ale, and a fire for our ready money. This rain and wind were so obliging to me as to force our stay there for at least an hour, to my great content and advantage, for in that time he made to me many useful observations of the present times with much clearness and conscientious freedom.

This passage is typical of the manner in which Walton's own personality interpenetrates that of the worthies whose 'Lives' he writes, and elucidates his own disposition and habits. The *Lives* must be read in conjunction with *The Compleat Angler* by all who would form a just idea of his friendly, cheerful, and pious character.

Two hundred and twenty-three years have fled, and once more spring's showers fall softly as we write, while the air is full of the scent of violets, the sweetest children of the year. Still men are enthralled by Walton's spell, and not too wise to have forgotten his favourite diversion. How easy, as we take down the fly-rod and sally forth to the meadows watered by the brook, which so often ripples through our winter fancies, to call up the image of Izaak Walton walking blithely on such a morn as this to the Lea, and discoursing the while to his friends 'honest Nat and R. Roe,' on 'his airy creatures,' the redbreast and skylark! Or we seem to hear him repeat a few

choice verses of Herbert in his little fishing house of Chesham, the Dove, on which he in memory of Walton's craft and listen to his eloquence, cares disappear under the winter snow-drifts, and blossoms in harmony with the flowers around. The art of angling, so trivial in itself, comes a school of virtues, and leads to a happiness calmer than earth can yield; for the angler assesses what he has with a contented quietness, such as makes his retirement pleasing.' And so we bid the linen-draper of Chancery with his thankful heart and smile for the many peace he has given us, and, bidding a hearty farewell for the future, trust we may in return receive our own commendation: 'I, Mr. Piscator, I now commend you full of good thoughts only of yourself, but your own action.'



PRESENT ASPECT OF SOME LEGAL CUSTOMS.

in the March number of the periodical it was pointed out as an inconvenient and unnecessary anachronism the system of barristers' dinners as a partial qualification to the bar has now fallen into disuse. But if the time, as is usually to be wished, should come when this absurdity will become not unnecessary whether the four Halls of the Court should be retained for their original purpose in addition to their present use to which they are now also put as the places where the professors deliver their lectures. For the purposes of which they are most suitable, for these purposes they are not altered, and it must to some extent be a matter of regret that the members of Lincoln's Inn and the Temple should have spent considerable money in buildings that do not present in their proper use adequate use is made. The Hall at Lincoln's Inn was purchased in 1845 at a great expense, opened by the Queen with a banquet and ceremony in July 1847. In her reply to the members of the Inn she congratulated them 'on the grandeur of this noble edifice.' The object of even 'a noble building' that it should be useful; it may fairly be asked whether, since building has cost thousands of pounds after it has been opened for holding ceremonies, and for speeches, it is really put to use by being made the place where a certain number of law students pass a certain amount of time by taking compulsory dinners at certain hours. The Hall at the Inner Temple, again, was

restored quite recently, and opened by the Princess Louise in 1868.

However, these buildings exist, and they may still be profitably employed for their original purpose. But they should be used according to modern requirements, and in a manner suitable for and convenient to the members of the Inns of Court. That is to say, except during the vacations a barrister or student should be able to obtain a good dinner at a moderate price at a convenient hour in the hall of his Inn. There should be a dinner such as is obtained at any college in Oxford or Cambridge, and the great kitchens which are beneath the halls would then be properly utilised. There would be no difficulty whatever in making arrangements with this object, and any element of uncertainty as to the number of diners can be banished by a rule that every person who dines must enter his name before a certain hour in the afternoon, or pay an extra sum for dinner. In the year 1854 the sums spent by Lincoln's Inn for dinner and wine amounted to 5,503*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.*, and the amount received for 'eating commons' and 'absent commons' reached the sum of 5,012*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*¹ It is absurd that this money should not be put to some really sensible purpose for the benefit of those primarily interested in the question, namely, the whole body of the members of the Inns of Court. We have touched but lightly on what is in many respects a matter of detail, but it is obvious that where details are connected as they are taking the four Inns of Court together with a 'turn over' for receipts of about 20,000*l.* a year, they become an important

¹ Inns of Court Commission, 1854, Appendix B, p. 444.

part of the economy of these establishments and a legal custom of considerable importance. Let us turn now to some more noteworthy customs.

One natural consequence of the Parliamentary and public discussions which have resulted in the passing of recent measures to improve the system of English judicature has been to produce various changes either actual or proposed in kindred legal subjects. Whether or not this consequence was foreseen, it was obviously certain to follow, because when once there is aroused a sufficiently strong current of public opinion to carry through actually required reforms, it is perfectly certain that the whole subject to which the reformed parts belong will in some way be put upon its trial. In various legal measures which some Members of Parliament have already brought forward in the present session, we see clear examples of this rule. The same objects are visible all along the political horizon. The Irish Church was not disestablished without putting the English Church upon its trial; and the reforms in the army once begun, all sorts of schemes for its organisation are sure to be put forward, both practical and chimerical.

At the present moment there are two prominent leading customs which are certainly in an unquiet state, are not only venerable in their antiquity but most important in their bearing whether viewed from a legal or a public standpoint. The first of these is that known as the Circuit system in its consequences as regards the bar and suitors, and the second is the relationship between the suitors and the bar. Of these the last is in many respects much more important than the former. Some

little time ago it was resolved by the members of the late Circuit that the time had come to abolish what are known as special retainers. It must be pointed out that each member of the common law bar chooses his circuit on which to practise after a certain period it is bound to legal custom and quite independent of legal etiquette to change the circuit which he has originally chosen. Moreover, if he be a junior counsel he must not hold a brief upon any circuit, foreign circuit, or receiving a special fee of more than one guinea, or if he be a King's Counsel one of three guineas. Endeavours are, however, being made to alter this rule. The most celebrated instance of such an attempt was so long ago as 1763, when Wedderburn, afterwards Lord Loughborough, who was then King's Counsel, with a view to his practice in the Court of Chancery, endeavoured, upon the acceptance of Sir Fletcher Norton of the office of Generalship, to step into his shoes as leader of the Northern Circuit. In the face of an adverse opinion by the members of the bar, he actually began to attend, and if his qualifications had been as great as his intentions, he certainly would have succeeded in his object. But he was obliged to withdraw to the Court of Chancery, and that his success was not as great as he expected from his large practice in London. But this certainly shows that if an opinion be disregarded, a social institution has no power over its members. The last related took place more than a century ago, and every year the direct and indirect influence of a circuit over its members becomes more and more a

² Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, vi. 61.

local bars of considerable in many of the large towns, a great mass of barristers in London, who never leave the metropolis, have also drawn things in the same way, and a barrister might in Tewkesbury be related to the one in The Pleader's Guide, finished only by a shrug of shoulders from his more honourable position:

And then their clerks invite
said venison hashed at night,
I knew that hopeful fry
of merits would deservy.

the resolution which has decided to would seem, then, so the fact that the circuit is one confining barristers to work in particular towns rapidly away, and that, in conjunction with Mr. Justice's Bill to enable barristers to their fees, and in return need for neglect of duty clients, the barrister will be, like any other seeker of office to earn it how he can, as he can, without any other than that under which he works—the restraint of against fraud or dishonesty of contract. The power in England, the well-known greatness of its reputation for centuries, through the phases of English history, of importance to the public as on, render it worth while to alter shortly if these results vary, and if so, to what extent may be looked for, and consequences which would nevertheless follow. It must be borne in mind that for centuries after the introduction of circuits was established in 1176 locomotion in England very tedious and difficult for a number of barristers themselves far away in the North, it was perfectly natural when once they had reached of their departure on the

legal round, they should continue to follow the route of the judge until his final destination was reached. It was equally certain that the barrister from London or the West country would be unable to run down to York, and it was therefore no matter of wonder if a species of social club should spring up on every circuit, and that the rule which at first arose from simple convenience of its own innate power should be considered as one passed by and in the interests of the members of the circuit, viz. that only those who belonged to a particular circuit should practise on that circuit. It was equally certain that the circuit, or, more strictly speaking, a majority of it, should be able in those days to enforce rules which should be binding upon the minority. But if existing conveniences of travel be taken into consideration, if it be remembered that there is now a strong tendency to specialism among the bar, it is evident that the *raison d'être* of the old separate circuit system is passing away even if it is not already departed. And this feature of specialism is a marked one in these days. There are now barristers whose reputation is totally obtained from skill and knowledge in some particular branch of law, such as that relating to patents, to mercantile contracts, or to maritime matters, and therefore the more prominent this feature becomes, and the more widely it is extended—and the whole set of modern work is in this direction—the more must a separate circuit system be weakened. Not that it is ever probable that as long as circuits exist they will not have a majority of habitués, but it is equally certain that the crystallised state in which they have existed for so many years must be very considerably altered; and in consequence of modern tendencies and of recent legal reforms, this system is probably much nearer its time of

change than it was a year ago. With the termination of the distinct circuit system as far as the bar is concerned, will close a distinct epoch in one portion of the history of English law, because, whether viewed from a social or a legal point of view, the circuit system has been very marked, and, on the whole, very beneficial in its effects.

It has undoubtedly kept the English bar in a somewhat higher position than it would have otherwise held, because pure localism in a country like England, small in size and insular in position, is almost certain to tend to intellectual and professional inferiority. The localisation of the French bar is entirely different: for though Paris is sometimes said to be France, yet it is evident from the legal annals of that country that the different local centres have been surrounded by a sufficiently large area to prevent the narrowing influences of confined localism. It is sufficient to point to Pothier, to Emerigon, and in more recent times to M. Dufaure, as three illustrious instances of what we in England should call local barristers. Many more might be added to this list, but the fact that Pothier was a member of the bar of Orleans, Emerigon of that of Marseilles, and M. Dufaure of that of Bordeaux, of which he was *Bâtonnier*³ at the age of thirty-two, is sufficient to show that localism has in France been far from injurious to the reputation of French lawyers. The justifiable conclusion upon this point, therefore, which may be arrived at is, that the circuit system as it has existed in this country for a long

series of years is now in process of change, but that the nature of England, the specialism in legal matters in all other matters, will prevent any injurious local influences from arising in consequence of these changes.

But the attempt that was made during last session, and is being repeated in that of 1876, to make the position of the barrister one of simple contract between advocate and client, would, if successful, produce a radical and remarkable change. And it is impossible not to be struck with the singular fact that the Member for Hull, who is desirous of being the author of this change, who is a shipowner, the most determined opponent of any improvement to ameliorate the condition of the seaman or to prevent the continuation of certain mercantile frauds, should be the person to legislate for a social body with which he has no connection whatever. Were such a proposed change one which would be likely to result in a really desirable or needed reform, it would be foolish to oppose it because it is an innovation, but it is evident that it would not by any means be a reform, in the true sense of that word. As to whether or not distinguished advocates attend to causes as completely as their clients desire, we do not intend here to say. But it is quite certain that if they do not, it is the public, and not the lawyers who are to blame; because it is always possible for a client to secure the services of a competent advocate who will give his entire attention to the trial of a case. But if the independent position

³ The head or president of the French Bar was and still is termed *Bâtonnier*. The title dates back to the middle of the fourteenth century. The name is derived from ancient usage, according to which the staff of the banner of St. Nicholas, the patron of the confraternity of advocates, was carried at the head of the order in processions and ceremonies. He who carried it was termed *Bâtonnier*. The *Bâtonnier* is chosen for one year only, but since 1830 it has been usual to re-elect him for a second year. Young's *Historical Sketch of the French Bar*, p. 42.

s it at present exists, understood in all its fullness, it will be evident that the most radical between master and servant is the master of the cause, the one who holds the purse strings. The entire burden of the suit is on the shoulders of the plaintiff, and the defendant is doing nothing more than to pay the price of the piece of the suit, the plaintiff has assumed a mere agent

has not been always in the year 1857, in the case of *Swinfen v. Frederick Thesiger* (Lord Chelmsford) a compromise which with his client's approval this doctrine was scussed in the courts ten years later (in the question was raised arose out of an action at the *Athenæum* news- the plaintiff's counsel- his discretion by ically termed with- or; in other words, the contest because verdict would ultimately- favourable. The result was to establish the an advocate was absorbed of the case, but to upon one point, er he had the power collateral agreement action of his client. doctrine cannot remain te is to be sued by who imagines that he fairly treated by his is evident that this result of any such the power over a d by the barrister

arises from the fact that, once in possession of the brief, he is to depend on his own judgment alone; and that even if he errs he will still be unassailable in a court of law.

It may be argued that the consequence of this is to make lawyers careless; but anyone who makes use of this plea forgets to consider the surrounding circumstances. Upon the careful and judicious conduct of a case depends the lawyer's daily bread; and therefore, while there exists a most strong barrier, the strongest that can be in human affairs, namely, that of self-interest,⁴ to prevent any mismanagement of cases, there now is given by the present rule a freedom of judgment and a power uncontrolled by any outside restraints, most beneficial to the interests of the suitor, and most conducive to the independence and public spirit of the advocate.

The mere fact that it would be open to a hot-headed or litigiously inclined client to sue an advocate for the loss of a verdict, must have a depressing and lowering effect upon the mind of a counsel. However conscientiously he had conducted a case, he could never know when he might not find it necessary to defend his mode of action before a legal tribunal. This tribunal would be composed of persons of the same order with himself, and would naturally have strong sympathies with the legal defendant; and in times of national excitement, or in a cause in which the public were much interested, certain sections of the public would be sure to declare that the court was not impartial. That such a thing is quite within

discussing cross-examination makes use, to some extent, of the same employment of this instrument,' he says, 'to the best advantage so far as he is admitted to wield it, has an obvious and, in a considerable interest: his bread in many cases depending on his professional reputation of the advocate having a natural and intimate consciousness of the client.'—*Rationale of Judicial Evidence*, vol. i. p. 485.

the bounds of possibility has been made perfectly evident from the notorious Tichborne trial; and nothing would be more contrary to the best interests of the people and of public justice than that such charges even should be made.

In the jurisprudence of ancient Rome an advocate was equally forbidden to sue for fees; not only indeed was he unable to make any contract for his remuneration, but he even was forbidden to obtain any gain from his services to his client. In A.U.C. 550, the Lex Cincia more effectually endeavoured to make this the regular practice, and it was further enforced by Augustus, but was partially relaxed by the Emperor Claudius, whose law limited the amount of remuneration to 10,000 sesterces, or about 80*l.* But this law was passed when the whole social fabric of the Roman Empire was rapidly becoming more and more corrupt, and when the purity of justice had become a legend of the ancient Republic. Gibbon, in a noteworthy passage of his History, says:

The honour of a liberal profession has indeed been vindicated by ancient and modern advocates who have filled the most important stations with pure integrity and consummate wisdom; but in the decline of Roman jurisprudence the ordinary promotion of lawyers was pregnant with mischief and disgrace. The noble art which had once been preserved as the sacred inheritance of the patricians was fallen into the hands of freedmen and plebeians who, with cunning rather than skill, exercised a sordid and pernicious trade. Some of them procured admittance into families for the purpose of fomenting differences, of encouraging suits, and of preparing a harvest of gain for themselves or their brethren. Others, recluse in their chambers, maintained the dignity of legal professors by furnishing a rich client with subtleties to confound the plainest truth, with arguments to colour the most unjustifiable pretensions. The splendid and popular class was composed of the advocates who filled the Forum with

the sound of their turgid and loquacious rhetoric: careless of fame and of justice they are described for the most part as ignorant and rapacious guides, who conduct their clients through a maze of expense of delay, and of disappointment, from whence, after a tedious series of years, they were at length dismissed when their patience and fortune were almost exhausted.

Thus, in support of the existing usage, we have the practice of antiquity and the immemorial custom of England reiterated by many eminent lawyers. We have the fact that to prevent its abuse there exists the strong desire of professional success and of pecuniary profits, and we have the further fact that it is conducive to professional uprightness and the proper individuality of the advocate, as that in the mere fact alone that renders the advocate disinterested but yet earnest lies the best security for the interests of the client and the continuation of the proper administration of justice. Therefore, though assaults may be made upon this ancient custom, we believe that it is one which will remain unshaken, because it is founded upon reason and has proved useful in practice. Antiquated customs which are now mere empty forms must in these days sooner or later inevitably be thrown aside, but those the basis of which is as strong or stronger than ever are, unaffected at all, more firmly rooted when attacks upon them expose both their value and their reasons. As it can never be too often repeated that the higher the view which is taken of a profession and of the manner of exercising it, the greater becomes that *esprit de corps* and the just professional pride which is one of the surest means of keeping the body sound and healthy. Therefore it does not seem that the words of an eminent judge are at all too earnest when he thus put forward his

^a *Decline and Fall*, i. 456.

upon this important question, which we shall conclude this

incapacity of the advocate in litigation, make a contract of hiring affects gravity and dignity of advocates, and close relation with the highest of interests, viz. the administration of

We are aware that in the class of men, as in every other numerous class, there will be bad men taking the wages of the law. We are aware also that there will be men of ordinary powers performing ordinary duties without praise or blame.

The advocate entitled to permanent employment must unite high powers of intellect with high principles of duty. His faculties and powers are tested by a ceaseless action proportioned to the prize to be won, that is wealth, honour, and power. He is trusted with his own and active exercise for the best of his mind within. He is trusted with his own and privileges and powers almost unlimited degree. His client must rely at times for fortune and character

The law trusts him with a privilege in respect of liberty of speech which is not to be bounded only by his own duty; and he may have to speak on subjects concerning the deepest interests of social life and the innermost

feelings of the human soul. The law also trusts him with a power of insisting upon answers to the most painful questions; and this power is in practice only controlled by his own view of the interests of truth. It is of the last importance that the sense of duty should be in active energy proportioned to the magnitude of these interests. If the law is that the advocate is incapable of contracting for hire to serve when he has undertaken an advocacy, his words and acts ought to be guided by a sense of duty, that is to say, duty to his client, binding him to exert every faculty and privilege and power in order that he may maintain that client's right, together with duty to the court and himself binding him to guard against abuse of the powers and privileges entrusted to him by a constant recourse to his own sense of right. If an advocate with these qualities stands by the client in time of his utmost need, regardless alike of popular clamour and powerful interest, speaking with a boldness which a sense of duty can alone recommend, we say the service of such an advocate is beyond all price to the client; and such are the guarantees for the maintenance of his dearest rights, and the words of such a man carry a wholesome spirit to all who are influenced by them. Such is the system of advocacy intended by the law requiring the remuneration to be by gratuity.*

E. S. R.

Chief Justice Erle in *Kennedy v. Broun*, 13 *Common Bench Reports*, p. 737.



THE INDIAN ALPS.¹

FEW readers of Bishop Cotton's Life can have failed to be struck by the deep impression which a sojourn at Darjeeling made on the mind of one who in earlier years might have been regarded as comparatively indifferent to influences of scenery and colour. The impression made on such a mind is perhaps the most valuable test of the real character of a country. We may easily get tired of high-flown expressions of feelings running on into rapture and ecstasy; and not a little of the rhapsodies poured forth on communion with Nature, and the deep spiritual influences which in her brighter aspects she exercises over the human mind, must be put aside as resting vastly more on fancy than on fact. It is well to say at once that for real sorrow or anguish Nature has little consolation, or none, and that they who look for it under such conditions will probably find their hands pierced by a broken reed. This is but saying in other words that the impression left on us by scenery of whatever kind must depend indefinitely on our own circumstances; while yet it remains undeniably true that, if those circumstances are not such as to preclude it, the several types of beauty presented in the world of Nature will have upon us each its own distinct effect, the common element in most of them being a sensation of calmness and repose, which wonderfully rekindles energy for the work of common life. This power the scenery of the Eastern Himalayas exercised in a high degree over Bishop Cotton; and it

is precisely in the case of one so overwrought by tension of body and thought, not of those who are weighed down by a heavy burden, that this wholesome influence will be most speedily perceived. To Bishop Cotton the impressions awakened and strengthened by the scenery of Darjeeling were all that calling for hearty thanks, although its splendour and beauty never led him to use language which, even though true, might mislead those who had never seen it. Perhaps it would be well, before reading the narrative in the *Lady Pioneer*, to read what Bishop Cotton has to say of a region which roused in her (and not doubt justly) an enthusiasm; not that they were anything in the letters or journals of the latter which called in question the accuracy of her descriptions, but in the same way that we well to see the more matter-of-fact outlines of scenes which are given in the magnificent colouring of Turner. Before Bishop Cotton could even catch a glimpse of the glories hidden from sight by mist and cloud, he had a weary time waiting. In fact, as he briefs it, 'At first the weather was so bad (almost ceaseless rain) that we saw nothing;' and although when the covering was withdrawn the splendour of the view was overwhelming, he is careful to say that this glorious prospect was seldom revealed. Still in spite of these drawbacks he learnt to look upon the great mountains as personal friends, and his feelings kindle almost into rapture

¹ *The Indian Alps, and How We Crossed Them. A Narrative of Two Years' Residence in the Eastern Himalaya, and Two Months' Tour into the Interior. By a Lady Pioneer.* London: Longmans. 1876.

writes to his son about his 'beloved Kinchinjunga, second of earthly mountains,' and speaks of the sight with which he was rewarded at the end of the Senchal parade-ground as one of the most noteworthy moments of his life.

It must not therefore be forgotten that the paradise to which the Lady Pioneer hastened eagerly with her husband from the scorched valley of the Ganges is emphatically a land of rain; and a lavish rainfall implies, it may be feared, a more lavish supply of vapour and cloud when the rain is not falling. But there are some whom such things cannot daunt; and among these is the Lady Pioneer, whose charming pages can scarcely fail to convince the most incredulous that even in what is called the rainy, and may almost be called the drowning, season, there are wonderful sights to be seen, furnishing not merely spectacles of surpassing grandeur, but feasts of exquisite beauty. The author is never wearied of telling us that the glories of this magnificent region baffle all powers of pencil or pen; but the admission of this fact will not lessen the enjoyment of the reader, who will fairly be driven to share her enthusiasm, and envy her the deep happiness of her sojourn in this enchanted land, sentinelled by the everlasting mountains. Of all this grandeur and beauty he will further gain some notion from the illustrations which accompany the text. As works of chromolithography they are in most cases excellent; although an exception must be made in the case of the frontispiece, in which a group of firs in the middle distance are thrust forward with a stronger green than that of some trees which stand vastly nearer to the spectator, while the snowy peaks rise almost with the hardness of a wall against a sky of the peculiar leaden blue which, with this process, it seems

impossible to avoid. It may, indeed be invidious to criticise harsh these specimens of an art poorly adapted for representing subtle shades of colour peculiar Alpine regions; but it may be fairly doubted whether the old-fashioned line-engraving would not have produced more happily the characteristics of these wonderful scenes. Such, at least, will probably be the impression left on those who had the privilege of examining original paintings of the author. That these drawings place the author among the ranks of genuine landscape-painters may safely be asserted, when we regard the precision of the artist's touch, the finishing which discriminates the minutest gradations of tint on mountain and fern, and the boldness which dealing with subjects of appalling magnificence, never fails to give the impression of savage grandeur and boundless space.

But although we cannot shut our eyes to the defects of the principal illustrations, or forget them merely because they may be unavoidable, the feeling of disappointment will pass away on a perusal of the delightful chapters in which the author, without the slightest pretence to scientific description, tells us, first, of her long sojourn in Darjeeling, and then of the adventurous journey which was so prematurely brought to an end beneath the heights of Junga, a giant out-topped only by the paramount peaks of Kinchinjunga to the east and Mount Everest (Deodunga) to the west. With the region English readers, before the publication of this volume, could have but little acquaintance. The pages of Dr. Hooker treat chiefly of matters which will necessarily attract and absorb the attention of the great naturalist. The book of the Lady Pioneer probably be none the less attractive for those who wish to take it

more for enjoyment than hard work, because she expressly disclaims all title to the character of a scientific botanist or geologist, and, indeed, to technical knowledge of any kind. In place of this, we have the more pleasant descriptions of a writer who seizes with keenness of sight and truth of feeling every feature of the scene before her, whether in its animal life, or in the forms and colours of its rocks, its water, and its vegetation. Nor is it possible for a moment to doubt that this wonderful land is one which would stimulate all these powers to the utmost, and awaken precisely those feelings of abounding loveliness which filled Herodotus with affectionate pride as he thought and wrote of his own beautiful Ionia. Beside the gigantic masses of the Himalaya, the heights of Ida and Messogis, of Tmolos and Olympos, would be dwarfed indeed; but, in spite of the more frequent presence of mists and storm-clouds, there is in both lands the same exquisite purity of light which, so long as it is spread over the earth, makes existence itself an enjoyment, and shows its effects in the cheerfulness and merriment of the people. In many a scene the beauty of the landscape was enhanced by the forms of the hillmen, striking in attitude as in colour, seen against the precipitous sides of the mountain, or standing out in bold relief against the deep blue sky, and recalling the image of the inhabitants of that still brighter land pictured in the passing phrase of the tragic poet:

ἀεὶ διὰ λαμπροτάτου
βαίνοντες ἄβρῳς αἰθέρος.

After all, it is not easy to say whether the chief interest of the book lies in the short records of the less eventful time spent in the neighbourhood of Darjeeling itself, or in the narrative of the more adventurous expedition suggested

naturally enough by the the eternal snows which grey eye whenever the clouds de leave the prospect clear. the most agreeable chap assuredly those which tell of fortnight's expedition for jeeling across the Bhootas by way of preparation for t toilsome journey beyond th line. The start was made morning, under a biting fi comparatively short descent the travellers within the r the tree fern, and the luxur almost tropical vegetation splendid valley of the Rung

This noble river (says the author through a stupendous gorge, the mountains on either side stretching many thousand feet, densely clothed with magnificent primeval forest. . . . almost impossible to describe adequately the exquisite and almost beauty of the scene, or the delicacy of the rocks and boulders margin of the river, which is the phry and alabaster, contrasting etherially with the metallic green water. We seem suddenly to be transported into Fairyland, and all like an extravagant dream than Gorgeous butterflies of every hue are in the air or sunning themselves on the banks, where, sitting with wings on look like Dutch gallies at anchor, numerous among them being the swallow-tail species, robed in black with scarlet spots on their wings and antennae. Birds in plumage of blue, and orange, flit among the of the majestic sol; and a perfect volious little creature, belonging to of lepidopterous insect, with a w body, and wings of transparent emerald, hovers above us and us in multitudes, while the air is with a melodious chorus of huzzas (p. 99).

Further on, this magnificent stream joins the scarcely splendid Teesta, the point of junction giving a glorious view of Mount Tendong. Through the valley of this latter river is brought the railway, which deprive of all its terrors, and a few of its discomforts, the journey.

plains to Darjeeling. The night draws forth from the exclamation of horror at the vision, 'which may heaven forefend' (p. 125). The effect of the annoyances undergone between Sahibgunge and Kurseong in the form of Government rains and other instrumentalities, would, probably, different sky have largely the prayer—even if it be as we believe it to be, that as a rule, cause no more detriment to valley scenery than roads.

March into the interior was a formidable business than a imaginary excursion. Ultimately the procession swelled to the effect of about ninety persons, the management being that each coolie, besides the load added to him, should carry enough for a week or two for the subsequent time to be dependent on the agents and Kajees, i.e. the agents and ministers, of the Rajah's territories, they were about

The expectations thus were destined to be disappointed; and the fact that exertion was undergone, and days great danger incurred, addition the range of which lay within two-thirds of a degree of latitude, and within more than half the space between two meridians of longitude may give those to whom the region is unknown some of the difficulties and to be encountered and overcome. At the same time, it may be whether the plans for the journey, or, at the least, for the travellers, might not have been laid. The powers of exhibited by the hillmen, by the hillwomen, are

3. The author speaks of bearing loads which would stoutest English porter or

labourer stagger and fall; and, unless there be some mistake as to the amount, we should cease to accuse M. du Chaillu of exaggeration when he speaks of the Gaboon women as toiling bravely on with five hundredweight on their backs, were we not also told that they carry this monstrous burden, cleaving their way with hatchets, through tropical forest, at the rate of twenty miles a day. This amazing strength might, we should think, have been used for the transport of provisions in a form which should have made them independent of faithless satraps and treacherous guides. It is, of course, unfortunate that caste should throw an obstacle where Europeans would find none, and that so heavy a thing as rice should be the main article of food to the natives of these regions; but a moderate supply of potted meats, and of other modern devices for compressing much nourishment into a small compass, would have at least prevented the extreme pressure which cut short the enterprise and for a time was the cause of very grave anxiety.

The people thus engaged to penetrate among the mountains belonged chiefly to the tribes of Bhootias and Lepchas—the former a more vigorous but less trustworthy race than the latter, who seem to be as easily attracted by the English as the Bhootias are repelled. A further contrast, and one by no means to the credit of the Bhootia, is presented by the dishonesty which distinguishes them from the peaceable and truthful Lepchas. In truth, the portrait of the hardier tribe, as drawn by the author, is not inviting. They have, it would seem, no great liking for the white-faced men of whom their old traditions, it is said, speak as the future conquerors of their country; and among their methods for ridding

themselves of their new masters a favourite device, we are told, is poison, the means being furnished generally by a decoction of datura seeds, given in quantities not sufficient to produce death except after a long course of dosing. A suspected case of such poison led to an enquiry at which the author was present. All the servants were summoned.

I shall not soon forget (she adds) the attitude and significant speech of the cook, a powerful Bhootia and a magnificent fellow in stature, standing six and a half feet high, with shoulders broad in proportion, who, with arms folded and looks calm and defiant, addressing the master of the house, said, 'Do you think, Sahib, if we wanted to get rid of you, we should resort to such small means as that? Soh! we should cut off your heads at once' (p. 458).

Such threats are more easily uttered than executed, and the custom of the tribe seems to prefer the quieter method of dealing with their enemies. Yet even here the thorns have their roses; and the reader will feel scarcely less interested than was the author in the character of a young Bhootia girl, whose personal beauty was enhanced by a singular charm of manner and disposition. This girl was wooed and half won by a young man of the tribe from whom the author seems fully justified in recommending the selection of domestic servants; but the course of their love was speedily cut short by a wasting disease which acts with wonderful rapidity on the constitution of these hill-people. The account given of this girl is, indeed, deeply interesting, as showing the materials which a really judicious management must turn to excellent account; and perhaps we may be tempted to think that, in spite of her constant care and kindly tenderness, the author erred in adopting somewhat too stern a tone in the treatment of superstitions which have their root in the best feelings of the

human heart. Yet this is longed to a lying, thieving treacherous race, while he came of a tribe distinguished 'truthful and honest to a degree, those who have had actions with them declaring seldom, if ever, have they them commit a theft or tell (p. 53).

Attended by a mingled of trustworthy and faithless nisters, the author with husband and a friend, who himself the management of commissariat, set off on the journey which brought them as far as the sides of the Himalayan mountain wall as English explorers manage to reach for some time to. Unluckily no season seems really favourable for such expeditions. In summer the great may be wrapped in mist and in water for weeks together; in winter the cold is piercing winds fearfully keen and and none of the wild fruits be found with which the mountain in the summer would eke out a scanty stock of provisions. On the whole, the dangers and inconveniences of the latter are less formidable than those of and mist, and November was accordingly as the time for starting out. Even here, however, were doomed in some measure to be foiled. The wet and the seasons have no such rigid laws as those which popular is apt to ascribe to them; as travellers found themselves after day drenched even in tents and through water garments, when they had expected to walk under the bluest of crunching the ice beneath feet. But discomforts come and end as well as pleasures; and the grave annoyances caused by this strangely long continuous wet served rather to add to the enjoyment of the moments

toil was rewarded by sights of splendour and beauty rarely afforded to mortal eyes. The few hours thus spent is hardly interesting; nor would it be possible to do it justice, or even to get a true impression of its chief features, without extracts which would cover far too much.

We must content ourselves with saying that some of the most glowing descriptions relate precisely to the effects of mountain scenery in the Himalayas as seen in the perfection of loveliness and altogether beyond that of the splendid visions beheld among the Alps or the Andes. The mere prospect of height even of those peaks which are not the loftiest in this range, would go far towards satisfying for this; but the still vast proportions of the few peaks which tower above these approachable majesty must, obviously, intensify the ordinary phenomena of sunrise or sunset in mountain regions. The weird aspect of these lonely monarchs rising in the light of a sun risen in the distance, while the lower hills and more their valleys are wrapped in the deepest night, or again the flush which lingers on these summits long after the ashen light of late twilight has given to utter darkness below, can never be forgotten by those who have watched the almost imperceptible changes which convert solitary lamps into the pinpoints of light of a world of ice. At whatever point it may be in the view of the greatest of these mountains seems to bring to the eye no feeling of disappointment.

Even Kinchinjunga in some aspects appears unduly delicate; but the exquisite form of Everest, combined with its enormous height, ensures to it an undiminished majesty. Of her attempt to reach it the author speaks as little short of sacrilege; but

it in no way detracts from the merits and the value of her picture to be told that this wonderful mountain

Possesses a grace and gleam far beyond the reach of Art, which can only be realised by the inner eye and can neither be portrayed nor described. I prefer using the Thibetan to the English name . . . because the natives, who regard it with deep awe and reverence, seem to have had a fuller and deeper appreciation of it—the purest and noblest type on earth of the Almighty Architect—when they named it Deodunga (Mount of God). I had all along been dreading to see it; for, as Kinchinjunga had slightly disappointed me on nearer approach, becoming depressed and partially hidden by nearer mountains, I feared, as some writer has expressed it, the extinction of another of those lights which shine along one's pathway, but go out like a snuff the moment one comes within reach of the fulfilment of one's hopes. But here I am, after long and patient waiting—for it was the dream of my childhood to see this nearest point of earth to heaven—gazing at it with bodily eyes, yet never having conceived anything so glorious, so vast, so God-like. How unutterably ethereal they look, 'those silent pinnacles of aged snow!' There is a purity not of earth in that solemn stately pile, and a beauty indefinable which only Turner, that greatest of all modern painters, . . . could represent. . . . As I sit gazing on this magnificent mountain, so earnest and pathetic in its great loneliness, a passion of sunlight bursts over it, and I feel more than ever how feeble is Art in its power of reproducing Nature, and I close my easel with a humbled and broken spirit.

But the penalty must be paid by those who invade the land of the spirits of the mist; and a few minutes will suffice to blot out all this radiant splendour under a thick cloud, and 'make it all a thing of the past as much as if it had never been.' Unfortunately these mists may inflict a heavier punishment. They may continue luminous and yet be blinding. Marching along a piece of table land, our travellers found themselves wrapped in a veil through which the sun gleamed like a ball of fire.

The very atmosphere itself seemed to vibrate and be composed of floating

spiculae of snow—glittering atoms, through which the sun appeared a great scorching eye, most painful to gaze upon. The effect of the glare upon our sight was greater now than I have power to describe, and the effort of keeping the eyes open such torture that they were streaming with enforced tears. Had there been but a particle of blue sky, we might have found relief; but this dazzling mist, which enclosed us, seemed but to serve as a corrodiation for the sun. We had all, of course, heard of snow-blindness; but anything so distressingly painful to the sight as this we never had imagined. The poor coolies who had not provided themselves with spectacles, taking off part of their clothing, now cover their eyes, and lunge along almost blindfold (p. 410).

These were but the beginnings of the troubles which they were now to undergo. Their guide mistook the track, or, as seems altogether more likely, wilfully misled and then deserted them. The Kajee of Yangting failed to keep his promise; and messenger after messenger, sent to ascertain the reason for the delay in bringing supplies, was despatched in vain, or, at the least, did not return. The plan of advancing further was necessarily abandoned; and in serious distress the whole party were compelled to retrace their steps, until they reached Mount Singaleelah, whence they turned eastwards to visit the Buddhist monastery of Pemionchi. The description given of the monks and their ways is extremely interesting; nor, unless we demur to the classification of Buddhists among Pagans (p. 532), can we impugn its accuracy. The author was, indeed, deeply impressed with their worship, and she speaks with enthusiasm of the chanting of their service as a

thing never to be forgotten; memory lasts.

The whole, which was a kind of was sung in the very deepest tones preserved with marvellous precise voices musical and harmonious. Every now and then they ceased for an instant; after which, the choir beginning some fresh theme in a key which sounded like a wild hunt song, they all took up the strain, and once more to the same deep as though this solemn Litany was in gauge with which we were wholly as it scarcely seemed to be in an tongue, for there was a descriptive rendering of the whole which great measure enabled us to its meaning. Now, their voices in deep and solemn utterance, they as be mourning their sins and shorter profoundest humiliation and repentment; now, bursting forth in jubilation, they seem at last—having the temptations to which they have exposed in successive stages of evil to see before them the prospect of life and they reach some other and development in which all is achievement, as they imagine themselves into the very essence of the Deity.

Whatever be the merits or defects of their philosophy, monks, the author insists, are a good work; nor is she in any way loth to acknowledge the qualities of those who are busy by their labour. The concluding chapters of the work contain another picture of mountain and manners well worth study and we may very safely say to one who wishes to form an idea whether of the country or by the author, or of its inhabitants will be disappointed if he this information in the pages of this delightful volume.

G.



THE LIFE AND LAYS OF FERDINAND FREILIGRATH.

BY KARL BLIND.

THROUGHOUT Germany, the news of the death of Ferdinand Freiligrath struck a chord of pathetic sorrow. Friends and admirers for many years past been in acknowledging his genius.

They who could scarcely hear the stern tones of his Republican muse, were attracted by the splendour of his own imagery, or charmed by simple but deep-felt lays as 'Repose of Love,' and the noble 'Oh! love while Love is Thine.'

He was averse to his political principles, readily grant to him even under the rule of an Emperor, of the Prince against whom he launched some of his most wrathful poems—the title of 'The inspired of the Revolution.' If such

testimony of those who stand from the Democratic banner, easy to imagine the esteem which he was held by his associates. By the nation he was cherished both as a poet and a Patriot. All that are proud of the German name, honour for the Tyrtæan strains he uttered in the hour of peril when the defection of such actual leaders might have seriously turned the balance. Under the Progressist party of the House of Commons at Berne, his telegraphic telegram to his grimed widow, 'deeply deplore the loss of the truest friend, of the staid singer of Freedlini, whose afflicted family the Fatherland is plunged in sorrow.'

At a dear friend's fresh grave it was writing a record of his deeds, that his face seems yet to be gazing the living and striving, and

the thought can scarcely be grasped of his having gone back to the Night of Ages. Yet, grief must yield to the recognition of merit and of great services nobly rendered by one of Nature's nobles. I will endeavour, therefore, to give some idea of the activity and the character of one who until so recently was Germany's greatest living poet.

Freiligrath first sang himself into the heart of the German people more than forty years ago. With a master's touch he then opened, as if by magic, the weird realm of the ghastly Desert, the purple portals of the glowing land of the palm-grove; dazzling the eye with the wild grandeur of his richly-tinted pictures. His first youthful fancy had led him to dream of the icy, antarctic North, of the boundless prairies and the mysterious virgin forests of the Far West. There was something gigantic in his imagination even then. A mere boy of sixteen, he produced, when 'faint and ill and sleepless on a couch of woe,' a very remarkable poem called 'Iceland-Moss Tea.' The form, it need scarcely be said, is still somewhat crude, as may be expected from so young an aspirant. Yet, a wonderful description is given, by the suffering, fever-stricken boy, of that saga-hallowed isle which has preserved for us the image of Eddic Gods and heroes; and thoughts are thrown out which now seem typical of the poet's later share in the strife for human freedom. In the green beverage that is administered to his sickness, he sees a likeness of the Chalice of his future Life. He feels in himself, as in yon isle, the strife of Snow and Fire:

Oh, be it thus! Oh, let me feel
The lava-flood in every vein!
Be mine the will that conquers Pain:
The heart of rock—the nerves of steel!

Oh, let the flames that burn unfed,
Within me wax until they glow,
Volcano-like, through even the snow
That in few years shall strew my head!

And as the stones that Hecla sees
Flung up to Heaven through fiery rain,
Descend like thunderbolts again
Upon the distant Faroëse:

So let the rude but burning rhymes,
Cast from the cauldron of my breast,
Again fall flashing down, and rest
On human hearts in farthest climes!

Freiligrath's early circumstances may be gone over in few words. Born at Detmold, in the North of Germany, June 17, 1810; the son of a public teacher: he was educated at the grammar school of that town. At the age of fifteen, he was bound apprentice to a merchant at Soest—once a Hanseatic city, but long ago fallen to the position of an insignificant country town. His parents did not possess the pecuniary means that would have allowed the talented youth to prepare for University studies. Had not his capabilities lain in a direction independent from such training, there might have been another instance of a mute and inglorious Milton. But poets are born, not made; and born poets cannot easily be crushed.

At the age of twenty-one, Freiligrath became a clerk in a banking-house at Amsterdam. There he sat, keeping books and writing letters, whilst his mind's eye conjured up poetical images from the cold, prosaic correspondence with far distant lands. At Amsterdam he remained for about six years, dividing his time between the ledger and the lyre. With great zeal he studied there foreign languages, laying the basis of his later extensive knowledge of English, French, and Italian literature. On his return to Germany, in 1837, he found himself famous through a series of power-

ful descriptions of which, in William Howland's catalogue of paintings, these striking words range over so vast a later writer, Johann

sonner, truly calls him, for the sake, a Poetical Circumnavigator of the World. After two years more of commercial pursuits, Barmen, Freiligrath devoted himself entirely to the Muses.

In the old Dutch capital, where he had frequent intercourse with skippers and traders that came from and went to foreign climes, his fancy had been rapidly nurtured into tropical bloom. 'Amphitrite' composed in spring, 1832, is his to the point. He sees a ship, that name lying in port; it has arrived from the East, in May. beautiful conceit thereupon arises in his mind. He finds that—

'Tis May the young, the blooming,
Who calls the South his home,
That in the stately vessel
O'er the blue wave has come.

This idea is worked out in a series of charming representations. Not the least graceful among them is the picture of the storks that float on, with prophetic flight, the heralds of the young God Spring, who had hitherto been dreamily reclining, in India's Bayan shades, near the sea-shore watching the ship as it was about to weigh anchor. Without knowing what guest his roomy vessel harboured, the captain of the *Amphitrite* had brought him over to the North. There the God steps upon our shores like a magician suddenly decking the earth with verdure and bright hues. It would be difficult to match the intrinsic beauty of this thought. Criticism as to minor details is easily disarmed by the captivating idea and imagery of the whole.

In some of these earlier poems we see the author now and then working in a highly realistic vein, putting his

s and his scenery with almost sh fidelity. At other times, as in true romantic style on a through forest-glades, where and flower, tree and beast, all r to him magic-bound, and urns for the word that would the spell and reveal the ry's meaning. Most critics, air sweeping manner, have ed, either by way of praise or everse, that Freiligrath has ing to do with the romantic

The fairy-like 'Revenge of owers' might alone have pre- l them from uttering this n. Again, quite a different , a melancholy strain of 3 pessimism, marks the Sand and Sea Songs. The changing sands of Ocean's ; the vast, ever-moving yard of the ancient, cruel sea, 'neath its gloomy waves has ages whelmed cities and -these are themes on which et's phantasy enlarges with a ranging from depth of feeling ror and to a bizarre ghastli- s of Hoffmann's nightmares. great difference of style and ht may be found in Freili- s earliest productions. Not s there a first manner and a l manner, but there are sev- them at one and the same

You may find resemblances brush of Memling and Metsys. may be reminded of Tieck thland. You may discover es with the spirit from which y's sadness is fed. But all apparently incongruous modes ception have the impress of a ter peculiarly belonging to rath. The picturesque was, | bt, his forte. For that reason s by some been held to be a 'objective' poet. He was o render graphically the ar- spect of things, but to lack nderstanding of their secret and to be deficient in the expression of human sym-

pathies. Ideas may, however, be given also in an objective form. Not every one, it is true, will so easily detect them there, than if they are uttered with more indi- vidual self-assertion. What to the one, in a landscape or a sea-piece, is mere grass, and trees, and rock, and water, will to the other speak with a thousand suggestive or tell- ing voices.

This background of ideas and sentiments is often but slightly and rapidly indicated in Freiligrath's early poems. Seldom it is wanting altogether. Often there are, in his descriptions, unexpected gleams and touches of reflection. He was not a mystic; but he fully felt, with Shel- ley, that there exist, in this world, 'infinite depths of unknown ele- ments, massed into one impenetrable mask.' He avoided as much as possible that continual peering into oneself which paralyses the will. A few feverish moments excepted, he was never given to the once fashionable malady of *Weltschmerz*. But he did not quite escape from the effects of the ecstatic enthusiasm which lays hold of a true Skald's soul; witness his poem on the death of Grabbe. On another occasion, he sings:

*Sie schliefen Jahre lang in meiner Brust,
Wie Erz im Schacht;—ich hab' es nicht
geirrt,
Dass Lieder tief mir in der Seele ruhten.
Woh mir, zu öffnen ihr verborgen Thor!
Wie kochend Herzblut brechen sie hervor,
Unhemmbar! ach! und ich—ich muss
verbluten!*

This is 'subjective' enough. As a rule, Freiligrath keeps the hidden gate of grief, which acts as a sluice upon the fiery stream of sentiment, well closed. Depth and delicacy of feeling, though of a different kind, may however often be gathered from slight external indications. Such feeling—to cite one of his very first productions—exists in his 'Emigrants' (1832), albeit the whole is descriptive, and only a few

introductory words, and a passing hint towards the end, bring in an expressed sentiment. It is on account of this implied feeling that his picture of German men, and of Black Forest maidens slim and brown, with braided tresses neat, who go from their vine-clad valleys, and from the mountains where the Alp-herd's horn rings, to far Missouri's silent banks, has so long remained a favourite poem with German readers.

II.

In brilliant rendering of the colours of Oriental life, Freiligrath had not his equal. 'From Hecla's frozen fields of ice to India's forests, rich with myrrhand spice,' men were transported at his will and pleasure. These are the words justly used by his highly-gifted daughter in a charming poetical dedication, which she has prefixed to the English version of a number of his poems.¹ It may seem strange in our present days when I say that even the wild flight of fancy by which the poet carried his listeners, as on a Faust's mantle, into distant zones, had a liberating effect on men's minds. Yet so it was. In the oppressive condition in which Germany was held when Freiligrath first tuned his lyre, even the poetical Fata Morgana of strange, far-away lands was welcome to not a few, almost like an elixir of hope—like the promise of a region in which Liberty of Thought might spread her shining wings.

At least, some of these famed Eastern and African descriptions may here be singled out. For instance:—'Were I near Mecca's sacred Wall;' 'The Moorish Prince;'

'The A the Desert
'The Sl of 'The Steppes
'The Lion s The Traveller
'Vision' (given in one of the tra
lations as 'The Spectre Caravan'
'Under the Palm Trees;' a
'Mirage.' Of these, 'The Lion
Ride' is perhaps most powerful
limning, most striking in boldness
of colour, but verging on the
bizarre. This latter trait comes
out even more markedly in 'Africa
Homage;' 'By the Congo;' and
'Scipio.' There, the terrible truth
fulness of the scenes sketched out
with an effect of blood-curdling
realism. In these, as in other
tropic themes, the choice of foreign
sonorous words as rhymes adds
seductively to the local colour.
has been said that these rhyme
words themselves on the rhythm
of his verses like many-coloured
butterflies, hanging in the challenge
of fantastic flowers from which
they draw the nectar. The truth
frequent use of this allowable means
of impressing the ear is, however, a
to mar now and then, by the strident
clink and tinkle of the rhyme,
otherwise well-maintained artistic
harmony.

A deeply-moving subject is 'The Spectre Caravan.' It would scarcely be possible to combine more powerfully the entrancing aspect of the Desert with the horrors of nocturnal spuke. The strength and naivety of the German language come out grandly in this stirring lay. Indeed, under Freiligrath's hand, no bound seemed to be put to the plastic power of German speech. A few verses, well rendered, but still not giving a full idea of the original, may here be quoted as a specimen of style:

¹ *Poems from the German of Ferdinand Freiligrath.* Edited by his Daughter (Mrs. Kate Freiligrath-Krocker). Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz. London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1869. The translations are, partly by the lady editor; others by J. C. Mangan, W. Nind, G. E. Shirley, C. T. Brooks, J. R. Chorley, J. McCarthy, A. Baskerville, Mary Howitt, William Howitt, W. E. Aytoun, J. Gaithe, Ch. Boner, Caroline de Crespigny, Richard Garnett, Bayard Taylor, M. G. Evans Jones, and Adelaide Anne Procter.

at midnight, in the desert, where we
ted on the ground;
my Beddaweens were sleeping, and
sir steeds were stretched around.
distance lay the moonlight on the
ountains of the Nile,
e camel bones that strewed the sands
many an arid mile.

ie stillness was unbroken, save at
ments by a cry
some stray belated vulture sailing
ickly down the sky,
snortings of a sleeping steed at
ters fancy seen,
hurried warlike mutterings of some
eaning Beddaween.

ehold! a sudden sandquake—and
ween the earth and moon
mighty host of shadows, as from out
me dim lagoon;
ur coursers gasped with terror, and a
rill shook every man,
e cry was: 'Allah Akbar!—'tis the
ectre Caravan!'

y came, their hueless faces toward
ecce evermore;
y came, long files of camels, and of
omen whom they bore;
and merchants, youthful maidens,
aring pitchers like Rebecca;
hind them troops of horsemen, dash-
g, hurrying on to Mecca!

nd more! the phantom-pageant over-
ndowed all the plains.
he ghastly camel bones arose, and
ew to camel trains;
ic whirling column-clouds of sand to
rms in dusky garbs,
afoot as Hadjee pilgrims—there, as
arriors on their barbs!

e we knew the night was come, when
l whom Death had sought and found,
ago amid the sands whereon their
mes yet bleach around,
y legions from the darkness of their
isons low and lone,
n dim procession march to kiss the
aaba's Holy Stone.

and more! the last in order have not
assed across the plain.
ie first with slackened bridle fast are
ying back again.
Cape Verde's palmy summits, even to
ab-el-Mandeb's sands,
have sped ere yet my charger, wildly
aring, breaks his bands.

ge! hold the plunging horses; each
an to his charger's head!

Tremble not as timid sheep-flocks tremble
at the lion's tread!

Fear not, though yon waving mantles fan
you as they hasten on;
Call on Allah!—and the pageant, ere you
look, again is gone.

Patience! till the morning breezes wave
again your turban's plume.

Morning air and rosy dawning are their
heralds to the tomb.

Once again to dust shall daylight doom
these Wand'ers of the Night.

See, it dawns!—a joyous welcome neigh our
horses to the Light!

I think I cannot do better than
quote here an opinion of Mr. Justin
McCarthy,² who himself has given
excellent versions of various poems
of Freiligrath. Mr. McCarthy ap-
parently does not believe in the
well-known saying: 'Let me make
a people's songs, and I do not care
who makes its laws.' He attributes
slight, if any, value to political
poesy. He thinks Freiligrath's
political ballads are 'among the
only productions bearing his name
which Time has destined for that
wallet wherein he carries alms
for oblivion.' But of his other
poems he says:

The grand, the stern, the lonely, even the
savage and the awful forms of nature, find
the closest and the dearest place in his
imagination. . . . His Oriental pas-
sion is the most ardent, the most unfeigned,
and the most vivid in its expression, exhi-
bited by any poet or prose writer I know
of. . . . Goethe's 'West-Eastern Divan,'
Thomas Moore's 'Lalla Rookh,' Rückert's
'Eastern Poems,' and many others, are evi-
dences of this skill carried to a very high
degree. But no one of these remarkable
and celebrated productions, however some
of them may excel Freiligrath's poems in
other respects, can compare with his in the
reality of the feeling, in the verisimilitude,
in the genuine spirit of the East, which
belong to them. . . . The beams of
the East have wakened more music in this
Western singer than ever they drew
from the fabled harp of Memnon. Any
other effort at Eastern description in poetry
seems cold, pale, and sunless, when placed
side by side with some of these glowing
verses. . . . He does not transgress

² *Con Amore; or Critical Chapters.* London: 1868.

Lessing's famous law, which assigns space to the painter and time to the poet, as their respective domains. In other words, he does not describe objects in themselves and their own details; but only some act of motion or event which includes them, and of itself suggests their nature and appearance. . . . But all Freiligrath's poems do not breathe a tropic air; And it must be said that many of his ballads have much of softness and sweetness, many an exquisite touch of vague pathos—gleams of deep sympathy with the very soul of nature, rare in their visitings to anyone, and all unutterable to any but the true poet.

The stir these songs made at the time was great indeed. Chamisso readily expressed his admiration of the 'characteristic individuality, the original power, the fullness of the poetic element,' in Freiligrath. In 'Recollections' recently published, Dr. Beta testifies to the high opinion which the grey-haired poet held in regard to the merits of the then rising bard. 'Since this one has begun to chant'—Chamisso said, holding out to his visitor a new volume of Freiligrath's poems—'we have all become mere sparrows!' Wolfgang Menzel spoke of the 'lofty beauty' of the young poet's songs. 'They lead us,' he wrote, 'to expect great things from this mind full of deep feeling, which has the mastery over the realm of fancy and of language.' Arnold Ruge, in a criticism published in 1839—that is, years before Freiligrath had joined the Liberal cause—acknowledges that there is so much conscious art in that singer, so great a profundity of poetical experience, as to render it unsafe for any reviewer to approach him in the too common style of easy-going criticism.

III.

When those favourable opinions were expressed, the popular poet had not ranged himself yet with that Liberal Opposition which in the days before 1848 gradually drew within its ranks the best intellects of the nation. At Berlin and Vienna no Parliaments existed then. But the echo of the

speeches of the times bold as
princes rang thro
Chambers; the smaller
States, shook public opinion
and anon in despotically g
Prussia and Austria. C
brutal censorship of the
the subtle, sprite-like a
writers now and then per
triumphal dance. In s
terrifying penalties, secret p
precesses scattered their
through unseen hands o
and country. Imprisonm
political offences was of th
cruel kind; yet enthusias
good cause often baffled the
who felt unutterably puzzled
strange self-sacrifice.

In not a few universities, Burschenschaft leaven work new shape. At the risk of d ing all their prospects in life, men banded together in league for the establishment of free Commonwealth. Whil tious professors expounded moderate Constitutional ti which at any moment could them into sore difficulties choleric Crown Attorney mocratic principles, and of philosophical deliverances eagerly discussed among advanced guard of the youth. A learned man Hoffmann von Fallersleben a wanderer's staff, and, m from town to town—always ble with the police, even t if he were a common vagrant to fire men into bolder op by singing himself, ming his political squibs. B time when men of lofty ch did humble work, for the g their suffering country, sh down-trodden by heartless c wights.

Georg Herwegh, the Swabian poet, had cast in with this Opposition. Before Anastasius Grün (Count Perg) had appeared as a troubadour. Franz Ding

ings of a Cosmopolitan
n,' had darted his æsthe-
ns against the powers

But Freiligrath still pro-
stand on a higher beacon
e battlements of Parity.'
guage, such as the iras-
of singers delights in,
bandied about between
opposite camps. Yet, an
bserver might have fore-
which flag the fervid
oriental life would one day
self. Even then, there
sionally, through his de-
of rugged or beauteous
no image of struggling
d of suffering Humanity
'Songs of the Gueux,' or
'Widow,' in which priest-
ignantly denounced.

th's fancy was not all
in those days, with the
ons and leopards. Nor
omantic Drachenfels and
the only objects of his
e solicitude at home. The
it will be remembered, is
he legend of the love of
nd Hildegunde, which
theme for Schiller's
'Loggenburg.' Having
y thrown down in a
nter night, the noble
f Rolandseck, an orna-
Rhenish scenery, was
anks to a poetical appeal
rath. From the same
)date several love poems
ing the different stages of
oing and success. Some
e part of the poet's per-
y. He only sang a few of
it is an error to say, as
one by some critics, that
ogether wanting in the
pression of such human
s refer to the joys of love,
ief of despair, to the
rting, and kindred sub-
Wild Flowers' ('Mit
, in which a lover binds
poor nosegay of wild
pical of his poverty and
passion, is in Freiligrath's

most original style. On the other
hand, his 'Repose in Love' has, in
tone, much of Uhland's 'Die Abge-
schiedenen.'

*So lass mich sitzen ohne Ende,
So lass mich sitzen für und für!
Leg' deine beiden frommen Hände
Auf die erhitzte Stirne mir!
Auf meinen Knien, zu deinen Füßen,
Da lass mich ruhn in trunkner Lust;
Lass mich das Auge selig schliessen
In deinem Arm, an deiner Brust!*

In a third poem of this kind, the
lover is compared to a fowler:

*. Hereschwirrst du aus dem
Laube,
Umflatterst furchtlos meine Hüttenthür!
Hörst nur auf mich, bist meine fromme
Tauben,
Bist Nachtigall und treue Lerche mir!
Entfliehst mir nimmer!—süßest stets und
heller
Weht mir dein Flügel, tönt mir dein Gesang!
Die Garne ruhm:—glücksel'ger Vogelsteller.
Das war dein letzter, war dein bester Fang!*

Those who have been intimate
with Freiligrath know that several
well-marked traits of his have found
but scanty expression in his poems
—or none at all. Very shy in
public, but of the most amiable con-
vivial disposition among a restricted
circle of friends, he has not given
any gleeman's song to a nation
famed for its Bacchic literature.
Full of humour, when with a few
associates; and enjoying pleasantry
with the heartiest laughter, he has
not worked that vein at all in
his printed lays. This is to be
regretted. I myself possess one of
these private poetical effusions of
his, which he addressed to us after
we had been together in the Isle of
Wight. It is replete with sportive
humour and heartiness. The reason
of his having published nothing of
that kind must probably be sought
in the retiring nature of his cha-
racter. He readily set aside his own
personality—barring a few occa-
sions when the storm and stress
of passion swept away the artificial
dam he had purposely set up. Per-
haps the same reason holds good for
his earlier hesitation as regards
political partisanship.

Still, there are signs that he vaguely felt even in younger years that to which afterwards he gave the most fearless expression. In his introduction to 'Picturesque and Romantic Westphalia,'—in which Levin Schücking co-operated with him—he sits, a free judge of the Vehmgericht, in the chair, calling around him the Deliverers and Patriots of old—Armin the Cheruskian, Justus Möser, and other champions of German right. From the yellow sand of the Sahara he goes back to the red earth of his own Westphalian home.

*Die Palme dorrt, der Wüstenstaub verweht:—
An's Herz der Heimath wirft sich der Poet,
Ein Aenderer und doch Derselbe.*

Later on he gives us 'Auch eine Rhein-Sage.' It is dedicated to Karl Simrock, the distinguished Germanistic writer and poet, together with whom Freiligrath then edited the 'Rhenish Year-book for Art and Poetry.' The patriotic spirit begins to get the mastery, in that poem, over the Oriental longings. The green waves of the vine-clad German river have washed from the poet's brain the accumulated sand of the Desert. With an 'ἔνα, ἀλλὰ λίοντα,' he uncereemoniously bids the camels and the lions to go their way. Seeing with astonishment that the fair banks of the Rhine are still haunted by the Dragon of Monkdom, he asks for sword and buckler to battle against the monster. In self-travesty he accepts the name of a 'Van Amburgh of German Poesy'—a tamer of beasts that must be caged or killed. Against the haughty Archbishop of Köln he boldly runs a-tilt. The struggles of our present days against theocratic insolence moved his heart already more than thirty-five years ago. At that time, also, he is known to have taken great interest in Niklas Becker's 'Sie sollen ihn nicht haben,'—a reply, more patriotic perhaps than poetic, to the French hankering after the

Rhine frontier under the of Thiers.

'A Child's Tale' ('Kin märchen') is another of his patriotic allegories. In it it reminds us of Uhland's 'A Tale of German' (Gustav Schwab, like Chamisso helped in making Freiligrath's productions better known; tone of the Swabian occasionally tinges the lays of the Westphalian bard. In wrought form, the 'Kin märchen' stigmatises the antitutorial deeds of King Ernst of Hanover. The brothers who were among the Se Göttingen that resisted tyranny, are depicted specially happy allusiveness, best spirit of the 'Märchen seem to hear warbling woo from a glen; to scent the cating perfume of the wild Yet, political sentiment through this sylvan idyll mountain-torrent wrathfully ing over rocks.

Again, the 'Vision' also mentioned. It was written when Freiligrath was rapidly forming his views. A way-worn, late of an evening iron gate of a churchyard on the Rhine, the poet falls into a dream. The low murmuring of their rustle in leaf and grass; the ternal fragranciness of flowers, him into a dream. From the wreaths of the Rhine, a phantom advances towards him Zinkgref, who had patri struck the lyre during the of the Thirty Years' War, a bleeding Germania lay a victim. Zinkgref had died Goar, where Freiligrath now The phantom form calls up to join the struggle for free

*Ich sang in jenem Streite:
'Dum gehet tapfer an!'
Tritt du auch auf die Seite
Der Freiheit, als ein Mann!*

*weisen wolle schmettern !
'od, was Acht, was Bann !
n den kommenden Wettern
lu : ' Drum gehet tapfer an !'*

are some effective archaic in this martial lay. Like and Uhland, Freiligrath judicious selection, introduced, into our language, graphic words from the strong well of speech, or striking locutions had been lost. Here and the 'Vision' has a ring to the patriotic appeals of Hans Sachs. The pretence of a coming strife full of is most pathetically rendered. All these poems were composed before Freiligrath formally joined the People's party.

In 1841, he married Ida, the daughter of Professor Dr. Weimar, she had, as a daughter, the favourite of Goethe, in company of whose grand-daughter she grew up. Through her, whilst they were on a visit at Bonn on the Rhine, an acquaintance accidentally brought which was to ripen into a fruitful companionship. Soon after marriage, Freiligrath went to Frankfurt, occupied with the editing of a paper specially devoted to English literature. Bulwarks, and other notable figures, promised to become contributors. Owing to the sudden failure of the publishers, the venture fell through. About this time Freiligrath made the acquaintance of General von Radowicz, who afterwards played a prominent part in State affairs. Radowicz endeavoured to gain over the poet as a contributor to a new periodical, but, apparently lucrative, was in spite of the precarious circumstances of Freiligrath's circumstances. He, like Alexander von Humboldt, without the poet's knowledge, induced King Frederick IV. of Prussia to bestow

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upon him a small literary pension. This he accepted, and then resided at St. Goar, amidst the charms of nature; enjoying a happy family life and the friendship of Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Emanuel Geibel, and Longfellow, who also sojourned for some time at that favoured spot of the beautiful river.

IV.

At last Freiligrath, too, had to choose the banner under which he was to fight. Young Germany's claims could no longer be disregarded. It was well that he took his resolution in right good earnest. Goethe's greatness would not have suffered had he, in the best vein of patriotic Greek poets and artists, taken sides in the cause of freedom and national independence, instead of humbly waiting upon the Corsican tyrant, and otherwise wrapping himself up in an Olympian impassibility which the intellectual leaders of ancient Hellas would have spurned. There is, after all, true Hellenism, as well as that pseudo-Hellenism which knows not the law of Solon. Germany would not, for so long a time, have been torn in two opposite directions, and thus suffered in her national life, as well as in her literature, had the lofty teaching of Schiller not been counteracted, as it were, by the contemplative quietism, or the epicurean *poco-curante* manner, of the elder great poet.

I know this is sometimes said to be a politician's view, by those who exaggerate the maxim of 'Art for Art's sake.' But is it true that the poet who renders powerfully those emotions of the heart which will forever be the subject of lyric and dramatic treatment, or who is a master in the delineation of the beauties and the strife of Nature, must lose in greatness by sympathising with the welfare of the people in whose tongue he sings, and with the progress of mankind at large?

Are the Kalistratic Ode and the Song of Deborah to be reckoned as nothing better than versified leading articles? Is not Troubadour and Minne-singer poesy full of strictly political lays? Goethe said: 'A political song—a nasty song!' When Uhland mixed in the fray of State matters, Goethe expressed a fear lest the politician should absorb the poet. But then, Goethe had unfortunately little sympathy with the nation's yearning for freedom. Moreover, the Zeus of Weimar himself by no means hesitated to occupy the post of a Prince's Minister, which was mixing in politics, after all—only in a different kind of politics from that in which Uhland took interest, both as a poet and as a representative of the people. Even Goethe, however, composed some political poems, so to say—pieces of occasion, referring to High Mightinesses. If we must make our choice between two kinds, we may be allowed to prefer the pieces 'of occasion' written by the singers of Freedom.

In 1844, Freiligrath gave up the small pension which he had drawn for two years. Unwilling to appear like one chained to the car of a despotic romanticism—which in reality, and at heart, he never was—he now published his grand 'Credo' ('Ein Glaubensbekenntniss'). In the preface he 'openly and resolutely, by word and deed, confessed himself a member of the Opposition.' With perfect truth he said that he had not gone over from one camp to the other, but that he had simply progressed and more fully developed himself; that he had, in fact, gone through the same schooling as an individual through which the nation as a whole had gone. He avowed that he had now stepped forth upon the battlements of Party. 'For me,' he concluded, 'no life any more without liberty! As long as the oppression lasts under which I see my fatherland sighing, my heart will bleed, my mind will

rebel; my lips and my arms not rest in striving to bring better days, in accordance with forces! My face is turned to the Future!'

How could the pen give an adequate idea, at the present time, the tumult of delight with which a declaration of a favourite poet received? Striking the key with a powerful rendering of Burns's 'A Man's a Man for that,' Freiligrath, in rapid succession, gave forth lays of life and patriotic songs. I mention here: 'Freedom and Riots,' 'Jacta est Alea;' and 'Flowers the Undying Human Tree,' a patriotic poem in the sweetest allegorical style. Again, there are: 'When?' 'In the Madhouse,' both braving the soul-murdering censorship of the Press; 'England to Germany' (after Thomas Campbell); 'The Harz,' a forest tragedy, and out of the blood-written laws of the days before our revolution; and 'Hamlet.' In 'Flags,' Freiligrath's German patriotism, his sympathy with Liberal aspirations, as well as watchful mistrust of a coming aggression that must be sternly rebuffed, are remarkably indicated.

He further gave 'Dreams of a German Fleet' (dating 1843); 'Two Sonnets,' asking for a so-called good Prince, but harsh tyrant that would rouse to resistance, so that they might wring from him a Magna Charta of Freedom; 'To Hoffmann von Fallersleben,' a stirring record of a famous interview in which Freiligrath's Liberal opinions were fully confirmed; and various poems, which greatly contrived to fan the flames of the national movement. The black-rebel banner, then reckoned yet a sign of high treason by tyrannical ties, is boldly raised in these German princes are taunted carrying the train of the Imperial

of the Calmuck Czar, the
 rer of Poland. 'The Tartar
 tore the Rose of Poland,'
 an expression of his, which
 Prussian censorship forbade.
 'Hamlet' he sang:

land is Hamlet! Solemn, slow,
 in its gates walks every night
 tried Freedom to and fro,
 fills the watchers with affright.
 and the lofty shape, white-clad,
 bids the shrinker in his fear—
 the avenger! draw thy blade!
 he poured poison in mine ear!

and other courageous utter-
 -for instance: 'Ye know the
 of the Scots,' in which he held
 fiery cross of rebellion against
 y—soon led to his persecu-
 He fled for safety lest his
 be the fate of the many
 s that had rotted in a
 on. First taking up his
 in Belgium, then in Switzer-
 and lastly in this country,
 to mount the hard stairs of
 and to eat the bitter bread
 description. But the 'free
 his soul' did not bend. He
 w no longer under a censor-
 hich had suppressed even the
 tion of Burns's 'A Man's a
 ra' that;' and he used his full
 for bold democratic appeals.
 he praised that 'Freedom
 Press' which, when threat-
 y Royal despotism, refunds
 into bullets, as during the
 Revolution of July. Songs
 strain of the 'Marseillaise'—
 n honour of Labour—prole-
 songs, foreshadowing great
 les to come—grim dirges
 membrance of men mas-
 at Leipzig, in 1845, at
 der of a despotic king,
 from his lyre. These were
 all over Germany in single

I well remember the deep
 sion they made in the secret
 tions and confidential meet-
 ings at that time among free-
 l citizens, and especially
 the working class and the
 youth in the South.

Republican allusions are already
 contained in his 'Brutus,' written
 for the Düsseldorf Carnival in 1845.
 There he recommended the example
 of the avenger of Lucretia. A
 thrilling prophecy of the coming
 political earthquake is to be found
 in his 'Wie man's macht.'

*Und wie ein Sturm zur Hauptstadt geht's!
 Anschwillt ihr Zug, lawinengleich!
 Umstürzt der Thron; die Krone fällt; in
 seinen Angeln ächzt das Reich!
 Aus Brand und Blut erhebt das Volk sieghaft
 sein lang zertreten Haupt:—
 Wehen hat jegliche Geburt!—So wird es
 kommen, eh' ihr glaubt!*

With a heart full of delicacy; one
 of the most loving husbands and
 fathers; the very image of tenderness
 in his family circle, he poetically
 preached the gospel of deliverance by
 the sword to a nation lying in the
 meshes of its tyrants, big and petty.
 Even in Switzerland, then much
 hemmed in by the pressure of the
 surrounding monarchies, the right of
 asylum was no longer vouchsafed
 to him when he thus fearlessly un-
 bosomed himself. So, in 1846, he
 had to seek for real personal freedom
 on the English shores. But that
 freedom brought with it, for him,
 the harsh necessity of going back,
 for the sake of earning a livelihood,
 to a daily occupation not worthy of
 his genius.

The Revolution came. Enthusi-
 astically did he acclaim the French
 Republic, as well as the previous
 Swiss and Italian movements. All
 nations he urged to a league of
 universal brotherhood. In the
 stormy days from 1848-49 he was
 the chosen singer of the Revolu-
 tionary Epic of Germany. His
 'Berlin,' 'A Song of Death,'
 'Trotz Alledem,' 'The Dead to the
 Living,' 'Vienna,' 'Robert Blum,'
 will live in our literature as the
 grandest outpourings of the poetry
 of freedom. This is not an opinion
 his friends alone hold. It is a view
 distinctly uttered but a few weeks
 ago, after his death, by the German
 press of all party-shades. Long

before, Robert Prutz—in 'German Literature of our Days' (1859)—had said that whatever difference there might be in political views, 'in a poetical sense his "The Dead to the Living" was a master-piece of which the literature of all times scarcely furnishes a counterpart.' This opinion is the more valuable because Prutz, not sharing the decided Republican principles of Freiligrath, speaks, in another passage, of 'artistic and æsthetic errors' connected with the expression of extreme political ideas. Yet, he adds that any reader who is truthful towards himself will be unable to escape from the overpowering, almost daimon-like, influence of these enthusiastic and heroic lays.

The whole cycle of a people's rising, victory, and resubjection under the armed heel of tyranny, is sung by Freiligrath in organ-peals that must affect the most sluggish heart. The storms of political passion are tuned by him to mighty accords, swelling now, in measured motion, to a noble hymn of love of freedom; then breaking forth once more into terrible strains, in which contemptuous irony is blended with a death-defying wrath. There is a monumental grandeur about these epic hymns. They will remain great literary memorials of a nation's struggle for political emancipation.

v.

In the early days of reaction—in August, 1848—a Crown prosecution was instituted against Freiligrath for the poem so highly praised by Robert Prutz. From their clammy, ensanguined graves, the poet had made those who had fallen on the barricades at Berlin pathetically appeal to the Living to stand by the threatened conquests of freedom. A short quotation will suffice to suggest an idea of the anger this poem created at Court:

*Die Kugel mitten in der Brust,
brat gespalten,
So habt ihr uns auf blut'gem Thron
die Luft gehalten!
Hoch in die Luft mit wildem Lärm
unsere Schmerzerbeude
Dem, der zu tödten uns befohl,
auf ewig werde!
Dass er sie sehe Tag und Nacht,
und im Traume—
Im Öffnen seines Bibulbuchs wie
pagnarechens!
Dass wie ein Brandmal sie sich
Seele brenne:
Dass nirgendwo und nimmermehr
sich können!
Dass jeder qualversagte Mund,
rothe Wunde
Ihn schrecks noch, ihn ängste an
letzten Stunde!
Das jedes Schluchsen um um
Sterbenden noch schalle,
Dass jede todte Faust sich noch
Hauptes balle—
Mög' er das Haupt nun auf ein
andere Leute pflegen,
Mög' er es auf ein Blutgerüst
Atmen legen!*

The effect of this poem has been immense. Arrested towards the end of August Freiligrath was put on in October, before a jury seldorf. Sympathy with his cause led to a striking demonstration. On from prison to the Courthouse, women strewed flowers. A verdict of 'Not guilty' was brought in amidst enthusiasm.

Persecution did not dampen his courage. Witness his lay in honour of the October Vienna, and of the murdered Robert Blum. The form with the stirring words:

*Wenn wir noch knien könnten
auf den Knien;
Wenn wir noch beten könnten,
für Wien!
Doch lange schon verlernten wir
und Gebet—
Der Mann ist uns der beste, der
aufrecht steht!
Die Hand ist uns die liebste,
und Lanze schwingt!
Der Mund ist uns der frohe
Schlachtgesänge singt!*

But the popular move

to defeat. First in Austria, then in Saxony. In summer 1849, on the blood-fields of Baden, where, after a series of battles in the open field, nearly a hundred thousand men were engaged, a cruel revenge was taken against the prisoners of the victorious Royalist army. Many popular leaders were executed by court-martial decree; tens of thousands cast into dungeons; countries filled with exiles, the small Grand Duchy of Baden alone, in larger numbers, had been driven forth from land or France!

His life was stormy and troublous. After a poetical 'Farewell to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*' (1849), with which he had been connected for a short time at Köln, he was led, during the next two years, a life of vexation, residing, for a season, at different places, never sure of being tolerated in any one. In order to avoid a prosecution, he had again to go abroad into exile. Not as a spirit-broken wanderer, however, he went forth, but as a man who would not lose courage in spite of deep woe. He had intended to emigrate to America. Hence his touching 'Song to my Children.' He finally went for England, now still uttering a deeply-tinged Democratic lay, such as 'The Revolution,' in which a deluge-like battle-spirit is mingled with some of the firmest of ancient Hebrew poetry.

In England, in 1851, that year when he made the acquaintance, as he was destined to become a poet, of a man extending, until his death, over nearly twenty-five years, when I think of the many hours I and mine have spent with him and his family, either in London, or near the place where he has so rapturously lived, when I glance at the frequent winter years, for weeks, often

almost daily—intimate correspondence we had on matters great and small, in which all his peculiarities of character come out with life-like fidelity, I feel an emotion to which I must not give expression here. As a private correspondent, even as in his business capacity, that imaginative poet was punctuality itself. In his clear, flowing, calligraphic hand-writing, not a dot was ever wanting. Among these records of his past days there are not a few of a playful kind. He bore up well against the irony of Fate, which again chained a Bard of Freedom to a clerk's desk in a London merchant's house, and then fettered his flight by compelling him to act as a manager of the Bank of Switzerland. 'Pegasus yoked' truly applied to him. Yet sometimes, though at long intervals, he suddenly freed the captive steed, taking once more a ride, on its wonder-wings, into the old romantic region.

The little leisure left to him in London he employed in continuing to render English poets into German. He had done the same formerly for the Odes, the Ballads, and the 'Twilight Songs' of Victor Hugo, with whose manner he had some affinity; as well as for various poems of Lamartine, Jean Reboul, Auguste Barbier, Pierre Dupont, Alfred de Musset, and Alessandro Manzoni. His version of Shakespeare's 'Venus and Adonis,' which was published already in 1850, is an unmatched masterwork of repoeitisation. Some of the English sonnetts of the sixteenth and seventeenth century he also poetically rewrought in German. Of modern bards, he translated many poems of Burns, William Cooper, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, Charles Lamb, Keats, John Wilson, Thomas Campbell, Walter Scott, Allan Cunningham, Moore, Hood, Ebenezer Elliott, Felicia Hemans, L. E. L., Mary Howitt, Milnes, Barry Cornwall, Macaulay, and Tennyson. Longfellow's 'Hiawatha,' being in

a taste and tone which had a special attraction for Freiligrath, has been rendered by him in a splendid version. Of late, he also gave in German a few of Bret Harte's and Walt Whitman's productions. Various Scotch and Irish popular ballads have been translated by him in strains as noble as they are faithful. It is to be observed that in the choice he made for his translations, he not only selected pathetic subjects, but now and then also a song filled with a tone of winsome archness. One of his own earliest, unpublished poems is said to have explained the sloping tower of Soest, where he then lived as a merchant's apprentice, from a desire of that tower to show due courtesy to the belles promenading on the town-walls.

Several of his translations from the English are sung all over Germany. This is especially the case with Burns's, 'Oh, wert thou in the cauld blast' ('O säh' ich auf der Haide dort im Sturme dich'). The very power and musical flow with which he repoeitised a great many songs referring to the joys and sorrows of the human heart, may be regarded as a proof that in this case, as in some others, he voluntarily kept his own lyre mute on a subject he would have been very able to treat upon. So great a master in poetical translation our country never has had; not even Rückert excepted. This paramount ability of his truly makes him a link between English and German literature.

On English soil he scarcely ever appeared in public. Neither had he, even in the slightest degree, the gift of public speech; nor was the agitation and turmoil of debates congenial to his habits. On the rare occasions on which he could not avoid saying a few words in public, he uttered them with extreme difficulty. Tall, broad-chested, with a massive head surrounded by waving brown locks; of firm and steady

glance, almost desty became any men. With all the resolution showed when a great principle was at stake, he yearned for that 'place in Liberty' which is the pivot of Algernon Sidney's bell-shaped device.

At the death of Johanna Kink (1858) he raised a lyric monument to her heroic spirit, inscribing with the names of Milton and Cromwell, of Algernon Sidney and Lady Russell. For the great Schiller Commemoration (1859) which the Germans of London held in the Crystal Palace, he wrote, at their desire, a noble festive antata. When the emancipation of Schleswig-Holstein from the Danish yoke was wrought, he wrote with us in the London Convention, helping to urge the full deliverance of a kindred German people. At the entry of Garibaldi, he joined the German deputation, in whose ranks the writer of this essay has to testify, to the Deliverer of the Two Sicilies, the national sympathy for the Italian cause. When the movement for German Freedom and Union was resumed, about twelve years ago, he publicly took side with those who raised anew the Democratic banner. His name on the title-page of the *Deutscher Eidgenosse* we then edited; surrounded by those of a number of men eminent in politics, science, philosophy, and literature—like Dr. L. Büchner, Georg Fein, Ludwig Feuerbach, M. Gritzner, General Haug, Friedrich Hecker, Theodor Mögling, K. Nauwerck, Theodor Olshausen, Emil Rittershaus, General Sigel, F. W. Schlössel, Gustav Struve, J. D. H. Temme, N. Titze and others.

The war of 1866—which rent Germany in twain, found him opposed to Prussian Royalty. Two stirring poems of his, 'Walden's Italian Summer Song,' and a 'Song for Prussia,' entered in a manner his

tion at what he, too, re-
as a fratricidal war:

*o Volk, um zu vernichten,
z dich zu verderben droht!—
das Schwert! Gebrauch's zum
ten!
tschwert thut uns heute Noth!
die Büchse! An die Backe
ben denn—und gut gezielt!
'mach' mit dem Junkerpacke,
h mit deinem Glück gespielt!
mer dich zur Wahlstatt schleifen
den Dienst der Tyrannei!
laster wirf der Krone Reifen,
h das Szepter keck entzwei!*

again:

*zeit—nicht die Freiheit:
zeit durch die Freiheit;
zeit durch die Willkür nicht.*

o time afterwards, when the
of age began to fall upon
ow, he was called back to
ny by a National Testimo-
-stined to enable him to de-
imself in leisure to literary
s. Only a very few in-
of such national testimo-
ave as yet occurred in Ger-

In his case the appeal was
responded to—another proof
hold he had on the national
irrespective of party. A
l appeal by Emil Rittershaus
the nation, at that time, to
lue provision whilst strength
ill left in him. It was in
r, 1869, that Freiligrath
l once more, after long years
e, on his native 'red earth.'
clings that arose in him are
ed in the 'Thanks to his
land,' which he read at a
et at Bielefeld, and which
thus:

*sind die alten Berge wieder,
ist das alte Buchengrün;
ist, von Fels und Halde nieder,
alte, lust'ge Quellensprünge.
sind sie rauschend alle beide,
alte Wald, die alte Haide:
sch' auf Wiese, sch' auf Weide
alten treuen Blumen blühen.*

the way to his birthplace,
ld, all the villages through
he came were festively
d; the streets strewed with

flowers. As his place of final
sojourn he selected Stuttgart, in
the South, where the popular party
still possessed a Democratic or-
ganisation. At the same time his
strong national sentiments, free
from all particularism, ever made
him put the cause of national in-
dependence and cohesion before
every party consideration—true to
the maxim contained in his 'Two
Flags' (1844):

Das Höchste bleiben Land und Heerd!

On the romantic banks of the
Neckar, in Swabia, the French war-
cry awoke his muse. He answer-
ed with the trumpet-blast of his
'Hurrah! Germania':

*Hurrah! du stolzes, schönes Weib!
Hurrah, Germania!
Wie kühn, mit vorgebeugtem Leib,
Am Rheine stehst du da!
Im vollen Brand der Juli-Flut,
Wie ziehst du frisch dein Schwert!
Wie trittst du zornig frohgemuth
Zum Schutz vor deinen Heerd!*

This war-hymn was followed by
a poem: 'To Wolfgang in the Field,'
containing the father's benediction
to his son who had offered himself
as a volunteer, and, when not ac-
cepted because born abroad, had
joined a corps for the relief of the
wounded through the terrible days
of Sedan and Metz, and until the
siege of Paris. A most popular war-
song of Freiligrath is 'The Bugler
of Gravelotte.' Down to the last,
he stood to the national cause.
Having for a short while returned
with his wife to England, he, in
February 1871, signed with Dr.
Ednard Bronner and myself the
'Appeal to the French People and to
its National Assembly,' which I had
drawn up, and which was propagated
in France in many thousands of
copies. At Forest Hill, where we
had gone to see the old friends, I read
to him the draft of the French text;
and even as, in a great revolutionary
crisis, he had cast away the scabbard
and pronounced himself in right
good earnest, so he also, in this

great national crisis, at once gave his hearty assent without a moment's delay.

The death of one of his sons, Otto, who served as a one year's volunteer in a Grenadier regiment at Stuttgart, threw a deep gloom over the family circle. During another visit which Freiligrath made here—where his two daughters, both married to German merchants, as well as his youngest son, Percy, live—I found him deeply affected and somewhat changed. His glad-some cheerfulness had vanished. The heart-rending grief that had come over him, and from which he seems never to have recovered, is expressed in a long poem of indescribable sadness. Of late, he lived at Cannstatt, close by Stuttgart; recently occupied with the editorship of an English magazine, published in Germany.

One of his last productions ('Lang, lang ist's her') refers to the unveiling of the Armin or Hermann statue in the Teutoburg Forest, near which he himself was born. In his earlier poems there are frequent allusions to the Cheruskian chieftain who overthrew the Roman yoke. Averse to all provincialism in political matters, Freiligrath had a natural love for the scenery and the great historical associations of his Westphalian home. In 'The Emigrant Poet' he once said:

*Ich lag heut Nacht in süßen stillen
Träumen*

*Von meiner Heimath und von meinen Lieben.
Ich wandelte bei meiner Kindheit Bäumen,
Wo ich wohl wünschte, dass sie mich
begrüben.*

This has been recently read as a

wish, uttered well-nigh forty years ago, of having his last resting place near Detmold. Without the knowledge of his family, a project was therefore started of solemnly transferring his remains to the Grotenburg, near the Armin monument but the assent of his widow has not been obtained to this proposal.

He died as he had lived, a true son of his fatherland. At Cannstatt where before the vine-clad window of his large library the purling sound of the waves of the Neckar is heard he suddenly breathed his last, like Goethe, in his chair; in accordance with a prediction he had often playfully uttered. By a remarkable coincidence, his life ended on March 18, the anniversary of that Revolution at Berlin which he had sung in such mighty strains. From all parts of Germany, garlands were sent to adorn his bier. Even from distant countries there came messages of reverent condolence to his widow.

Gottfried Kinkel, Emil Ritterhaus, Ernst Scherenberg, Albrecht Traeger, and others, paid their lyrical tribute to his memory. In Kinkel's beautiful dirge it is truly said that 'the laurel wreath and the civic crown' are secured to Freiligrath. His triple quality as one of the poetical glories of Germany, irrespective of party; as the bard of the People's cause, whose songs heralded in the movement of 1848, and accompanied its tragic struggles; and as the patriotic singer of his country right in times of national danger secures to him immortality in the poetical Pantheon of the German nation.



ASER'S MAGAZINE.

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LORD MACAULAY.

man who has played a distinguished part in life, and influenced either the opinions of his contemporaries or becomes the property

We desire to know, a right to know, the of the person who has confidence. And the obscurity which is those whose actions only themselves or circle, is refused to

ures which have been r the representatives When the life of an is written, he is from the grave for of the ultimate judgment. He has been in the Senate House, the Bench, or in the ture. His power has ed, his services have ed, his guidance has l and followed. The ins whether the moral r corresponds to the ther we can respect e been forced to ad- ther he is to furnish stration of the irre- enius, and of the de- th the most brilliant ften accompanied and

y been the fortune of to have a task laid ch he has been able to satisfactorily as that len to Mr. Trevelyan, O. LXXVIII. NEW SERIES.

when called on to write an account of Lord Macaulay. Of the manner in which Mr. Trevelyan's own part of the work has been done it is impossible to speak too highly. No one detested unworthy biographical reticence more heartily than Lord Macaulay himself. 'Believing,' says Mr. Trevelyan, 'that my uncle, if he were now living, would have sufficient greatness of mind to wish to be shown as himself, I will suppress no trait in his disposition or incident in his career which might provoke blame or question. Such in all points as he was the world has a right to know him.' Acting conscientiously on this principle, Mr. Trevelyan has produced a portrait as complete as the highest art could render it. For all time those who desire to know what Macaulay was will find him here, line for line, feature for feature, an exact image, from which nothing will hereafter have to be deducted on the score of a relation's partiality, nothing need hereafter be added to compensate for the artist's deficiencies. With instinctive good sense, Mr. Trevelyan has refrained throughout from obtruding his own opinions upon us. Though Lord Macaulay must have been held up before him as a pattern of every excellence in his own early life, he never rushes on into extravagance in speaking of him. He leaves us in doubt whether he individually shares the feelings of unqualified admiration

with which the world at large regards Macaulay. He displays only the respectful affection due to a man who had been the most tender and kind of friends to him, and whose distinguished career shed a lustre on the family to which he belonged.

So far as we have to speak of Lord Macaulay as a man, the most extreme panegyric will scarcely reach into exaggeration. As a son, and as a brother, as a politician, or as a man of the world, in every position into which he was thrown by the accidents of life, the great historian of England was in all respects without blame. His fondness for his sisters was the passion of a lover; for his sisters' children he had a father's tenderness. He was without fortune. Nothing in his biography surprised us more than to hear that the brilliant Macaulay, who passed with a single step from Trinity College to a first place in the House of Commons, and from the House of Commons at once into the service of the Crown, who, while under thirty, was welcomed with delight into the most exclusive society in London, was dependent on his pen for his support, was driven at one time to sell the gold medals which had been the rewards of his distinction at Cambridge. Yet being thus dependent and subject to a thousand temptations, either in the example of others or from the exigencies of his own position, he resigned office rather than appear to compromise the convictions of his father. When he might have looked forward with certainty to a seat in the Cabinet, and had his foot upon the ladder by which he might have ascended with ease to the first places in the State, he abandoned his magnificent prospects. He accepted a situation in India for no other purpose than to save money for the support—not of a wife and children of his own, for this form of happiness he either never de-

sired or he deliberately selfishly surrendered—but for the sake of his father and his and sisters, whose support was a reason to fear might be thrown upon himself. By his industry and prudence raised himself beyond usual money matters, he displays the same tempered moderate ambition had not grown by fed on; when honour came it came unsought. When preferment was thrust upon him he accepted it as a duty rather than as an object he desired for himself. What brought him wealth liberal to extravagance, even to the less fortunate men of his own profession. Yet his notwithstanding Messrs. Low celebrated cheque, which a wonder of the City, was necessary only as the result of success. A popular artist receive for his pictures in four years as much as Macaulay by the labour of a life. His owner has realised five times much merely by the fluctuating price in a single season. In private circle, by his nearness to his intimate friends, by his wants, by those to whom he is known in their undress they are off their guard and his natural temper shows itself Macaulay was adored.

And he was what he was through any effort of self-restraint, not by subduing any meaner part of him by will or conscience, but he never seems to have felt a temptation to be otherwise. Not the grosser forms of indulgence, higher forms of infirmity, or love of fame or power, the smallest attraction for him were as simple as his position was pure. His highest ambition was to take his father and nieces to the shows of

es with them in the
at Ormond Street, cr
entines or nursery
em. Tired as he often
neral society, 'he was

Mr. Trevelyan tells
alone with those he
people are very fond
but he was the only
knew that never tired
them.' Whole days
sisters' boys and girls,
otes in his journal as
appy. His nursery
lering that they be-
class of poems which
l in them and are in-
ch children to be good,
he best that exist :

was a nice little girl,
a little rosy face,
said 'Our Father,'
says said her grace.

ht the browned potatoes,
veal nice and hot,
good bread pudding
g from the pot.

the retribution which
boys who talked in

at a good big stick,
an Uncle's thumb,
ght those boys were in
Beadle come.

e turned out of the church,
ere soundly beat,
se wicked naughty boys
ing down the street.

bawling,' not crying;
ement being still par-
ued, and the world as
g wholly the beadle's
all these light produc-
day's there is uniformly
tion. He would never
a musical nonsense,
gles which chime on
to nursery through
ations; still less would
nated such a mystery
th, or such a poem as
Fox, in which fate is on
ide, if he is only clever
ad Miss Edgeworth
aint a model Man of

Genius, without fault in mind or
conduct, she could have drawn
her portrait line for line from Lord
Macaulay, and she would still have
left out traits more delicate, more
graceful, more interesting than any
which she was able to copy, as
nature's work is always superior to
the most perfect imitation of it.

To Miss Edgeworth it is likely
that Lord Macaulay's intellect
would have seemed as perfect as his
character, his writings as excellent
as his personal conduct was admir-
able.

On this point it is inevitable that
there must and will be wide differ-
ence of opinion. That Macaulay
was a most remarkable man, that
he had some intellectual qualities of
a high and even extraordinary kind,
no sensible person will deny. If
we offer reasons for doubting whe-
ther he was all that an admiring
world believed him to be; if we
feel uncertain whether he may be
followed safely as a guide in what
he has written of England and
English affairs, he is himself the
very last person who would blame
us for expressing ourselves freely.
Whatever inequalities or imper-
fections his mind may appear to
us to have possessed, at all events
he was transparently honest. What
he wrote he believed to be true.
He was never unwilling to be cor-
rected if, as rarely happened, he
could be persuaded to see that he
had been wrong. It might have
been more difficult to show him
that he had habits of mind which
made him often and necessarily
wrong. Nevertheless, it is our duty,
if we speak of him at all, to follow
his own precepts, and say of him
what we also believe true. And
this is the more necessary, be-
cause the uprightness and integrity
of his character as he is now re-
presented to us will give addi-
tional and deserved authority to the
writings which he has bequeathed
to us.

Lord Macaulay had received from nature, to begin with, the most singular clearness of sight. Whether he saw far or deep is another question; but what he did see he saw with perfect distinctness. His style is the most lucid in the language. We are never for a moment at a loss for his meaning. His outlines are firm, because he saw exactly what he wanted to describe, and nothing is left to be imagined, because nothing is surmised to exist beyond what the writer perceived.

Again, on all common and some uncommon things, he had a sound and healthy understanding. In his observations on ordinary occurrences, or the relative value of the different objects which men pursue in life; on education and conduct, on the character of his contemporaries when peculiar theories do not prejudice or render him partial, on great public affairs removed from English traditionary politics; on the government of India; nay, even in his Histories, where the scene or the person which he has to describe lies outside the traditionary stream, and he can bring his faculties to bear without prejudice—the prevailing tone is that of strong common sense; not particularly penetrating, but simple, wholesome, and practical.

To these two faculties he added, not the softer and deeper emotions which belong to a more profound cast of mind, but the superficial passions of common sense; the passions which naturally overflow in self-confidence, in vehement conclusions, and ready rhetorical utterance.

And he possessed another quality, and this in extraordinary excess—one of the most wonderful memories which was ever owned by man. Had Macaulay's other gifts been on a level with his memory, he would have been a miracle of nature. Being what he

was, he possessed a store improved and cultivated by use, which supplied him with an unbounded store of language, a magazine no less inexhaustible of real or supposed facts, to support or illustrate every opinion or position which he might form. He could repeat *The Lay of the Minstrel*, and half *Marmion* by heart. By the time he wrote he could have rewritten *Lost from memory*, the *Progress*, and even, so it is said, eight volumes of *Sir Charles Oman*; in mature age, merely whether his power was fully learnt a play of *Shakespeare* in two hours; and these were the best of his labours. From the earliest years he had devoured books that he could find, retained everything that he read, the same singular tenacity of recollection, and he had exercised himself in the use of language continued composition in prose and verse. When he was a little boy he partly completed a poem on 'Magnus,' unconscious, perhaps, he was celebrating the great chief of his own race. Aulay is the modern form of Aulay, and his grandfather, Aulay, was properly Olaf Magnusson.

So furnished, young Macaulay was launched into life with a fever of revolution was commencing, which had been kindled by the reaction that had followed the Reign of Terror and the fall of Napoleon. Once more, the enthusiastic and hopeful world was beginning to build an extension of political power to the masses of the people, a panacea for all the woes of the afflicted society. Abuses really existed made reform a kind of a necessity; and reform associated with all the delusions and expectations which made it like the approach of the Authority was regarded as

necessary evil so long as man is immature and incapable of care of themselves, but a vision in itself of the principle which belonged to man as being his own master, and which privilege his nature never develop into the period of which it was capable.

Economy was held to prove that the State could interfere with trade to the benefit of the merchant, the manufacturer, the consumer, and the country itself. The commercial revolution was in its most wholehearted condition when every individual was pursuing his own interest in an enlightened manner. The principle was extended to the province of human activity. The best of the community was identified with the interest of the individual, and the interest of the individual with the interest of the community. Each decently educated man was considered to be a judge of what was good for man; the wisest rulers could do no more. A better state of society might be anticipated from the united efforts of every single man to improve his own condition; but had ever been arrived at by paternal authority of the kings or aristocracies. If aristocracies were permitted in power, they could never be deterred from abusing it, and the chief need of every nation and world was a reform of its government, which would admit the number of the people to a share in the government. The history of the past was revised in the light of the new ideas. The adoption of the English nation was by a succession of epochs, of which a step had been taken in the direction of final reform.

(says Lord Macaulay) is so interesting and so delightful as to contemplate the England of Domest-

day Book, the England of the curfew and the Forest Laws, the England of crusaders, monks, schoolmen, astrologers, serfs, outlaws, became the England which we know and love, the classic ground of liberty and philosophy, the school of all knowledge, the mart of all trade. The charter of Henry Beaufort, the great charter, the first assembling of the House of Commons, the extinction of personal slavery, the separation from the See of Rome, the Petition of Right, the Habeas Corpus Act, the revolution, the establishment of unlicensed printing, the abolition of religious disabilities, the reform of the representative system, all these seem but successive stages of our great revolution.

A few serious persons fifty years ago—a great many more serious persons now—might be found to hesitate before admitting the conclusions so triumphantly thrust upon them. They see, undoubtedly, a series of changes—changes in one direction, and in a direction which may be called progress. But there is still a question, What kind of progress?—progress from what to what? The child progresses into the boy, the boy into the man. The man progresses into old age. He becomes wiser, he becomes weaker, and he dies. These, too, are the successive steps of one movement; and, so far as the past throws light upon the present and the future, nations, too, like individuals, like every organised structure which nature creates, have their youth, their maturity, and their end. The most splendid illustration of a certain kind of progress is the blossoming of the aloe. The aloe for a quarter of a century throws out slowly and deliberately its massive succulent leaves. It is a very type of firmness, durability, and slowness of growth; on a sudden it shoots from the heart of it a stem like the trunk of a tree, expanding at its summit into a coronet of flowers; every infant aloe attached to its root must throw up its own imitative flower-stem, like England's Colonies after the Reform Bill, mimicking the parent constitution.

There is progress ; progress like no other progress, by leaps and bounds. We may imagine a self-conscious alone in the year of its glory contrasting itself with its melancholy past, and dreaming only of splendour more unexampled which is yet to come—ignorant all the while that its progress is progress into death.

But Political Reform, we are told, means liberty, and liberty is not death but life. Again, however, we ask what kind of liberty : liberty to the good, or liberty to the fool and knave ? the liberty of anarchy, or the liberty of wisdom and self-restraint ? There is a liberty which is the just reward of those who have learnt to control their own nature. There is a liberty which is the emancipation from control ; of men who would be happier and better if they were tied hand and foot and preserved from their own incapacity. Were it proved that where authority interferes the least the character of a people indisputably improves ; that they grow braver, stronger, wiser, more vigorous in mind and body, there would be slighter room for misgiving. History, however, gives no such satisfying answer. When a nation breaks loose from a long-continued system of injustice and oppression, the first and sometimes the second generation show qualities of dazzling brilliancy. They retain the habits of obedience to law which they learnt under a sterner rule, while they have shaken off a weight which was preventing them from doing justice to their finer powers. Under such conditions appear those shining epochs which dazzle the eyes of historians, and call out eulogies from them like those which burst from Herodotus, when he was contemplating the glory which dawned on Athens after the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ. Could Herodotus have revived in the succeeding century he would have

been coming sadly to quæ panegyric on the first political liberty. He would have seen the Athens of democracy dwindle into a petty State, whose political genius was divided in faction, preparing for abuse first under the Macedonians then under the despotism of

Who can question, says Macaulay, the enormous progress which France has made since the Revolution. The progress in science and in luxury, perhaps even in the material condition of the poor may have been all that Macaulay affirms ; but the generation of French who were bred under the Bourbons and the old régime, the tricolour round the world, the French bred in the days of the surrender at Sedan.

Spain has more freedom than she possessed three centuries ago, therefore Lord Macaulay concludes that Spain has progressed in proportion. 'Spain,' he says, 'is positively if not relatively advancing.' 'Spain,' he continues, 'is richer now than when a king was brought captive to the footstool of Charles the Fifth.' 'In money Spain may be, though I doubt it, but is Spain more intelligent ? Is Spain richer in intellect ? No Cervantes, no Velasco, no Ferdinand of Toledo, could be produced in modern Spain ; a great man can only be produced from among contemporaries. Lord Macaulay himself was compelled to confess that events did not always follow the course which the theoretical progress demands.

Five hundred years before the Christian era (he says) the citizens of the Ægean Sea formed the militia that ever existed. As was refinement advanced, the system underwent a gradual alteration—within eight years after the battle of Platæa mercenaries were everywhere plying for battle sieges. In the time of Demosthenes it was scarcely possible to persuade the Athenians to enlist for foreign

artans continued to form a national
ing after their neighbours had begun
soldiers; but their military spirit
l with their singular institutions.

Greek constitutions were
ally Aristocratic. As the de-
tic element extended the
ry spirit decayed. The history
ne follows the same lines. The
t Aristocratic Constitution
ped gradually into a popular
nment. The blossom which
time seemed to reward the
sion of the suffrage was as
ived as it was brilliant. The
of the Scipios became the
of Marius, of Clodius, and of
e, and the empire won by
epublic was preserved from
and dissolution by the sub-
on of a Military Dictatorship
e elective magistrates of a self-
ned State. The Republics of
Italy were equally shortlived,
all from the same causes. The
ence of the past gives no
ragement to the belief that
tension of self-government is
arily a progress towards good.

while Macaulay's large
edge prevented him from
; blinding himself to so re-
ble a phenomenon, he never
ed it seriously to weigh with
His mind, though the highest
s kind, was still of an
ry kind. He was the counter-
f his own age. The prevailing
ent of his age, on large
rs or small, Lord Macaulay in-
ly reflected, and to the end of
e never materially dissented
it. The Exhibition of 1851
through his veins a 'glow of
ence.' The glitter of what
out a transcendental bazaar
les' him. 'He feels as if
ng St. Peter's, as witnessing
hing beyond the dreams of
an romance.' He had no
al sympathy with Mrs. Beecher
and Uncle Tom. He was so
sted once with the raving of
d abolitionist that he longed

that some one would put him down.
'Had he not resembled my father
as he slept,' he says, and then
pauses with real humour, leaving
the rest of his sentence to complete
itself. But the Uncle Tom madness
had possession of the English
people. Two million copies of Mrs.
Stowe's book had been sold, and
Macaulay, forgetting Washington
Irving, Prescott, Longfellow, Fen-
imore Cooper, Bryant, and Emerson,
pronounces it 'the most valuable
addition which America has made
to English literature.' The Indian
Mutiny was the rising of a conquered
race against an invader. Had it
been successful, and had Macaulay
been the historian of it at a distance
of two centuries, the Sepoy rising
was precisely an event of the kind
which he would have most delighted
to celebrate. His actual feelings he
could scarcely explain to himself.
He was astonished and pained at
the vindictive sentiments which he
discovered in himself. He had
been shocked and indignant, when
studying Roman history, to read
how 'Fulvius had put to death the
whole Capuan Senate in the Second
Punic War.' Yet 'he had heard
with equanimity that the whole
garrison of Delhi, all the Moulavies
and Mussulman doctors there, had
been treated in the same way.' He
could not comprehend what was
passing in him, and yet the ex-
planation was an easy one. He
was the creation and representative
of his own age. What his own age
said and felt, whether it was wise or
foolish, Macaulay said and felt. It
was the key to his extraordinary
popularity.

With a disposition thus consti-
tuted Macaulay was inevitably
borne along by the flood of popular
sentiment which gathered about
the first Reform Bill. In those
years his mind was forming itself.
The prevailing notions shaped his
philosophy. English history be-
came a living exponent to him of

his favourite ideas, and every incident for ten centuries was viewed as a feature in the great development of the doctrines of Utility and Progress. Statesmen, Warriors, Prelates, Institutions, were brought to the bar of his judgment, and were condemned or applauded as they had obstructed or assisted the objects for which alone humanity existed, and his enormous memory furnished him with illustrations and allusions at every point at which he needed them. Facts will prove anything if those only are selected which make for the conclusion which we desire, and mere fictions convert themselves into facts if asserted with a good conscience and unhesitating confidence. Mr. Thackeray pays an admiring tribute to the vast learning, the wonderful industry, the honest toil, which is visible throughout Lord Macaulay's composition. 'Take at hazard,' he says, 'any three pages, you, an average reader, see one or two or half a score allusions to other historic facts, characters, &c., with which you are acquainted. Your neighbour who has his reading detects more points, more allusions, more happy touches.' The admiration is well deserved so far as it implies that Macaulay's reading was enormous, and that his power of retaining and calling up at will what he remembered was perhaps unexampled. But the power itself was a temptation to him, and when his work is accurately examined may be fatal to its permanence. For Macaulay, like all of us, recollected best what he liked best, and what fitted into his theories, and beyond almost any man of equal ability he accepted everything as certain which was guaranteed to him by a favourite writer, or which from his own point of view appeared inherently credible.

A minute analysis of Lord Macaulay's workmanship would carry us far beyond our present limits.

His Essays, however, as well as the History, continue to be read with avidity wherever the English language is spoken. The exemption from criticism already secured to the Essays by their literary merit and their author's magnificent reputation will be still further established when the world has learnt to see in the innocence and integrity of Macaulay himself a further guarantee for his accuracy. It is worth while, therefore, to notice briefly some specimens of Macaulay's method; of the easy manner in which facts are assumed to be proved, and being established as certain are used by him for historical illustration.

'All the power and influence of Edward III.,' he tells us, 'could not save his Madame de Pompadour from the effects of public hatred.' The character of Edward III. is quietly sacrificed by the assumption of his supposed relations with Alice Perrers. Did Lord Macaulay ever trouble himself to ascertain who Alice Perrers was, and what the evidence was for the scandal against the king? Alice Perrers was a lady of vast hereditary wealth, the wife of a man who had been Viceroy of Ireland, and residing with her husband at Edward's court. Both she and he enjoyed the confidence of the king, and her interference in her husband's interests in a matter connected with his Irish government excited the anger of the House of Lords. She was banished, but she was a favourite with the House of Commons. At their intercession the sentence against her was revised. She returned to her estates in Hertfordshire, when she fell into a long and bitter lawsuit with the Abbot of St. Alban's, and a St. Alban's monk is the only authority for her having been Edward's mistress.

This, it will be said, is a light matter; who cares, after all, whether Edward III. had or had not a Shunammite to console him in his

e? As little, we suppose, does better that, as an illustration of progress made in England in the sixteenth and the seventeenth century, Macaulay writes that '72,000 persons suffered death by the hands of the executioners during the reign of Charles VIII.' The authority for this statement, which has been repeated in every popular History of England, is a Bishop of Lisieux, Pierre de la Primauderie, who, as Jerome Cardan affirms, told him so in a calculation of the horoscope of Edward VI., in the midst of a medley of nonsense about the influence of the planets on the character of Henry. The Bishop of Orange and Grotius tell us that a hundred thousand Netherlands were put to death under the reign of Charles V. The most scrupulous scrutiny in detail fails to discover more than 500. The editor of the *Antijacobin* declares that a million persons were shot and hanged in the Reign of Terror. On a very liberal allowance, the millions may be set at 5,000. On the records of Assizes and commissions in the time of Henry VIII, it would appear that if we divide the 72,000 by 72 we shall be tolerably over the mark.

It is, too, to be of no consequence. It should be allowed, however, to be an offence to assume unnatural facts to have been proved against Henry VIII., and to have been alleged, without wholly without foundation, against Frederick the Great. 'King George,' he tells us, 'was an object of disgust to many of his subjects. There was no place, the seventeenth century was no time, for Sparta and Locusta.' The allusion is unmistakable. The foulest interjection of the relations between Henry VIII. and Carr is assumed in the story of Spots, and his complicity in Henry's murder to conceal it in the story of Locusta. 'A charge of a very bad kind,' he says, was, 'truly or falsely,' brought against Frederick.

He must have been perfectly aware that accusations of this kind always adhere; such is human nature that the very imputation, however groundless, can never be washed off. The reader supposes that an author of Lord Macaulay's reputation would never mention such a thing unless he was himself convinced that there was real ground at least for suspicion. Macaulay's worst enemy could have desired nothing worse for him than that he should have been compelled to bring forward the grounds on which he had libelled these princes' memory.

Lord Strafford fares scarcely better. Strafford is said, without any qualifying word of uncertainty, to have debauched the daughter of Sir Richard Bolton, the Irish Chancellor. Was this charge ever proved, or attempted to be proved? and if it was not proved, is it tolerable that such a story should pass into history under Macaulay's sign manual with no other evidence for it than that some one who hated Strafford said so, and Macaulay who, on *a priori* grounds, believed him capable of any villany, saw no reason for doubting it?

A habit of reckless statement once acquired follows a man when he has no temptation to mislead him.

'The cousins,' he says, speaking of Hampden and Cromwell, 'took their passage in a vessel which lay in the Thames, and which was bound for North America. They were actually on board when an order of council appeared by which the ship was prohibited from sailing.' Is such an order of council existent, or did it ever exist? Is the story more than a loose popular legend? Cromwell himself is reported to have said to Falkland, after the debate on the Grand Remonstrance, that if the Remonstrance had not passed, 'he would have sold all and gone to New England,' and Clarendon sighs over the lost

chance of escape from all that followed. Had Clarendon ever heard that there had been a chance still nearer he would not have failed to have mentioned it. On what authority does Macaulay rely for a narrative so curious and circumstantial?

Sir Thomas More, Macaulay tells us, was ready to die for the doctrine of transubstantiation. Sir Thomas More was ready to burn other people for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation. He died himself for the Papal supremacy.

The English Reformation was a special object of Lord Macaulay's abhorrence. He hated it so heartily that he thought himself entitled to speak of it as 'sprung from brutal passion,' and the chief instruments in forwarding it to have been 'Henry, the murderer of his wives; Somerset, the murderer of his brother; Elizabeth, the murderess of her guest.' This is a rounded, complete, and well-turned sentence, but the words can be justified only on the supposition that Macaulay had satisfied himself that Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard were neither of them guilty of adultery, that Sir Thomas Seymour was not engaged in a treasonable and dangerous plot, and that Mary Stuart was innocent of participation in the Babington Conspiracy. Are any one of these questions in a condition to entitle an historical writer to beg the conclusion by the word 'murderer'?

In the most trifling matter he is as inaccurate as in the most serious. He speaks of the unsolved riddles which perplexed Eliphaz and Zophar. The faults of Eliphaz and Zophar were that they were *not* perplexed. They thought they knew the cause of Job's afflictions, and they were mistaken.

Macaulay talks of a statue of himself which Alexander proposed to hew out of Mount Athos. It is precisely what Alexander did not.

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it would be easy to fill a volume
with illustrations of the value and
accuracy of those brilliant allusions
which so excited the envy and the
admiration of Thackeray.

Mr. Trevelyan says that his
uncle's chief vice was the vice of
imputing motives. He thinks
lightly of it, and quotes approvingly
an expression from the *Spectator*,
that it is 'the vice of rectitude.'
To us it appears a vice which is
the very opposite of rectitude, and
in a historian the most fatal of all
possible faults. The motive is the
fact of facts, the key of the character.
To invent a motive, or to assert
a motive without evidence, is to pass
an arbitrary verdict upon actions
which may admit many interpretations;
and to decide upon one interpretation in preference
to others is to constitute the action
either good or evil, and the actor
either an honest man or a villain.

Conscious of the rightness of his
own intentions, and confident in his
own judgment, Lord Macaulay, in his
delineation of character, yielded
habitually to the temptation of the
completing his historical portraits
and in his desire to set off his pictures
with broad effects of light and
shade gave rein to his habitual care-
lessness of statement in the one
direction where he was principally
bound to be scrupulous. When he
was not carried away by antipathy,
or by theory, he generally endeavoured
to be fair. He could balance the good
points of a character against the evil,
and make allowances for change of time
or difference of situations. In his
essay on Machiavelli's principles of
judgment are so little rigid that he
obliterates the most elementary
moral distinctions. He considers

truth and vice may change under altered circumstances, man whom in the North we as a hero, may in the South be brute and a ruffian; that of England's abhorrence in Italy in the sixteenth seem, if not admirable, more tolerable person than

Lord Macaulay, in over- his argument, illustrates ciency which he confessed in himself—a deficiency in ers of critical analysis. He s to define Hotspur by any y of his qualities. When lone his best he admits that ription which he has given apply equally well to the

Falconbridge. Though ccessful as a critic, he could he level of an artist, when er genius had possession of He can do justice to the l qualities of Lord Clive arren Hastings without ng or blinding himself to ults. He had been in India. himself done admirable ere as an administrator and tor. He knew the Asiatic ment at first hand. He was recognise that the establish- of the English sovereignty in ad rescued the people from able tyranny, and if neither r Hastings had been able to ear of error in the midst of chery and corruption with they were surrounded, he to judge with too pedantic the means by which a re- had been effected, so vast infinitely beneficent. But dour failed him with the en of his own country. In here were no Whig tradi- Indian history had not yet vaded by the passion of dical partisanship. In especially in England, Ma- ad inherited the prejudices, s and political, of the party he belonged. He had be-

come an ardent disciple of the evangel of Utility and Progress, and his prejudices made him unjust on one side, and his theories made him paradoxical upon the other.

Of all the great men whom England has counted among her worthies none fares worse under his hands than Archbishop Cranmer. When Macaulay was young, Catholic emancipation was the favourite cry of the Liberal party. The Ethiopian, it was said, had changed his skin. The Catholic of the nineteenth century had been swept on by the tide of progress; he was now as wide-minded, as tolerant, and as patriotic as the best of his rivals. If he had ever been otherwise he might be excused by the tyranny under which he had suffered. The Protestant was the exclusionist and the oppressor. The Catholic was the persecuted victim, demanding humbly, in the name of the sacred principles of liberty, to be admitted to the privileges of a man. Political sympathy awoke in Macaulay an admiration of the Church and the Catholic system. It inspired his famous simile of the New Zealander. When he read Manzoni he felt a passing regret that he could not follow John Henry Newman and be converted. This curious phase in his character is another illustration of the completeness with which he represented the tendencies of his age. He detested the Church of England. He respected the Kirk of Scotland. He respected the English Dissenters. He regarded the Establishment as essentially connected with every evil and mischievous influence which, for the three centuries of its existence, had obstructed the progress of the country. Cranmer was chiefly responsible for the existence of it. In Cranmer, therefore, he saw embodied every vice which can make human character execrable. And nowhere, cer-

tainly, has he injured more fatally his own reputation for fairness than in the picture which he has drawn of that singularly interesting person.

'Cranmer,' he says, 'rose to favour by serving Henry in the disgraceful affair of the first divorce.' The word 'disgraceful' begs the question. European opinion was divided on the lawfulness of the marriage with Catherine. If the king had no son, and Mary's legitimacy was open to serious question, the grandsons of the men who had fought at Bosworth might see another war of succession. But let that pass.

'He promoted the marriage of Anne Boleyn with the king—on a frivolous pretence he pronounced that marriage null and void.' If Macaulay knew that the pretence was frivolous, it is to be presumed that he knew what the pretence was; and if he really possessed that information it is a pity that he did not impart it. The ground for the sentence annulling the marriage between Anne Boleyn and Henry is one of the most curious of historical secrets. It was submitted to Parliament and was held to be sufficient, but for reasons of State it was never divulged.

'He attached himself to Cromwell while the fortunes of Cromwell flourished. He voted for cutting off Cromwell's head without a trial when the tide of royal favour turned.'

How does Macaulay know how Cranmer voted? It is known that when Cromwell was arrested Cranmer stood forward to intercede for him. He was present in the House of Lords on the day on which Cromwell was attainted. But there is no division list in the Journals. He was present also on the day on which the Six Articles Bill was passed. He had dared to

say that Bill. He dared, in the face of peril to his life, to walk out of the House without voting; when the debate came on. Who can say that he did not withdraw again from the Bill of Attainder against Cromwell? A mere assertion in a total absence of evidence is not the more valuable because it serves to damnation on the character of a man that Macaulay dislikes.

But this is not the worst. Cranmer, both under Henry and Edward, was called on, in his position of archbishop, to preside over the trials of persons accused of heresy. Though there was a difference of opinion as to the forms of belief were heretical, the law of every country in England attached the penalty of death to certain beliefs or disbeliefs; and on this point all were agreed—in the clergy, Protestants and Catholics. Cranmer, like all his contemporaries, lived in the midst of change; he himself changed as others did, and came himself at last to opinions which he had been educated to look upon as errors. There is nothing to show that he took more pleasure in his office than any modern judge who sends a murderer to the gallows. Four or five prosecutions for heresy were all that he was ever concerned with, and if he was being no wiser than the rest of mankind his offence may be said to have been expiated by his death at the stake. Yet Macaulay holds up Cranmer to the detestation of mankind as a guilty persecutor. Sir Thomas More sentenced more heretics than Cranmer, but there is no word of censure against More. He was the instigator of the elaborate, the most extensive and furious persecution which ever graced the history of this country. Yet Gardiner is complimented

ay for his far-seeing states-
p and his lofty patriotism.
qualifying praise is allowed
mer. Cranmer is all black,
med by a single grace of
t or heart; and this sweep-
ndemnation is the less par-
because it is evident that
ay had never troubled him-
understand the real state of
d at the time. He had
at the surface of it, and
ed that he had seen through
t lay below, and he had in-
n nothing but the reflection
wn prepossessions.

same ignorance and the
nimosities pursue him into
e of Elizabeth. He writes
ghley with no further in-
on about him than he had
d from skimming through
ares's life. He sees that
d broke with the Papacy
Henry, that it broke with
stantiation under Edward,
returned to both under
and again broke with the
wholly and with transub-
ion partially and permissively
Elizabeth; he concludes that
s of the English people had
opinion as to the nature of
putes between Protestants
holics. He doubts whether
alots of both extremes
ed together to one-twentieth
the kingdom. If this was
th, there was no great ob-
o the Act of Uniformity. If
ots were so small a minority,
ber of persons injured was
lerable; and indeed Ma-
sees, and on one occasion
that Henry, in that very
his conduct which has been
ted as most capricious
consistent (the repression
the extremes) was pro-
ollowing a policy far more
to the majority of his
than a policy like that of
and of Mary.

he Church of England was

so bad a thing in itself that the
establishment of it, to the exclusion
of other forms of worship, was
necessarily wrong.

Elizabeth (he concludes) had the happiest
opportunity ever vouchsafed to any sovereign
of establishing perfect freedom of conscience
throughout her dominions without danger
to the government, without scandal to any
large party of her subjects. The nation,
as it was clearly ready to profess either
religion, would, beyond all doubt, have been
ready to tolerate both.

The nation, beyond all doubt,
would have been ready to tolerate
nothing of the kind, and Macaulay
could scarcely have contrived
to exhibit in so few words a more
inaccurate acquaintance with what
he was talking about. Religion was
not then what it has since become—
a subject on which men may in-
nocently and indifferently hold
different opinions. Toleration is
not possible in the same age in
which an execution at the stake for
heresy is possible. The passions
which permit the one are in-
consistent with the existence of
the other. First of all, everyone
was agreed that it was the duty
of the State to profess a religion.
A State declaring itself indif-
ferent would have been set down
as heathen and unendurable,
and the Church of England
was, in fact, the nearest approach
to an organisation in which the
great mass of the nation, which
was neither Calvinist nor Papist,
could be comprehended. Lord
Macaulay thinks that the mass of
the people were indifferent. They
were only too easily excitable.
The Catholics, until the issue of
the Pope's Bull of deposition, were
allowed the fullest indulgence in
their own houses. If Catholics and
Protestants had been allowed to
have each in public their separate
forms of worship, their chapels
would have been seminaries of
faction in every town and village
in England. The preachers of the

two creeds would have lashed their congregations into frenzy. They would have issued out of the doors only to carry on their battles in the streets with other weapons than words; and the war of religion which the genius of the Tudor princes succeeded in preventing would have burst out at a thousand points in all its ferocity. Elizabeth established a single form of public worship so elastic and comprehensive that all the reasonable part of her subjects could take part in it, and she permitted no other. The result was that the crisis passed over, and England escaped the fate of the Continent. The Valois sovereigns tried the system of toleration in France, which Macaulay would have preferred for England, and the Massacre of Vassy was the commencement of a series of bloody and desperate conflicts in which the carnage of St. Bartholomew was no more than a frightful episode.

The 'Essay on Bacon' is the most celebrated of Lord Macaulay's lighter compositions. It was received with enthusiasm by the editor of the *Edinburgh Review*. The sustained popularity of it with general readers has maintained hitherto the original verdict. It is constructed on the paradox, that the most admirable philosophy originated with a man of mean and unworthy nature. The old doctrine was that a tree was known by its fruits. Lord Macaulay endeavours to prove that the fig does grow upon the thorn, and the grape does grow upon the thistle. The Essay is divided into two parts, the first being devoted to exhibiting the baseness of Bacon's personal character, the second to proving the inestimable value of Bacon's teaching.

From the 'Essay on Burghley' the careful reader would not gather that Lord Macaulay was deeply acquainted with the history of Eliza-

beth's great minister. For 'Essay on Bacon' it would seem that he had sources of information about Burghley unknown to the rest of the world. Bacon was born in 1561. He was Burghley's son and in 1580, when he was nineteen, he applied for a situation in the Government. He had not yet shown signs of talent. Lord Macaulay cannot understand how Burghley might have thought it undesirable to relieve his son at so early an age from the necessity of exertion and self-reliance. Nothing but an unworthy ambition could have induced the uncle to refuse so reasonable a request. Burghley must have been already jealous of the abilities of a youth of nineteen.

'The truth is' (Macaulay tells us) 'the Cecils disliked him, and they could decently do to keep him down.'

'He was forced, much against his will' (Macaulay continues), 'to take himself to the study of the law; he was admitted to Gray's Inn, and during some years he laboured there in obscurity.' But too, is presented as a man who was to be laid at Burghley's feet. But considering that the law is to be learnt without study, and that through the study of it Bacon came to be Lord Chancellor, Burghley's conduct towards him, if ever may have been its motive, is at least justified by the results. Bacon's rise in his profession could scarcely be considered slow. At twenty-six he was made a Benchers of Gray's Inn. At twenty-nine he became Queen's Counsel. That he did not rise more rapidly is again, how laid at the door of his enemies. The Cecils, Macaulay suggests, interposed to obstruct his progress 'by whispers and insinuations.' In the absence of evidence we take leave to consider these remarks upon one of the greatest statesmen that ever presided over

es of this country to be some-
gratuitous.

ing disposed of Burghley
side wind, Macaulay pro-
in the same style, and
similar free assumption of
s, to analyse the brilliant
s own character. We have
space nor inclination to
the elaborate indictment.
tent ourselves with referring
who wishes really to know
Bacon's conduct and charac-
e to Mr. Spedding's exhaus-
count of him. We have no
admiration for Bacon, either
an or as an instructor of men.
an he appears to us to have
no worse than the average
ans of his age; on the whole,
s, rather superior to them. His
owever, were worldly, his ha-
indulgent, and his conscience
t the scrupulous nicety which
entitle him to any special
. The inductive method of
phy, with which his name
y connected, had been known
ally to all mankind from the
hen the descendants of Cain
to practise the mechanical
the Egyptian astronomers
red the course of the sun
the stars. What Bacon did
rely to clothe the principles
ction in graceful and intel-
language, and to point out
ular style the advantages
might be expected from the
f it. We can as little accept
ay's account of Bacon's phi-
as of his personal charac-
e cannot regard him as

honest, wisest, meanest of mankind.

cannot believe that he consi-
the best use of intellect to
the multiplication of human
ents,' and 'the mitigation
in sufferings;' that the effect
eaching can be summed up,
anlay declares, in the two
'Utility and Progress,' at
long as Utility is allowed
III.—NO. LXXVIII. NEW SERIES.

to consist in the increase merely
of material pleasures, or so long
as Progress consists in the extent
to which material pleasures can be
diffused; and if Macaulay attaches
any other meaning to his words, he
has done himself injustice in his
essay in not more fully explaining
himself.

What surprises us is, rather, that
if Bacon was what he is there de-
scribed as being, and if his philoso-
phy was what it is there said to be,
Macaulay should have failed to see
that the character of the man pre-
cisely corresponded to his theories.
Bacon, we are told, 'had planned
his philosophical reforms before he
was fifteen, or at least when he was
very young.' When scarcely more
than a child he had made up his
mind upon the objects which were
seriously worth a wise man's pur-
suit. A boy of intellect, who at
that age had deliberately made up
his mind that the end of knowledge
was 'the multiplication of means of
enjoyment' in this world rather
than to make him noble and good
in any world, naturally grew up
self-indulgent and extravagant, and
unscrupulous as to the means by
which the pleasures which he valued
were to be obtained. What is more
intelligible than that a person with
such convictions should be a servile
courtier and a corrupt judge?

Our space is running out; we
have been occupied invidiously in
pointing out the faults of Lord
Macaulay's style of workmanship;
we may perhaps return hereafter to
the special subject of his History,
and to the more agreeable duty of
indicating the many excellencies of
it. For the present we shall con-
clude with a few remarks on a
subject on which we touch with
peculiar regret.

As the Essay on Bacon is
regarded as a masterpiece of bio-
graphy and philosophy, so the re-
view of Robert Montgomery's poems
is enjoyed by a yet larger number

of readers as a judicial flagellation of a literary pretender who was deservedly and wholesomely punished. Robert Montgomery was a very poor creature, and had written and published some very poor verses, not worse than many thousand other verses which have their day and are cast into the oven, but still definitely poor, and, what was worse, pretentious. He had the misfortune to become popular. He had been favourably reviewed. His poems ran into several editions. The fault lay with the reviewers who praised him, and the public who were so foolish as to be led by them. But the reviewers could not be got at. The public could be disenchanted only by the demolition of their idol. Mr. Robert Montgomery was to be made an example of. Whether it was altogether becoming in a great man in Macaulay's position to stoop to crush—and crush with such extreme severity—so insignificant a member of the literary profession, may be an open question. For ourselves, we think that it was not; that it was unworthy of Macaulay. Others will think differently, and they are perhaps more right than we are; we will not dispute with them. But a further question rises when we learn, in these volumes of Mr. Trevelyan, that the poor wretch, who was writhing under his punishment, petitioned humbly and abjectly to be taken down from his pillory, and that his petition was met with a stern and steady refusal. An ordinary Review article is read for a few weeks; it does its work, and is then forgotten. Mr. Montgomery found himself, to his horror, bound fast to the triumphal chariot of the most celebrated writer of his age, trailing in the dust like the body of Hector behind the horses of Achilles. Even Hector's body was given back to Priam. There must have been some special reason why so small a mercy was refused to Montgomery.

Macaulay confesses that an incurable critic. If he had not written a line about poetry or the which he did not wish to specially and deliberately this one essay, he perhaps to preserve the memory doubted victory in this debate but we recommend to deration of his literary whether the time has when the mangled remains at least be consigned grave.

And this for a special reason. Eternal punishment is we hope, only for mortal publish a bad poem and for it is at least a vein which purgatory may suffi not inconsistent with malencies of another kind; unjust to immortalise a for his faults. Mr. Montgomery far as we have been able his character, was inoffensive private relations. He was but to the extent of his kind and charitable. His sermons which were addressed large congregations. They have been foolish, but they ill-intended. Some people be hoped, were benefited. No one that we ever heard injured by them. He was deceived into vanity by an adulation. When he was for the finger of scorn to that vanity for which others responsible became to him most terrible of punishments.

No one would confess more dily than Macaulay that it to judge a man by his worst. It is equally unfair to judge of letters by his worst production. Great as was Macaulay's reputation for a bad poet, he admit that it would not be judge Byron by the 'Hounness.' He would protest, as justly, again at his own poet's merits being measured by the

and Ahirah.' We have no of committing any such justice ourselves. We do to challenge Lord Macaulay, among his other excellences, to have written genuine 'The Lays of Antient' not the very highest order, are yet spirited, melodious, and deserve the hon which they have received. The 'Armada,' the 'Battle of Naseby,' higher, and have something at still audible of trumpet- them. But as Mr. Montgomery committed an offence in 'Satan,' though otherwise an able man, so Lord Macaulay, in 'Tirzah and Ahirah,' and published a poem as 'Satan' itself; and if the for exposing Montgomery's number of copies of his which had been unfortunately 'Tirzah and Ahirah' has been tens of thousands where have looked into 'Satan,' one of 'Tirzah and Ahirah' would before the Flood; the of it the love of a son of a daughter of man—a son of Seth for a descendant. The hero is Cain himself. So of the first murderer had elonged beyond even the Methuselah.

Cain's ample forehead white
A thousandth year returneth.

curse pronounced against
did not interfere with his
in life, or prevented the
nation of his offspring. He
had wandered nomadically
in flocks in search of

'Brooks and pastures new.'

the white pavilions
his camp were told by millions.

Millions, meaning at least two millions, and allowing an average of five to each tent, the numbers of these nomads must have been ten millions at least. After such an increase, and the parallel growth, which was indispensable, of the sheep and oxen by whom they were supported, they found a nomad life inconvenient.

They settled down to cultivation, learning, among other things,

from the dark green mulberry leaves
To cull the filmy silk,

apparently without the intervention of silkworms.

A magnificent palace was built for Cain. On the walls of the banquet-hall were represented

The King's three hundred victories.

Some of these victories, it is to be feared, must have been over his brother's family. We are only informed, however, of the particulars of the first, when the objects of attack were, not his nephews, but the monsters of the antediluvian period—the Mammoths of the North, who lived in the Pine Forest, on the White River. How the Mammoths in the Pine Forest of the White River interfered with Cain's comforts does not appear, nor how the difficulties of the march were overcome. The result, however, was the finest *battue* recorded in history. The forest was set on fire. The tortured and terrified creatures rushed out from 'the sea of flames.'

As the cedar trees of God
Stood the stately ranks of Nod,
One long night and one long day
The sword was lifted up to slay.
Then marched the firstborn and his sons,
On the white ashes of the wood,
And counted by that savage brood
Nine times nine thousand skeletons.

Eighty-one thousand Mammoths.

is told that one of Mr. Montgomery's worst offences is the appropriation of his good things, and the spoiling them in the process.

the misfortune to become popular. He had been favourably viewed. His poems ran into several editions. The fault lay with reviewers who praised him, and public who were so foolish as to be led by them. But the review could not be got at. The poet could be disenchanted only by demolition of their idol. Mr. Robert Montgomery was to be made an example of. Whether it was together becoming in a great man Macaulay's position to stoop to crush—and crush with such extreme severity—so insignificant a member of the literary profession, may be an open question. For our part we think that it was not; that it was unworthy of Macaulay. Others think differently, and they are perhaps more right than we are; we will not dispute with them. But a further question rises when we learn, in these volumes of Trevelyan, that the poor wretch, who was writhing under his punishment, petitioned humbly and abjectly to be taken down from his pillory, that his petition was met with stern and steady refusal. An ordinary Review article is read

which we draw upon her. As imagined themselves a race than the angels. We used to be ignorant whether it be celestial or common to the beasts that perish.

features of a day. The only home of which we have knowledge; but we can find a very comfortable place if we attend to the conditions to the limits of our own Religion thus becomes. It is divorced from our mind and becomes an opinion. It grows languid, and Art is its monplace; and though we gladly preserve both art and science as materials of amusement, splendid rewards which are ready to furnish still fail to create genius from

On the other hand, we have steamships and telegraphs; and iron fleets cover the seas; continents are reticulated by railways, and the products of all lands and countries are distributed to the enjoyment of each. The poorest citizen of Sydney can dine with the ice of the North. The Government clerk can afford the pineapple and peaches at his dessert-table. The influence of Government is reduced to its minimum.

All of us go our own way, think our own thoughts, follow our own wishes, and the result is found to prosper more exclusively every man endeavours with his own intention to better his own lot and it is not to be denied that it has succeeded; the aims we set before ourselves are more fully attained, information is diffused more widely than ever diffused before. Women, boys and girls, are freer than they were never free before. Scarcely a family in England, high or low, in which the children of the generation do not enjoy, to some extent, the desire, and think that

they ought to enjoy, luxuries undreamt of by their fathers.

Whether this unexampled prosperity will continue, whether our age or the ages past have more accurately understood the nature and the conditions of human existence on this planet, only time will show. It may be that we have struck on the true principles after wandering in error for thousands of years. If it so turn out, Macaulay will possess the immortality which with becoming diffidence he at times dares to anticipate for himself. His faults will be as spots on the sun. He will go down to posterity as the seer of the nineteenth century. He, too, was successful; successful, if success be measured by the number of his readers, by the applause of his contemporaries, from the commencement of his career to its end, beyond any man of letters of this or any other century.

A modern poet, some think the greatest of modern poets, one at any rate who was utterly uninfluenced by conventional sentiments, has said—

Who never ate his bread in sorrow,
Who never spent the darksome hours,
Weeping and watching for the morrow,
He knows ye not, ye Heavenly powers.

To earth, this weary earth, ye bring us,
To guilt ye let us heedless go,
Then leave repentance fierce to wring us,
A moment's sin, an age of woe.

'The fear of the Lord' the Hebrews declared 'to be the beginning of wisdom.' The Greeks thought that the highest knowledge could be obtained only through pain and mortification. Macaulay never seems to have known either pain or mortification. He succeeded in everything which he undertook; and if there be any lesson which is taught only in the school of severity, that lesson he never learnt. A doubtless some kind there undoubtedly interested him. We admire, but he has no interest. He rarely

And the Prince of Wales shot but one elephant in Ceylon.

But we leave the further analysis of 'Tirzah and Ahirah' to the avenger of the blood of Mr. Robert Montgomery.

We must not part thus, however, with the brilliant Macaulay, the great writer who has diffused among millions a zeal for instruction to which, but for him, they would have remained strangers; who has popularised the history of the great nation of whom he was the representative and the ornament; whose works, translated into every wide-spread language in the world, have been received with a verdict of universal applause; whose intellectual temperament was usually as generous as his personal character was pure and disinterested; who, if he has written many inaccurate sentences and some unjust sentences, has never written a dull one. He was the impersonation, as we said before, of his own age. He was the voice of the hopes and convictions of the nineteenth century. He shared in its triumphs; he explained the causes of those triumphs. He encouraged and stimulated the energetic spirit which is spreading modern influences over the whole race of mankind; he pointed out the road which would lead to new victories. He was the disciple and the most perfect apostle of the Gospel of Progress. In other ages the human race was contented with less ambitious aspirations; the present world was considered at its best to be a scene of disappointments. The noblest efforts were often doomed to failure; the noblest life was not to be rewarded with happiness. At the hearts of all men of high and sensitive nature there was an impassioned longing after things which the world did not contain and could not give them. They had set before themselves as the supreme object of desire something else than material prosperity. Life to them was not

enjoyment, but sacrifice. They moved about in an atmosphere of existence unrealised, yet more real to their imagination than the most palpable objects of their senses. They looked out on nature to perceive in it 'a something far more deeply interfused' than what they could see or handle. They looked beyond them for some other measure abiding place. They were contented with poverty. They despised the pleasures and dreaded the temptations of overmuch prosperity. The bank notes which a man was able to accumulate were no indications that his life had been profitably spent. They were satisfied to do their very best in such department of duty as had fallen to them, looking for their reward rather in the work which they accomplished than in the payment which the world assigned to them. Hence arose martyrs of religion, martyrs of science, martyrs of patriotism, martyrs of love, martyrs of destiny. Their victory was made complete when it was won at the sacrifice of themselves.

We have changed all that. It has been discovered that the ancient theories of life were unproductive. Society, before the days of enlightenment, continued stationary. The children walked in the ways of their fathers. They consecrated their fathers' errors by mistaken reverence. They forgot that each generation, as the inheritor of the accumulated knowledge of the past, was necessarily wiser than the generations which preceded it. We prefer realities to dreams; we limit our aspirations to what is practical, and, abandoning the phantoms which deluded our fathers, attending to the real nature of our situation and manfully endeavouring to make the best of it, we advance where before we stood still; we work for earthly reward; and nature is kind and if we are punctual in attention to facts she never fails to honour

we draw upon her. Imagined themselves as an the angels. We be ignorant whether celestial or common beasts that perish. res of a day. The ly home of which we vledge; but we can comfortable place if l to the conditions e limits of our own gion thus becomes divorced from our becomes an opinion.

languid, and Art place; and though ly preserve both art materials of amuse- ndid rewards which r to furnish still fail cative genius from a the other hand, we ips and telegraphs; lects cover the seas; nents are reticulated and the products of countries are distri- enjoyment of each. s citizen of Sydney

with the ice of the e Government clerk afford the pineapple at his dessert-table. ice of Government ls is reduced to its ll of us go our k our own thoughts, wn wishes, and the is found to prosper e exclusively every endeavours with his n to better his own it is not to be denied s succeeded; the aims before ourselves are ormation is diffused ver diffused before. n, boys and girls, are ere never free before. ly a family in England igh or low, in which eration do not enjoy, sire, and think that

they ought to enjoy, luxuries undreamt of by their fathers.

Whether this unexampled prosperity will continue, whether our age or the ages past have more accurately understood the nature and the conditions of human existence on this planet, only time will show. It may be that we have struck on the true principles after wandering in error for thousands of years. If it so turn out, Macaulay will possess the immortality which with becoming diffidence heat times dares to anticipate for himself. His faults will be as spots on the sun. He will go down to posterity as the seer of the nineteenth century. He, too, was successful; successful, if success be measured by the number of his readers, by the applause of his contemporaries, from the commencement of his career to its end, beyond any man of letters of this or any other century.

A modern poet, some think the greatest of modern poets, one at any rate who was utterly uninfluenced by conventional sentiments, has said—

Who never ate his bread in sorrow,
Who never spent the darksome hours,
Weeping and watching for the morrow,
He knows ye not, ye Heavenly powers.

To earth, this weary earth, ye bring us,
To guilt ye let us heedless go,
Then leave repentance fierce to wring us,
A moment's sin, an age of woe.

'The fear of the Lord' the Hebrews declared 'to be the beginning of wisdom.' The Greeks thought that the highest knowledge could be obtained only through pain and mortification. Macaulay never seems to have known either pain or mortification. He succeeded in everything which he undertook; and if there be any lesson which is taught only in the school of severity, that lesson he never learnt. A defect of some kind there undoubtedly was in him. We admire, but he fails deeply to interest. He rarely stirs our en-

thusiasm; he never touches our deepest emotions. In the midst of his brilliancy his writing is commonplace, though it is commonplace of the very highest kind. He was never married. He never seems to have known what is meant by love. So powerful an intelligence could not have been indifferent to religion. Some thoughts he must have had on those profound questions which every serious person, at some time or other, must ask of himself, but he was studiously reticent on that subject; and though reticence need not imply carelessness, and may often imply unusual reverence, there is nothing in any part of Macaulay's writings which indicates that he had ever looked in this direction with any painful anxiety. His feelings were easily stirred, but stirred on the strangest occasions. He would weep over the most commonplace novel, and sobbed as if his heart would break when he read, for the hundredth time, of Achilles cutting his hair. His mind, however, was singularly constituted. He, too, it would seem, could not escape the common destiny of humanity. He, too, when he had obtained all that he had consciously desired, was

compelled to feel that it was not satisfactory. He, too, found that he was dimly longing for something which the world had not to give. His affection for his sisters and his nephews and nieces—his innocent fondness for children and children's sports, are profoundly honourable to him, and no less profoundly pathetic. Opinions may change. The present century has repudiated the philosophy of the past. The next may repudiate the present and the same causes which have occasioned Macaulay's unbounded popularity in his own time may condemn him to oblivion hereafter. Whatever changes may be before us, however, the nineteenth century can never cease to be interesting to the future student. Macaulay has been its most characteristic and typical representative; and calm as itself, when it has said its worst of him as a philosopher and a historian, will be obliged to acknowledge that his motives were always high, his disposition pure and affectionate, his public life without a stain, his private life so simple, so unselfish, so blamelessly upright, that every one with whom he personally came in contact became greatly attached to him.

J. A. P.



REMARKS ON MODERN WARFARE.

BY A MILITARY OFFICER.

may not be altogether unprofitable, even in these peaceful times (how long will they last?), to pause for a moment at modern warfare.

It is not proposed to approach the subject technically; but simply to compare, from certain points of view, the warfare of the present with that of the past, and possibly to draw one or two conclusions from the comparison. There exists a class of theorists who hail the new-fresh invention for the better of mankind with the remark: 'I am delighted to hear of war, the more horrible you make it, the sooner you will put an end to it.'

Without stopping to question the correctness of this theory, let us endeavour to enquire whether all the progress of science which has lately been expended on war has in reality tended in making it more horrible; and, if so, for whom? For this question there are two answers to be considered—the soldier, and the civilian whose country becomes the theatre of war.

Let us first consider the case of the soldier. As everyone is aware, the chief feature in the military history of the past twenty years has been the vast improvements effected in firearms. We have passed, by successive stages, from the smooth-bore muskets of short range, slow rate of firing, and slow loading, to rifles of long range, great accuracy, and rapid firing. In every respect the advance has been pronounced. Everyone knows this, and everyone does not know that—though it may seem so—the effect of these improvements has been precisely the reverse of what was intended and what was anticipated; or, in other words, the proportion of killed and wounded was

far greater with the old-fashioned weapons than it is at the present day. In proof of this the following facts, which are taken principally from a table in the history of the campaign in Bohemia in 1866, by Col. Cooke, R.E., may be quoted:

At the battle of Talavera (1809) the loss in killed and wounded was $\frac{1}{3}$ of those engaged. At Austerlitz (1805) it was $\frac{1}{4}$. At Malplaquet (1709), at Prague (1759), and at Jena (1806) it was $\frac{1}{2}$. At Friedland (1807) and at Waterloo (1815) $\frac{1}{3}$. At Marengo (1800) it amounted to $\frac{1}{4}$. At Salamanca (1812) out of 90,000 combatants 30,000 were killed and wounded. At Borodino (1812) out of 250,000, 80,000 fell on the two sides. At Leipzig (1813) the French sustained a loss of $\frac{1}{3}$ of their total effective. At Preussisch-Eylau (1807) 55,000 were killed and wounded out of a combined total of 160,000 combatants, giving a loss of more than $\frac{1}{3}$; while at Zorndorf (1758), the most murderous battle which history records in modern times, out of 82,000 Russian and Prussian troops engaged, 32,800 were stretched upon the field at the close of the day.

Let us now come to more recent times. The first great battle in which rifled firearms were used was Solferino (1859), and when the war broke out it was confidently predicted that the effects of the new weapon would be frightful; but the loss actually fell to $\frac{1}{4}$ of those engaged. At Königgrätz, where, in addition to rifled weapons, one side was armed with breechloaders, the actual loss was further diminished to $\frac{1}{5}$. Finally we come to the last war, in which the proportions were, Würth $\frac{1}{4}$, Gravelotte $\frac{1}{5}$, and Sedan $\frac{1}{6}$. These figures may sur-

prise many who, not unnaturally, imagined that improved weapons entailed increased slaughter. It is not intended to imply that battles are not still sanguinary, but it is incontestable that they are much less so than they were.

But it is not merely on the battle-field that the soldier's risk is now diminished, but throughout the whole campaign. Railways afford a more adequate supply of medical and other necessities to the front, and a more rapid transfer of the sick and wounded to their permanent hospitals. The labours of the Geneva Society have materially conduced to the same end. Buildings and tents covered by the red cross are held to be sacred from fire; rules are laid down for the treatment of prisoners of war; explosive bullets are also forbidden; and to such a length has this spirit of mitigating the horrors of war extended that nothing but the *esprit de corps* of those who wield the lance has saved the 'Queen of Weapons' from disestablishment. So much for the soldier in time of war. It only remains to remark that, if successful, he is rewarded and honoured; if defeated, he obtains at least sympathy; and, if wounded, a pension.

But how does the case stand for the civilian whose home happens to be situated in the theatre of war? What has been done for him? Absolutely nothing. The enormous area of country occupied by the vast numbers of men and horses which constitute modern armies, and the rapidity of their movements, combine to render their presence in an invaded country more than ever a national calamity; and the position of the unfortunate civilians, as a body, far from improving, becomes worse and worse. The non-combatant must stand by and see his house burnt, or turned into a

barrack. His crops are ploughed down, his orchards fallow, his cattle slaughtered, his horse waggons impressed, his very person requisitioned, and himself, his family, and belongings turned destitute of all in the world. No surgeon is available to tend him if sick or, which unfrequently happens, wounded. All the available care, energy, and attention of his Government are concentrated on the army, while he suffers unnoticed and uncared for. After the storm of war has passed, some inadequate charity, and tardy compensation from the Government which has been unable to defend him, begins to flow in, but these are as mere raindrops in a vast desert of misery; and, in what money, what gifts, what kindness can compensate for such misfortunes? And the result of it is that there is no rest for him. So long as the requisition of the capital or other town is the great goal of the military race, so long must he traverse the country to resist. Thus we see that while nothing is done to preserve him, to mitigate the sufferings, and to satisfy the wants of the soldier, nothing is given to the civilian. In everything must give way to military considerations, and even the soldier's life is of definite value.

It has already been shown that the proportion of killed and wounded becomes less as science advances, and, as far as the light of history sheds on war, the diminution has indeed been great. We have seen how the slaughter at Zorndorf exceeded that of Sedan; and, according to history, Zorndorf was a play to Cressy, where the loss is stated to have been, in all, 11 princes, 1,200 knights, and 30,000 men.¹ This again exceeded at Cannæ, where the loss of an army of 80,000 Ro-

¹ Kausler's *Ancient Battles*.

so were left on the field when battle was over;² and, to take another instance from the same battle of the Metaurus, where an army hastening to reinforce Fabius was not merely defeated, but destroyed.

Modern war was butchery in those days! But why, the non-professional may ask, are battles less proportionately sanguinary than they were, in spite of modern improvements? Because every improvement in weapons from the earliest times to the present has entailed corresponding alterations in tactics to meet it, and obviate, as far as possible, its effects. Instead of fighting in massive columns, or in close ranks two and three deep, and reserving their fire until they could 'see the whites of their eyes,' troops now engage at longer distances, in loose order, and take advantage of whatever is to be found.

But it is not merely on the battlefield as already observed, but throughout the campaign, that the soldier's life is now more jealously guarded. The noble efforts made by charitable societies have been multiplied; but other and far more powerful agencies are at work to do more than mitigate, to prevent. A great social feature of the present day is 'peace;' everything is done ahead, and armies must conform to this rapid order of things. Accordingly, military operations and results which used to occupy months are now compressed into days; it might almost be said, hours. The war of 1859 was ended by Austria on April 26; the action of Montebello, was fought May 19; and the war was ended at Solferino on July 24. In 1866 the Prussians virtually decided the war by crossing the Austrian frontier on June 23, and in seven days the latter Power was forced

to come to terms at the very gates of her capital. Prussia received the French declaration of war on July 19, 1870. On September 2 France's last army in the field was destroyed at Sedan, and the last shots were fired on February 2, 1871. Here, then, we have at once an immense saving of life. The long delays, which meant, for the soldier, exposure to the weather and to sickness; the defective communications, entailing insufficient food; the slowly dragging campaign with all its privations and hardships—all these fertile sources of disease and death have vanished, or are vanishing. It is true that the French soldiers both in and out of Metz suffered terribly from want of proper food and supplies; but it must be remembered that their administration was exceptionally bad, and the very magnitude of their defects will prevent a repetition of them.

Let us, for comparison, take one or two instances from the wars of the first Napoleon. Here is the state of his army during the invasion of Russia in 1812, not after but *before* meeting the enemy otherwise than in small skirmishes:

From the want of magazines and the impossibility of conveying an adequate supply of provisions for so immense a host, disorders of every kind had accumulated in a frightful manner on the flanks and rear of the army. Neither bread nor spirits could be had; the flesh of overdriven animals and bad water constituted the sole subsistence of the soldiers . . . and before a great part of the army had even seen the enemy, it had undergone a loss greater than might have been expected from the most bloody campaign. When the stragglers and sick were added to the killed and wounded the total reached 100,000.³

Again: Masséna entered Portugal in October 1810; spent weeks and weeks in futile examination of the lines of Torres Védra; and recrossed into Spain on April 3,

² Kausler's *Ancient Battles*.

³ Alison's *History of Europe*.

1811, 'having lost 30,000 men by want, sickness, and the sword.'⁴ As the only action of any importance that occurred during the retreat was that of Barrosa, at which the French loss was under 1,000, the reader can estimate for himself what proportion of the total loss was due to 'want and sickness.'

These are but two instances out of many that might be quoted, but enough. Such protracted neglect and suffering would be impossible in these days, for the simple reason—if for no other—that the soldier is now much too expensive an article to be squandered in such a wholesale manner. Much, of course, remains to be done; but the attention which Governments are now compelled to give to the subject, aided by the private efforts which the enthusiasm caused by the outbreak of war never fails to excite, will provide the necessary means and the power of properly applying them. The day seems to be approaching when the soldier of any country having any pretensions to be a military power may take the field, confident that, apart from the strain on his constitution arising from a short but arduous campaign, the only danger he will incur will be from his foeman's weapons. If he will only look back and compare his lot with that of his military ancestors he will think himself fortunate.

When we consider the position of the civilian, who may find his country the theatre of future wars, we wish we could think his prospects equally hopeful.

It would be useless to attempt to give statistics of the losses inflicted on a country which is overrun by an invading army. Suffice it to say that the agricultural losses alone sustained by France in 1870-1 have been estimated at *one hundred*

and seventy million pounds. It would be difficult enough to ascertain the loss in worldly goods represented by this vast sum; but who could calculate its equivalent in sorrow, misery, starvation, disease, and death in all its varied and most fearful shapes? We cannot help thinking that the sufferings of the civilian in war call more loudly for sympathy than those of the soldier; but, unfortunately, there is none to hear. As long as the civilian is merely an accessory in the picture of which the soldier is the foreground, so long must he suffer comparatively unnoticed. A dead soldier is buried, a wounded one removed easily enough; their wants are soon provided for, but a ruined and devastated home cannot be restored, and its scattered inhabitants collected in any appreciable time, perhaps never. Sometimes, too, the unhappy civilian, goaded to madness at the misery inflicted on him, seizes arms and joins with the fury of despair in the defence of his village or farm-house, as at Bazeilles and Chateaudun, thereby giving to his enemies a fresh handle, which they never fail to use, for increased exactions and further severity. The brevity of modern campaigns, which have so materially benefited the soldier, produce no mitigation for the invaded country, for what is gained in time is lost in the numbers and rapidity of modern armies.

There seems to be absolutely no possibility of modifying the position of the inhabitants of an invaded country. All, then, that can be done is to confine the area of operations as much as possible; and we cannot help thinking that the tendency of modern warfare is in this direction—that nations will in future endeavour to fight their battles and finish their quarrels nearer to their frontiers than was formerly the case.

⁴ Alison's *History of Europe*.

ne was when a country might invaded and half of it overrun occupied while the other half ined almost in ignorance; but we changed all that. All parts civilised country are now so ly connected by commerce, l, and intercommunication of sort, intelligence is so rapidly widely diffused, that when invasion takes place everyone s, and, what is more, everyone

It has already been observed terrible a visitation is the nce of a hostile army. Modern es are not now small fractions e population whence they are n; they represent, in fact are, e nations in arms. After the e of Sedan, notwithstanding heavy losses she had suffered he campaign, Germany had oo men on French soil. A arison will give some idea he vastness of this host. October 16, 1813, there were nbled for the battle of Leipsic military strength of three res and three kingdoms, yet total capitation of the forces less than one half of the number e mentioned.

ne national character of modern are being admitted, a result established will generally be ive for the war in which it rs; and should be considered or national superiority is of a that cannot be gainsaid or set . Austria saw this in 1866, accepted the hard and bitter i in time to save herself. It

would have been well for France had she done the same. The triumph of Germany in 1870 was no mere military triumph, but a national triumph, due to causes in accordance with which nations rise and fall. What France wanted after Sedan was a head clear enough to perceive this, and a hand strong enough to apply the only remedy, peace at any price. The writing was on the wall, traced in characters of blood and fire, but there was no one to read it. The only effect of her protracted resistance was to place her more and more at the mercy of the conqueror, and to prolong almost indefinitely the period that must elapse before she can renew the struggle.

The moral of this is, that nations should keep their armies on the principle of sudden expansion and mobilisation, ready to throw every man, every horse, and every gun on the frontier, for there and there only should the battle be fought. And this is what is actually being done. The next war between two leading powers will probably see even the celerity of 1870 outstripped as regards preparation, and in the interests of the civilian it is to be hoped that the struggle may be fought at or near the frontier. Then, although the condition of those residing on the spot will be no better, the devastation will be confined to a smaller area. More than this it is at present impossible to hope for.

P. S. C.



MODERN NEWSPAPER ENTERPRISE.

IT was Mr. Cobden, if I mistake not, who expressed the opinion that newspapers ought to be true to their name, and content themselves with the mere collection and publication of news. Mr. Cobden's ideas have been realised in late years to an extent of which their author himself could have had little conception; but this idea concerning the true function of newspapers has unquestionably fallen flat upon the world. Our newspapers have certainly not ceased to express opinions as well as to publish news; and there never was a time when the English press took a more active or important part in discussing all matters of interest, and in forming public opinion upon such matters, than it does at present. Newspaper writing may not, perhaps, be what it once was. That, at any rate, is the opinion of the older men amongst us, who talk regretfully of the days when Mr. Barnes and Captain Sterling wielded the thunder of the *Times*, when Mr. Fonblanque was giving his political essays to the world in the *Examiner*, and when Mr. Rintoul was the guiding genius of the *Spectator*. I am inclined to think, however, that in this, as in some other matters, the old men among us are not, after all, the surest guides. They see the past through the tender mists of years, whilst they look upon the present with eyes from which all illusions have been wiped away. The journalism of to-day is, upon the whole, more impersonal than was the journalism of the last generation. The outer world no longer knows the men who forge the thunderbolts, and the names even of the most distinguished among them cannot be called public property.

But those who are behind the scenes would not have much difficulty in mentioning writers who are worthy to rank with any one of the distinguished men I have mentioned, and whose services are at this moment exclusively devoted to the newspaper press. The truth is, I imagine, not that there is little good writing at present, but that there is too much of it. Day after day a man takes up his newspaper on his breakfast-table, and finds that it contains three or four elaborate essays upon questions which have only sprung into existence during the last four-and-twenty hours. He skims them over and goes to his club, where he finds four or five other newspapers, each having the same number of essays upon the same class of subjects; later in the day he turns to the neglected table, on which the provincial papers are laid, and there he will find more essays scarcely if at all inferior to those of the London journals, on like topics. Is it wonderful that he becomes rather tired of this surfeit of good writing, and that long before the happy moment comes when the evening papers are placed in his hands he owns to himself that much reading of leading articles is a weariness to the spirit?

Whatever may be the truth upon this subject, it is at least certain that there never was a time when so large a number of men were engaged in the higher walks of journalism; that never was newspaper writing so well remunerated as at present; and that never before did the man, who is content to be and to be known as a journalist pure and simple, occupy a good a position in society as he does now-a-days. It is not the

f this paper to deal with ho guide the opinions of lish press. Much might be modern journalism as it is d in the leading columns of spapers; but it is not my n to say anything here. m constrained at the outset re that in the mere matter writing, as well as in very other respect, I believe spaper press of to-day is equal but superior to that ther date.

strides have been made the last ten years in many of artments in which human d industry are employed; here has so great a change tnessed during that time as ewspapers. I am speaking now not as organs of public but as instruments for the n and publication of news. seem a bold thing to say; anybody who takes a copy *Times* for 1864, let us say, npares it carefully with a the same journal for 1876, scover that a radical re- has been wrought during erval in the mode in which urnal is conducted. It is tly in many respects the 1876 as in 1864. There the same number of leaders, e same reports of Parlia- and the Law Courts. In the l aspect of the sheet there is ch difference. But a careful ation will show how great is nge that has taken place. s the simplest mode of ing that change would be to t the *Times* now gives every g the news of yesterday, in- f the news of the day before ay.

telegraph has at last come ll play as a means of sup- news to the press and a it to the world at large, marvellous revolution has een wrought in the whole

system of newspaper management. The reader who opens his morning paper to-day—and the remark I am about to make applies to many newspapers besides the *Times*—is at once brought face to face with the whole wide plain of civilisa- tion. He learns how last night an enthusiastic crowd witnessed the production of a new play by Dumas at the Théâtre Français, and he reads a criticism upon it which will not be in the hands of the Parisians for hours to come. He is ad- mitted into the mysteries of the last Ministerial crisis at Versailles on the one hand, and into the secrets of the freshest diplomatic intrigue at Constantinople on the other. This paragraph tells him how an English Prince was employing him- self yesterday in a hunting camp at a remote station of Central India; and that, how a great popular festi- val was held on the same day at San Francisco. There is no need to pursue the subject farther; for everybody who reads a morning newspaper—and who does not?—has merely to cast his eyes over the last copy that has come into his hands to complete the picture at which I have hinted. During the last ten years the newspaper press has become the mirror, not of a nation, but of the world.

It is true, of course, that even in the good old days, when journals were conducted without any aid at all from railways or telegraphs, they told their readers, in a more or less meagre fashion, the news of all quarters of the globe. But it was then news of events which had long since passed out of date that was given to the pub- lic. So recently as a dozen years ago we had to wait two days for a Paris letter, and weeks for tidings from India, Australia, and even America. The news- paper of to-day, however, tells us everything at first hand. Ere the flames of yonder great fire in the

Western city have died away, the English public has heard of the destruction of Chicago; and it knows of poor Lord Mayo's assassination hours before the sad intelligence has been allowed to leak out at Calcutta itself. Everything is fresh and new, and everything in consequence is vivid and striking. The difference between the newspaper of to-day and the newspaper of the past is, in short, the difference between an instantaneous photograph and one of those sticking-plaster portraits with which we were forced to content ourselves before photography was known.

To Baron Reuter must undoubtedly be ascribed the introduction of that supply of foreign telegraphic news which is now so prominent a feature in all English newspapers. Baron Reuter is a man of large enterprise and sagacity; and the skill he has shown in establishing an organisation of correspondents extending over the whole world, and including many places which are not only remote, but almost unknown, deserves the grateful acknowledgments of the English newspaper reader. But, strange as it may seem, the Baron has been one of the greatest enemies to newspaper enterprise that these latter days have brought forth. When he began operations in London, he found a difficulty in inducing the then struggling penny papers to make use of his telegrams. But he persevered; and bit by bit, as he extended the field of his labour, he gained the confidence, not, perhaps, of the public, but of the newspaper proprietors. One fine morning the *Times* printed his telegrams, and the Baron from that day knew that his fortune was made. Whether the *Times* acted wisely or unwisely in resorting to Reuter for its supply of foreign news need not be discussed here. It is a point which has been hotly debated more than once by newspaper managers, but it can scarcely be said to con-

cern the general public. What is quite certain, however, is, the action of the leading journal adopting Reuter's telegram many years prevented any development of newspaper enterprise in the department in which it is now largely shown. The *Times* was willing to accept Baron Reuter's general foreign correspondence far as telegraphic news was concerned, and there was, then, no reason why the other newspapers should not do the same. Thus it came to pass that for years the only source from which the latest foreign news could be obtained was Baron Reuter's office, and, as all the daily papers of the United Kingdom speedily subscribed to Baron Reuter's list, the service, in one important respect, was upon the same level as the service of the *Pedlington Chronicle*.

In the course of time this state of matters became intolerable not only to the *Times*, but to the great metropolitan newspaper which was during the war of 1870 the most different newspaper proprietor first aroused to a full comprehension of the new work which lay before them, and it is really that time that the new era of English journalism must date. Everybody remembers the feverishness for news which possessed the British public during those summer and winter months when the German armies were marching and fighting in Lorraine, or when the English were watching round Paris. It was then that when all the ordinary work of popular interest seemed to be absolutely dried up, and when people could think of nothing and say nothing but the war. Publishers found to their cost that they could not care for their books and magazines. All public feeling was directed to the moment in one direction; the proprietors of the newspapers were required to meet the demand which had thus arisen. How

rove to meet it must be recollection of most of spondents for all the idon newspapers were o every point at which l likely to be a contest. corps had its army of ill-drivers attached to urters; besieged cities esieged residents, who r some occult means in tory of their sufferings is British public; and, ght be the dangers or as to be encountered, ere was anything to be glish newspaper corre-s found upon the spot to relate his experiences n England. The good at at home at ease, and comfort of their arm-e horrors of that hor-gn, had little notion of and sufferings endured ants of the press, whose was to keep them in-all that happened in ng that eventful time. eized as spies, and sub-ignities the mere recol-nich is an indescribable e were maimed for life on-balls of those with had no quarrel; and illed outright. But the ir really heroic labours glish newspaper readers closer and more accu-dge of the war as it han was possessed by ants themselves. The hat time between the ndon papers was most be the first to give the y special incident or of the war was the all. The telegraphs France were for the ither destroyed or in f the military authori-y were not, of course, r the purposes of the orrespondent. It was,

therefore, necessary to take special means for the quick transmission of important news. Most persons know how Dr. Russell (having sent the account of the first day's fighting at Sedan by a messenger who was slain on the road, and from whose body the despatch was recovered after a delay of some weeks) travelled by special train and special steamer from the Belgian frontier to London immediately after the close of the great battle, writing the account of it as he travelled, and leaving London to return to the head-quarters of the German army directly after depositing his 'copy' in the *Times* office. Those who read the glowing account of that fateful engagement in the *Times* three days after its conclusion had no conception of the physical exertion, or the expenditure of money, which had been necessary to place it before them. Other London newspapers took special measures of their own at this time to expedite the transmission of news; and at least one popular journal kept, all through the war, regular forwarding agents at different seaports in France and Belgium for the sole purpose of receiving and despatching, by the speediest possible route, the letters of its different correspondents.

It was immediately after the close of the war that the *Times*, spurred on by the close rivalry of the *Daily News*, began to publish in its columns daily telegraphic despatches of considerable length from Paris. At first, there was not much to distinguish the despatches of the leading journal from those of the penny papers. But, ere long, weight of metal began to tell. The penny daily press had most honourably distinguished itself during the war, and on many occasions it had not only been level with, but even ahead of, the *Times*. The cost of the efforts thus made had, however, been enormous; and it is not sur-

prising that, when the war was at an end, and the reaction had fairly set in, the managers of these journals began to feel that they were fairly entitled to a little rest. The proprietors of the *Times* seized the moment when this feeling was strongest for the purpose of taking one of the boldest steps recorded in the history of newspaper enterprise. At a vast cost, they hired a special telegraphic wire extending from the *Times* office in London to a branch office in Paris; and they thus practically brought the apartment of their Paris correspondent under the same roof as that of the editor in London.

I shall have something more presently to say concerning 'special wires;' but it will be convenient to explain here that the system of leasing the exclusive use of a wire for a certain number of hours daily—or rather nightly—to a newspaper, was introduced by the old telegraph companies about ten years ago, when one or two Scotch newspapers first availed themselves of this mode of securing a supply of the latest London news. In the United Kingdom the Government now lends wires to provincial papers for a rent of 500*l.* a year, each wire being at the service of the lessee from six o'clock in the evening till six in the morning. The cost of the *Times*' special wire to Paris is more than fivefold that of an English special wire, and its use is only allowed to the tenant for six hours daily, from nine P.M. till three A.M. But, great as was the cost and limited the use of the wire, the proprietors of the *Times* rightly foresaw that nothing would strengthen their position upon the Continent so much as the adoption of this unprecedented measure for 'tapping' the great news-reservoir of Europe. The position of the *Times* among the journals of the world is a peculiar one. It has little in common with the position

of even its most distinguished 'Like a star' it dwells apart concerning itself even less than contemporaries do with the domestic affairs of England always aspiring to the cise of influence in the arena of international politics in one sense it may almost be said that the great reputation which this journal of Printing House Square enjoys at home is reflected abroad. Englishmen see thoroughly all Continental politicians believe in 'the leading journal' they hear its opinions, and by the occupants of thron criticisms answered by the m of many legions; and, as enough, they are led to even a higher respect for it the with which they would otherwise regard it. The *Times*, conscious the importance of maintaining a peculiar and unrivalled reputation resolved to plant, as it were, foot upon the Continent, and establish, not a mere correspondence but an integral part of itself in the heart of France. How could the bold experiment which was tried has succeeded it is necessary to say. Day by day that branch office was opened in Paris and linked to the office at Blackfriars by the living current of electricity, not only Englishmen but the more intelligent of the French public, have to the *Times* for a trustworthy, graphic, and instantaneous of the never-ending variations of the political barometer of Europe. There, too, they have found the latest and the most authentic from all parts of the Continent whispers of war from Berlin of new troubles in the East of Vienna; personal declarations of policy from Madrid or the Vatican. The ordinary reader can scarcely have realised all that was given to him morning after morning; but it is no exaggeration

is *Times* correspondence, the date of the opening of the office in Paris, is, upon the most remarkable achievement of newspaper enterprise which the world has ever seen. It could, of course, have succeeded solely if the efforts of the proprietors of the *Times* had not been aided by men so admirably fitted for the posts to which they were appointed. But the paper has always been fortunate in securing the services of able and devoted servants, and it is clear that with their help it could never have maintained its great position in the newspapers of Europe but for the enterprise which induced it to make the fullest possible use of the system of telegraphy.

Here, however, the enterprise of this journal has not stopped. After the Prince of Wales visited India its managers concluded an arrangement with the European Telegraph Company which, on payment of a sum almost equal to the cost of the special wire, the special use

of the Indian telegraph was made to the *Times* for a short time every Sunday evening. Since English readers have found on breakfast-tables, on Monday morning, graphic letters, varying in length to two columns in length, and containing with all the necessary details the doings of the Prince of Wales in India up to the previous day. The contract between the paper and the Telegraph Company, it is said, over three years, and we may hope that a weekly issue of the freshest Indian news will be presented to us during that time. Still more recently we have seen, in the document, several columns in length telegraphed from Washington.

London for publication in the paper; and a few weeks ago it was stated that the proprietors of the newspaper, recognising the importance of modern politics, had

opened negotiations for the lease of a special wire to Berlin.

It must not be supposed that the *Times* stands alone in the enterprise which it is thus displaying. Every year the bills of the different London newspapers for telegraphic news grow heavier as the amount of such news supplied to their readers increases. The *Daily Telegraph*, to the special efforts of which I may now advert, has recently gone so far as to imitate the *Times* in hiring a special wire between Paris and London. It cannot be said that this wire is so valuable to the one as to the other, for the *Daily Telegraph* is not the *Times*; and its relations with the political world on the Continent are very different from those of the great leader of the press. But there is something truly amazing in the mere fact that a newspaper published at a penny can afford to adopt this costly and exclusive mode of obtaining late and special news. It is in other methods, however, that the *Daily Telegraph* has recently shown that spirit of enterprise by which its proprietors have always been animated. In one respect it has taken a praiseworthy step, which ought not to pass without recognition. By appointing salaried correspondents in all the leading towns of the United Kingdom, it has succeeded in procuring for its subscribers a daily column of provincial news, which seems to supply the ordinary reader with all that he can wish to know concerning the movements of our national life outside the limits of London. The metropolitan newspapers, with a narrowness of purview which was truly provincial, had long neglected this important branch of their business; and even now, when more attention is generally paid to it, the reader must turn to the *Daily Telegraph* if he desires anything like a complete survey of our home news.

I am not prepared to say that

the *Telegraph* has always been as wise in its enterprises as it was in this instance. An alliance (which has been publicly announced, and to which, therefore, I may refer without impropriety) between the Fleet Street Journal and the *New York Herald* seems to have had the effect of diverting a portion of the energies of its managers into channels which, if they cannot be called illegitimate, are, at any rate, strange and new-fangled. The curious 'hit' made by the proprietor of the *Herald* when his zealous and indefatigable agent, Mr. Stanley, succeeded in finding and relieving Dr. Livingstone, has had an intoxicating influence upon some newspaper proprietors. Never, surely, was such newspaper enterprise shown before; and never certainly did newspaper obtain a more splendid advertisement. Whatever may have been Mr. Gordon Bennett's motives, however, it is at least certain that his action with regard to Livingstone has placed the whole civilised world under a debt of gratitude to him. The *Daily Telegraph*, inspired by Mr. Stanley's success, struck out a line of its own in the same direction; and, by taking upon itself the cost of one of the expeditions of Mr. George Smith in search of the interesting Chaldean tablets, it was enabled to identify its name with some very curious, and the more so because very ancient, news. Since then it has entered into a joint arrangement with the *New York Herald* in regard to the second African expedition of Mr. Stanley. By that arrangement Mr. Stanley's letters are received first in the office of the English newspaper, and are subsequently published simultaneously in the columns of the two journals. It would seem that there has been some little hitch in this joint arrangement. A few months ago, at any rate, the *Herald* and *Telegraph* quarrelled over one of the despatches and took the

public into their confidence; we hope that these enterprising young giants of journalism settled their differences, and nothing will occur to mar the success of their joint invasion of Central Africa. The reader, however, admit that newspaper enterprise must have undergone wonderful development in order to enable a penny daily paper to take so important a part in that unquestionably a great and worthy undertaking.

One of the operations of the *New York Herald* for the purpose of obtaining the earliest news from far country was not destined to have the success which it doubtfully deserved. Mr. Gordon Bennett, as is well known, sent a considerable part of the expedition to the Arctic under the command of Allen Young. The recompense was to have been the admission of the ship of Mr. M'Gahan, a clever journalist who accompanied the Russian troops to Khiva, to the Arctic expedition, and it was, of course, expected that Mr. M'Gahan would secure for his journal, and for the English journal associated with it, the exclusive possession of the news regarding the Arctic expedition of Captain Nares, which the little *Pandora* was to follow up to a certain point, to the Arctic. Here, however, another came into operation—that of a fair rivalry. Another American newspaper applied to have its representative admitted on board the *Pandora*; but it found that the precautions had been taken to prevent the presence of any rival journal in the expedition. Not baulked, it instructed an agent in London to get some one to ship to write letters for it. The agent went to Portsmouth and wrote two before the ship sailed,

there was a 'sea-lawyer' ; the ordinary crew, and it any difficulty retained him at moderate cost on behalf of the paper. He was simply told to keep a short diary of the voyage, to seize no opportunity of sending successive portions of it by passing ships. Here was the hardest part of the case so far as the *Herald* and its English correspondents were concerned. Mr. Nares, in the fullest belief that he was among the persons most interested in journalism, probably, of the very nature of the sea-lawyer in the case—did his duty as he had been instructed to do it. He collected all the information he could both concerning the voyage of his own vessel and the expedition.

Captain Nares, compiling this information a very interesting and instructive narrative. He kept the pages beside him so that he could present the whole to the world at once, only to find when he got home, that the value of his narrative had been largely discounted, if not entirely nullified, by the previous publication of those rude extracts from the sea-lawyer's log-book which the *New York Herald* had so craftily obtained.

The mention of the keen rivalry which led to this result suggests the London newspaper which has so often shown remarkable enterprising in various ways. The *Daily News* at the beginning of the war of 1854 stood by no means foremost in the penny London press ; but it cannot be doubted that it held that position at the close of the war. Few can have for-

gotten the generous compliment paid it by the *Times*, when it learned from it the very graphic account of the surrender of the city of Metz. It may be said that the success of the *Daily News* during the war was not due so much to

any superiority on the part of its correspondents as to the elaborate arrangements it made for procuring and publishing their despatches at the earliest possible moment. When the war with the King of Ashanti broke out the *Daily News* was anxious to maintain the reputation it had gained during the invasion of France, whilst its rivals, the *Standard* and *Daily Telegraph*, were equally anxious to secure that reputation for themselves. All three journals had, of course, their correspondents with Sir Garnet Wolseley's head-quarters, and terribly did these gentlemen suffer from the effects of the pestilential climate. But the newspapers were not content with merely sending correspondents into the field. They despatched other persons connected with their literary staff to Madeira and Lisbon, where their sole duty was to hasten the passage of important news from the military correspondents. How desperately these agents worked in order that each might be first in the field, has, I believe, been recorded in another quarter. At any rate it is certain that strange stories have been told of the devices to which they resorted, when a mail from the Gold Coast was expected, in order that each might be the first to forward to England the most important items of news, contained in the letters from head-quarters. On one occasion the *Daily News* was before all its contemporaries with the news of an important event in the war ; but this priority was only obtained in this fashion :—The letters received at Lisbon were always taken into quarantine and fumigated before being delivered even to those most eager for them. The *Daily News*' representative, having become aware of this, induced the quarantine clerk to open the letter from the correspondent of his paper, and to hold it up to the barren window of the fumigating chamber ; he was

thus able to read the letter through the window, and to take a hasty note of its contents without having had it in his possession. These are little incidents, scarcely worth recording, perhaps; and yet they may throw a new light upon the amount and the character of that enterprise of which I am speaking, and to which the English public is indebted for the possession of the earliest news from even the most remote quarters.

One feature of modern newspaper enterprise, so far as the American press is concerned, has happily hardly taken root in this country. This is the practice of 'interviewing' distinguished persons, and publishing full accounts of their appearance and conversation. In America the 'interviewer' is one of the recognised institutions of the country, and a journalist who excels in this very peculiar branch of the craft is certain of obtaining a good situation and a large salary. I am afraid, however, that the abstinence of the English press from the impertinent practice of intruding upon public men is not entirely to be attributed to its own virtuous instincts. Our social habits are utterly opposed to the toleration of such a practice; and the English interviewer who, in emulation of his American colleague, should endeavour to obtain access to Mr. Disraeli or Mr. Carlyle, would be very likely to meet with something worse than a mere rebuff. But where interviewing may be successfully attempted by English reporters, there seems to be no disposition to abstain from it. The *Daily News* is responsible for the introduction of a peculiar form of the practice into the journals of this country. The representatives of that paper do not interview Prime Ministers or eminent authors; but they fasten upon any ordinary persons whose fortunes have, through some extraordinary circumstance, become in-

teresting to the general public. In this fashion they sought out some of the sailors of the *Megara*, and gave us in the sailors' own words their account of the last voyage of that ill-starred ship. When two of the survivors of the unfortunate *La Plata* were picked up in the Bay of Biscay, where they had been floating about on a life-raft for four-and-twenty hours, the interviewer of the same journal discovered them, and extracted their thrilling story from them for the benefit of its readers. Justice must be done to the great literary skill which was shown by the interviewer on both of these occasions, and it cannot be said that the practice is illegitimate in such cases as these. But when it comes to interviewing the wives of murderers, and other persons whose misfortune it is to be mixed up with ghastly and disgusting tragedies which happen to attract public attention for the moment, it must be said that newspaper enterprise is being shown in a very objectionable manner. If the *Daily News* was the first English journal to strike out a new line by procuring the earliest personal narratives of great disasters at sea, its contemporaries were not slow to follow its example, and the practice is now only too common. When the three wretched creatures who were alone saved out of the great multitude of men and women lost in the *Compass* were expected at Plymouth, nearly all the newspapers in England seemed to be eager to be the first to interview them. Special steamers went out to intercept the mail-boat in which they came; a special train was waiting to carry them to London, if they would only consent to travel by it with the representatives of a particular journal; and when they at last arrived they were almost torn to pieces by a crowd of reporters each anxious to obtain some special piece of information for himself. Newspaper readers must

that the enterprise of those engage to supply them with is carried to an extreme extent so much money and energy expended in order that a particular piece of news may be published a few hours earlier than it wise would be. But this rage the latest news does not stop the hiring of special steamers special trains. Two or three ago the enterprising proprietor of one of the London newsies, on the occasion of the University Boat Race, actually paid an electric cable from the steamer in which he accompanied the and by means of it was able keep all England informed of progress of the crews whilst twenty minutes' contest was carried on.

is not by the metropolitan press, however, that this eagerness to get the earliest information concerning all public events is exhibited. The provincial press of late years made even greater strides than that of the metropolis; if the truth must be told, the has taken many hints in the development of its enterprise from country rivals. The special, for example, which the *Times* and *Daily Telegraph* have now hired in London and Paris, have become familiar to the provincial press in the last ten years. Certain big journals of the great towns in England and Scotland—prominent among which are the *Standard*, the *Glasgow Herald*, the *Western Guardian*, and the *Leeds Mercury*—possess special wires of their own between their head offices and the town in which they are published and branch offices in and out of Fleet Street. By means of these wires, and the staff employed for the purpose of working them, chief provincial papers are able to relate even the greatest of the news on journals in the publication of metropolitan news. The

four newspapers I have named (and others scarcely, if at all, less worthy could easily be mentioned) give better parliamentary reports as a rule than those which appear in some London daily papers. They not only have special wires from their offices in Edinburgh or Leeds to their offices in London, but special wires from the latter to the House of Commons. The editor four hundred miles away, sitting in his room in Edinburgh, is thus in constant and instantaneous communication with Parliament when it is in session. He knows hour by hour, if not minute by minute, throughout the night what is happening in the House, who is speaking, and who is going to speak. Scarcely have the tellers declared the numbers in a division to the Speaker than the same numbers are placed on the editor's desk in Glasgow or Manchester, and he can thus write upon the parliamentary news of the day as soon as his rival editor in London can. It is not by any means for parliamentary news alone, however, that these provincial papers have gone to the great expense of hiring special wires and opening offices in London. News of all kinds goes over the wires to these journals, the object of their conductors being to make their readers as far as possible independent of the metropolitan press. A very marked improvement has thus taken place in the character of the leading country newspapers. They no longer give their readers the news which has appeared in London the day before, but they publish the accounts of all important events simultaneously with the metropolitan press; and, instead of waiting to see what the *Times*, or the *Standard*, or the *Pall Mall Gazette* may have to say upon any particular question, they express their own views in leading articles, which appear at the same time as the leaders in the great London

journals. This is not the place in which to discuss that question of the relative merits of the metropolitan and provincial press which Mr. Gladstone is so fond of raising; but those who are in the habit of seeing the chief country newspapers will readily admit that the new system on which they are conducted adds immensely to their freshness and interest, if not to their value and importance.

One great feature of the provincial press has, one might almost say, from time immemorial been the letter of the London correspondent. A great many jokes have been current from time to time at the expense of this individual, and it cannot be said that all of these jokes have been unprovoked. But the enterprise shown by provincial newspaper proprietors in recent years has done much to redeem the character of 'Our London Correspondent' from the reproach which formerly attached to it. It is no secret that the gentlemen who furnish the leading country newspapers with the political and social gossip of the capital are not the mere Grub Street hacks of former days, nor is their knowledge of club-life so distant, if not so purely imaginary, as it was at the time when every little provincial weekly had its own 'lounger at the clubs.' More than one Member of Parliament has been perfectly ready to do the work and take the pay of a 'London correspondent,' and men of established reputations in literature and good position in society have been equally willing to prepare this kind of news for provincial readers. That the pay is not now-a-days so trifling as was once supposed will be admitted when I say that I know of one London letter which costs a hundred pounds a month. It is, however, a mistake to suppose that a single person is the author of any one of the London letters which now appear in

the best provincial papers. They are generally contributed by three gentlemen, moving in the circles of society, who are not paid for any item of exchange which they may bring to the table with which they are connected. The letters thus gain that tone and in information which lends them to the reader the fashion to sneer at the prophecies of the London correspondents of provincial papers; but who are best acquainted with the subject will be the first to admit that these persons often furnish the earliest information not only of interesting movements in the world but of important politics. I could name two or three London journals which have acquired a great reputation for their knowledge of the doings in the world, whose chief source for the news of their special news has been the London correspondence of the provincial press. It is scarcely too much to say that the London correspondence of the chief country newspapers is always sent by telegraph. This part of the service is considered of so much importance that I have no doubt it would be the preference over any other. The Prime Minister himself, when editor had to choose between the London and provincial papers retained his correspondents, however. They have so far copied the telegraph press that they now have the contents of their own in London, York, and many other towns. The *Manchester* was, I believe, the only paper which had a correspondent during the siege; and to the man (Mr. Robinson) the 'balloon post,' which has been so largely utilised, is to be attributed. When I send a despatch to the provincial newspaper which has sent me, he bethought him

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There is one new feature of daily journalism which belongs equally to the London and pro- vincial press, and which, therefore, may be most appropriately men- tioned at this point. The ordinary reader has doubtless been half pleased and half puzzled during the past twelve months by the appear- ance of the daily weather charts which now figure not only in most of the metropolitan, but in many of the leading country journals. Here, surely, is the very freshest develop- ment of newspaper enterprise!

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Who that was in the habit of reading his newspaper a score of years ago could have imagined that in 1876 it would contain each day a chart showing, in a manner at once graphic and precise, the kind of weather, the barometrical pressure, and the force and direction of the wind prevailing all over the British Isles and a considerable part of the Continent on the previous day? It is quite possible that many persons are unable to understand this weather chart, and it must be admitted that it might be made somewhat simpler without disadvantage. But, even as it is, it must be accounted a marvellous achievement. Formerly this chart would have been carefully drawn on wood, then cut out by an engraver, and finally transferred by the process of stereotyping to some hard metallic substance, from which it could be printed. But all this occupied much time, and the exigencies of daily newspaper work demand a speedier method of preparation. The difficulty was solved some time ago by the London Patent Typefoundry Company, who have invented a machine which for the ingenuity of its construction, and the accuracy of its action, has seldom been rivalled in the art of the mechanician. This apparatus is in shape like a small lithographic press, with a long handle, termed a pentograph, which being drawn over a rough tracing produces a corresponding graving on a smaller scale on a block of dried plaster of Paris placed in the centre of the machine. The operator need not be an artist; all that is required of him is that he shall carefully follow the lines of the drawing before him, and this being done, the graver (which is at some little distance from him) will cut out simultaneously a reduced fac-simile on the plaster block from which the stereotype casts are afterwards to be taken. The information from the

various weather stations is supplied by the Meteorological Office written on a printed or pencilled coast outline. The latter is transferred slowly by the pentograph in half an hour or so to the engraved block ready to be transferred to metal. It is evident that this process may be applied to newspaper purposes, such as a sketch of a battle-field, or the course of a boat race, and no doubt the day is coming when newspaper readers will have pictorial as well as the full comprehension of a weather description. In the meantime the pentograph is only used for the production of weather charts, and these are applied daily in metal blocks to the newspapers in London and the provinces that care to pay the extra cost at which they are issued. Until recently they did not exist north of the Border, there being no facilities for sending them by the way in time for next day's publication, but the *Glasgow Herald* has devised a method which enables it to give precisely the same information which is supplied by the journals of London, Leeds, and Manchester. The coast outlines are cut on a block of hardened metal, and the information (telegraphed by the day) is transferred by a process which ensures perfect accuracy by inserting movable types to form the skeleton parts of the block.

It must not be supposed, however, that it is only in the selection of news that the newspaper proprietor is required to display his spirit of enterprise. The reader has seen how the mechanical and scientific coveries have been employed in the collection of his daily news; but they are even more largely drawn upon in the distributing that dish among those who wish to partake of it. The most important improvement that has ever been effected upon the construction of the original printing press has been the invention

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 and a great deal of time, and
 large sum of money ; for an

Moreover, the old class of machine printed the paper on one side only at a time; so that when one half of the impression had been printed on these twenty thousand sheets they had to be removed to another machine, on which they were placed one by one by the same tedious manual process, and printed on the reverse side. How different is the operation of printing a newspaper now, thanks to the inventors of the web machines! All these machines, however much they may differ otherwise, are alike in one respect. At one end of the machine is a great roll of blank paper as long as ten or perhaps twenty thousand separate sheets. Instead of the slow process of feeding the machine sheet by sheet, the end of this roll only is taken into the machine, which is then left to feed itself. As soon as it is started it begins to unwind the roll at a regular and rapid rate; and, as it draws it into the midst of the printing apparatus, it prints it first on one side and then on the other, finally cutting each separate paper off the roll and delivering it in a receiving tray. The Victory machine, in addition to feeding itself, printing the paper, and cutting it off, delivers each newspaper folded up in the shape in which it is subsequently laid upon the counter of the newsagent for sale. And all these varied processes can be conducted so rapidly that each machine can print, cut from the roll, and deliver from nine to fourteen thousand newspapers per hour. With hand-feeding there was, of course, a certain well-defined limit to speed, the largest number of copies a single man could deliver to a machine being about fifteen hundred per hour; but, by the new process of mechanical feeding from a reel or web

of paper, the only limit is that of the speed at which the machine itself can work.

One machine alone, even though it should turn out newspapers at the rate of fourteen thousand an hour, would not be sufficient to meet the demand of the public for our leading daily papers. In some cases the circulation of those papers exceeds one hundred thousand copies a day, and the eagerness to give the latest possible news is such that a very short time is allowed for printing. It is, therefore, necessary to use more than one machine. In some offices from six to eight are employed daily in printing a single newspaper. The difficulty of printing the same newspaper upon half-a-dozen machines simultaneously is met by printing, not from the type, but from stereotype plates. A stereotyping foundry is now part of the regular equipment of a daily newspaper office of any pretensions; and, as the saving of time is in every case the great end aimed at, machinery has been invented by means of which it is possible to produce a stereotype plate, dress it, and place it on a printing machine in less than ten minutes from the time when the page or 'forme' of type to be stereotyped has been received in the foundry. Only those who have actually seen for themselves the work in the machine department of a great daily paper can have any conception of the speed with which the many intricate operations required in the production of the printed sheet are performed. In nothing, indeed, has

mode more enterprise has more been applied than in the application of mechanical contrivances for expediting the process of printing. In many offices a newspaper can now be printed at a rate of more than sixty thousand copies per hour.

Let it not be supposed that I have exhausted the subject dealt with in this paper. My purpose has not been to tell all about newspapers, the manner in which the news which fills them is obtained and the manner in which they are afterwards produced. I have simply desired to call attention to some of the chief points of interest connected with the recent improvements effected by newspaper proprietors. Those who read their daily paper, taking it and its wonderful mass of information as a mere matter-of-course, have seldom even a faint idea of that vast organisation of skill, enterprise, ingenuity, and labour which is required to bring it into their hands. If they will remember that a page which has been told them in ten pages concerns only a few of the latest developments of newspaper enterprise, leaving altogether untouched many of the most remarkable features of journalistic work, they will, I think, come to the conclusion that even a dull newspaper is not altogether so uninteresting a thing as it seems to be, and that, upon the whole, there are not many works in which human ingenuity is more variously exercised than in that of providing the public with its daily supply of news.



THE POOR AND THE HOSPITALS.

present century, and more especially the period comprised in the last forty years of it, has been remarkable for its attempts to ameliorate the condition of the poor in the various districts; and working, as it has, against the constant disadvantage of the opposition of the old system of change and reform, has accomplished a vast amount

of practical proof of this is shown by our statistics that the mortality in the London metropolitan district has, in spite of a constantly increasing population, decreased by about 22,000 paupers in the last twenty years, and that the rate of mortality in the same district has been reduced by over 10,000 deaths in the last twenty years; and at the rate of 3 per cent. in 1840.

To effect this satisfactory result, it has been necessary at various times to devise new methods of dealing with existing evils, and new measures for carrying out our intentions towards the poor, to insure improvement in their condition as well as reform. On the other hand, we have certain deep-seated evils staring us in the face, the danger of their growth if let alone; and on the other side the acknowledged difficulties of passing from a transition state from old evils to new, and in starting new experimental legislation and machinery, which will require a long and patient time and patience to work in the way in-

which the difficulty of any attempts to improve the condition of the poor may arise from the fact that, we can at one and the same time provide for their moral, social, and sanitary condition, any improvement in one of these branches

separately will be neutralised by the deficiency in the two others. It is evidently useless to provide improved dwellings for the poor, unless we also provide them with additional education, or other means of obtaining increased incomes wherewith to pay for their improved dwellings; and it is equally useless to move them into cleaner and less infected districts, if they carry with them the vice and ignorance of laws human and divine, which will soon reduce the new district to the condition of the one they have left. Undoubtedly, much good will be effected by the thoroughness of the changes made by the new Industrial Dwellings Act, by the superior education now afforded to poor children by the School Board, and by the recent impetus apparently imparted to all public charities by the Charity Organisation Society, which aims not so much at devising new means of relief as at making the most of those already existing.

It is in aid of this work of general poor reform that we desire to call attention to a great power existing in our midst, which, without any violent remodelling or offensive change, may be made to perform an even greater work than at present in the amelioration of the condition of the poor. By its means, we believe, not only their sanitary, but also their social and moral condition may be vastly improved, with the best guarantee to society that the money devoted to the purpose shall be judiciously expended.

The power which we thus refer to is that of the fifty or more hospitals of the London Metropolitan District, including under this head both general and special hospitals. We ought even, in order to make

our system complete, to go a little farther, and include under the head of hospitals the convalescent homes and the training-schools for nurses, both of which, experience every day shows more clearly, should be the invariable appendages and adjuncts of hospitals.

Perhaps we shall better appreciate the available power of the hospitals if we consider that the committees or boards of management of the London general hospitals alone include about 500 members; that they have uncontrolled authority over the health and lives of over 650,000 applicants in a year, and the expenditure of over 250,000*l*. This statement, moreover, would not include the numerous special hospitals, infirmaries, and dispensaries, which have each its separate board of management, different beneficiaries, and independent income. Nor does the limit in the number of hospitals appear likely soon to be reached, for we find by the Registrar-General's Report that they increase in England and Wales at the rate of about a hundred hospitals a year, and yet he remarks that 'there is too great a disparity in the facilities which the populations of different parts of the country have of access to institutions for the relief of their necessities.'¹

The Boards of Management of these hospitals, are, as we have said, nearly absolute in their powers within their own domain, and are practically self-elective for an indefinite term, provided the individual members are willing to give a reasonable amount of time and attention to their duties. Occasionally, a coroner's inquest will reveal to the public a little internal hospital management; but, as the inquests throughout the whole of England only represent 5 per

cent. of all the deaths, little gleaned from this source, a only ordinary communication of these managing committee the outer world is through annual reports to the subscribers. But what do these amount to? As a rule, they are statements of the sums of annually received in donations, subscriptions, and the corresponding amounts expended in the maintenance of the hospital, more or less full and accurate of the patients admitted, charged, cured or relieved, dead. We say advisedly a less accurate, for out of many reports of hospitals which we have examined, we have found but few which give a full and accurate statement of the medical and surgical cases, and none which at all on new systems of treatment or nursing, new discoveries in medicine or surgery, or throw out sanitary suggestions by either the public or the student much the wiser or better. In two or three instances the reports of hospitals are large volumes for by subscription, giving a detailed treatment of certain interesting cases; but in this respect beyond the comprehension of the scientific reader. The endowed hospitals, belonging to the City authorities, do not undertake to enlighten outside their board of governors as to their management, and as to them we do not propose at present to deal.

The general subscription hospitals, then, are practically inaccessible to any authority outside their own committees, and, as a fact of the governors or subscribers beyond those on the management committee, trouble themselves about the care of the sick or

¹ Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Registrar-General, p. xxi.

of the money which they subscribe. And in this we would suggest that it is desirable that the reports should be made returnable through the Registrar to the general Government whom they obtain their accounts according to regularly prepared forms, questions, and tables, diligent summings-up, and by the medical and surgeons. There was indeed no account entered into at a meeting at St. Bartholomew's hospital many years ago, the hospital returns were made out according to a plan, but it has not generally adhered to.

In the last two years the hospital Fund has required hospitals for participation in it of its receipts very full of a list of questions for every it to each hospital. However, we should suppose, made public and utilised they are at present; for we noticed, that though the participation in the Sunday Fund depends mainly on the financial management of the hospital, yet the Sunday Committee say in their Report 1874:

"In giving their award in each case of three years' expenditure of money concerned, the committee ought to take into consideration the sumable amount of good done in relation to the expenditure incurred; it is obvious that to have based the award on expenditure alone, without other considerations, would imply to have put a premium on ignorance."

The relative amounts given by the Sunday Fund are the only indication of what the result of the system is; and we would rather it would not be possible for the Sunday Fund Committee to impart any information,

or throw any light from all these answers to their questions on the necessities of the sick poor, as they enjoy the special privilege of being the only body into whose hands all the hospital reports can collectively come, until some such plan as we suggested above, of these reports being made to the general Government, can be adopted?

And this brings us back to our first assertion, that there is this great power of the general and special hospitals, whose capabilities are not yet developed, which might be brought to bear on the sanitary, moral, and social welfare of the poor. Now, we do not wish to deny the immense amount of gratuitous useful work performed in the hospitals with the most charitable motives by medical men and laymen, nor to find fault with what is done. The evils that do exist in hospitals arise very much from their having been founded in connection with Schools of Medicine, which caused the instruction of students to be of more importance than the cure of the sick, and a brilliant operation more necessary than the life of the subject. As long as this was generally the case, the hospitals were necessarily as unpopular as the unions; the poor believing that they were wanted in them merely as subjects of experiment and instruction. The bad class of nurses frequently to be found formerly in hospitals likewise added not a little to their unpopularity. Of late years, however, a different state of things has prevailed in the hospitals; they have ceased to be merely experimental schools for students, some of them having no students at all, and most of the special and all the incurable hospitals being solely for the benefit of the patients. The vastly improved systems of nursing, also, under the active example and benign influence of the Sisterhoods,

and Miss Nightingale's pioneer work, have made the hospitals in many cases pleasant temporary homes for the sick poor, rather than gloomy torture-chambers.

It is this change in the character of hospitals that has induced the public to come forward, as it has, so liberally and in such a philanthropic spirit, with the numerous bequests and donations to hospitals of all descriptions, and to do all in its power to raise the science of nursing to quite as honourable a position as the science of medicine. Thus we are led to believe that the improvement and extension of the hospital system, as we have seen it grow to include every variety of special and incurable hospital, infirmary, convalescent home, nursing school, and Samaritan fund, has not yet reached its full development, and can be made still further useful to the poor and satisfactory to the subscribers.

It would seem to be true, that such a phenomenon as an able-bodied pauper ought to be an impossibility and a contradiction in terms, and that the surest way of striking at pauperism would be through the health of the poor. As it is a recognised fact that the greater part of city poverty comes in the first instance from sickness and consequent loss of work, cannot we devise in the first place still better means of curing the sick poor; and in the second place, while curing them, put into their heads such ideas of ventilation, cleanliness, food, and thrift, that the amount of disease and poverty arising from ignorance of sanitary laws may be sensibly diminished?

Now it seems to us that we have ready to our hands in the hospitals just the necessary machinery for this great work; and we would try to show that much more than at present might be got out of all this subscribing and managing,

doctoring and nursing. A proportion of the in-patients of general hospitals have more than once, many of them and over again, as out-simply from neglect of the law that the same cause produce the same effect if we chance to, and that we will try to stop running with a sieve as to cure the sick in the hospitals without trying the causes that produce the illness. Unquestionably a number of cures are made in hospitals, and an immense amount of time, care, and attention by physicians, nurses, and but still, many patients are cured, and carry back to their and cheerless homes the ignorance and liability to disease which they brought with them to the hospital. They are in some cases reduced to a state of helplessness by the loss of the father or mother, who brought them to the hospital, so much so as to insist upon the patient remaining in the hospital while only partially cured, and against the advice of the physicians.

Now, is there any way in which the hospitals may be made more useful as regards the first class of those who enter and the second class of those who leave their walls? The effect of the hospital culture seems to be fourfold: first, to effect a more thorough cure of the patient; second, to provide a way for his family, if he is able, while he is being cured; third, to turn him out decently clothed with a little money in his pocket; and, fourth, to try to prevent him from being obliged to come to the hospital again. If we can do all this by means of the hospitals, we think it must be admitted that they are a great power for the sanitary welfare of the poor.

To this it may be answered that nothing beyond the actual

cal care of the poor is not in the hands of the hospitals, but rests chiefly on the various existing societies. This is true if we look at the hospitals only as class-rooms for medical students; but, on the other hand, it must be remembered that the poor can still find ample accommodations

in the hospitals, and can combat some of their troubles in the half-cured state in which many of them are discharged into the streets. As regards the various societies, it is no doubt that in some cases they do more harm than good by their interference and often conflicting demands; but that the success of the Charity Organisation in London and elsewhere, both in London and in places where it has branches, has been due to public charities—among which must certainly, in spite of the competition of the voluntary schools, rank the hospitals—rank the hospitals, and not the public charities, and that the labour and capital is necessary is proved by the fact that only private individuals and societies, but even several hospitals themselves, have had to resort to the Charity Organisation Society for information regarding their poor beneficiaries, and that the hospitals protect themselves against the competition in the distribution of benefits. Why, then, should the hospitals to which the poor are referred to come, whether they or not, be made the nuclei in which the other charities arrange themselves, and where the concentrated management of the concentrated funds take effect in this forced attendance of the poor to save the endless and thankless work of referring them to their holes and corners—and this without interfering in the least with the income of the medical students? The care of the poor, as we have said, to be efficient, must be

equally physical, social, and moral, and the force of our plan is in the fact that by beginning with the physical improvement we can simultaneously look after the social and moral; and where do we find the physical wants of the poor so well shown or so accessible as in the hospital?

Now let us suppose a case as an example of the way our plan would work. The father or the mother of a family dependent on them for support is brought to the hospital with a broken limb. They are at once admitted, as all accidents are, without a governor's letter; which system of letters, we believe, indeed had better be abolished universally, as it has been in some of the hospitals, unless the governors will take more pains to look into the circumstances of the patients they recommend. As soon as the patient is admitted, his name and address are taken down, and he is assigned a bed by the house-surgeon in the accident ward. If the case had been medical, or other than a sudden accident, it might possibly have been refused, as not being a proper one for the hospital. But we will consider such cases farther on.

But here our plan of organisation comes in. After the patient's name and address are taken down in the hospital books, they should be copied into special blank forms, as is done for out-patients in some hospitals, and for all patients at the children's hospital, and sent as soon as convenient to the Charity Organisation Society for investigation into the truth of the history given and the circumstances of the patient's family. To pay for this trouble, which it is evident that the hospital authorities cannot take upon themselves, the Charity Organisation Society should charge the hospital a small sum to be agreed upon for such

applications. The answer will be forwarded to the hospital as soon as obtained, and by them filed in such a way as to be instantly available. This is all the hospital is expected to do during the patient's treatment, which, on the average, lasts a month. But there is another process which may be going on simultaneously with the treatment by permission and encouragement of the hospital.

There are societies, such as the Accident Relief Society and the Surgical Aid Society, which make it their business to relieve the necessities of the patients in the accident wards of the hospitals, for which purpose the accident wards are visited by the secretary or other agent of these societies in person; or, if the secretary of the hospital is willing to take the trouble, application may be made to them by him in writing. The greatest encouragement should be given to institutions of this description, as they would very materially relieve the minds of patients who have families dependent on them for support, and help to remove the objectionable practice of working men and women being obliged to leave the hospitals half-cured in order to earn bread to put into their mouths. The previous information obtained through the Charity Organisation Society would save time and trouble for the agents of the Accident Societies, and if it were found that much benefit resulted from the practice, a moderate annual grant might be given to such societies from the Hospital Samaritan Fund.

Thus we have by a little co-operation during the month passed by the patient in the hospital, ascertained the circumstances and wants of himself and family, and relieved them according to their several necessities, without any appreciable trouble to the hospital,

but a great diminution of and gain of time to others, the patient is more rapidly and completely cured from his mind set at rest about his family.

If, after the patient has received all the active treatment from the hospital, he should rest in some Convalescent Home as is generally the case for a complete cure, the Samaritan Fund of the hospital is applied to the chaplain for assistance enabling the patient to reach the Convalescent Home. The Samaritan funds, which are now at nearly all the hospitals, are really at a very low ebb, should not be so. They should be supported partly by subscriptions and partly by a moderate grant from the hospital, unless this is objected as is sometimes the case, by the committee, but better still by vested funds, as in the case of the large City hospitals; and earnestly commend this to the liberality of the public. The control of the fund should be under the hospital with the chaplain as chairman and almoner, having a certain sum always at his disposal for cases requiring a little immediate assistance on leaving the hospital. The Convalescent Home should be either a branch establishment under the management of the hospital, or, if it be thought by the hospital not to incur the trouble and expense of such additional management, the hospital should purchase the right of a certain number of patients to spend time in the Home by payment of a stipulated sum, or by having the patient so sent charged to the hospital at a fixed rate per week. The hospital in this case might be represented on the board of managers of the Convalescent

e. The patients are usually back to town from the Home turn tickets at reduced rates by the railway companies, who are very accommodating in this respect as to the sick.

Thus we provide for the actual treatment, convalescence, and cure of the patient and the care of his family, while they are going on, by mutual co-operation of the hospital, the Samaritan fund, the convalescent home, and the relief societies. Some will say that such is ready the case, and no alteration required; but in the first place, want of general application to Charity Organisation Society, specially in the case of out-patients, and improper cases are assisted; secondly, for want of co-operation with some relief society, many patients and their families are made suffer while the cure is being effected, even if it does not have to be given up altogether; thirdly, for want of a vigorous and systematic co-operation between the hospitals and convalescent homes, many patients are either not sent to them too late, or are not sent at all, and have to drag along in the best way they can as out-patients, without country or sea-side air and rest; finally, the Samaritan funds are not in the efficient condition they should be.

There are likewise institutions deserving the encouragement of hospitals filling up the little gap between the hospital and the convalescent home, such as the House of Charity in Soho Square, which receives convalescents from hospitals while seeking employment, or passing to or waiting their opportunity of admission to hospitals. We see also in the report of one hospital that the Order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem has for many years, upon the recommendation of the medical officers, supplied nourishing diets to a

certain number of poor patients on their leaving the hospital. All such assistance should be gladly welcomed by the hospitals as a relief to the low state of the Samaritan funds, and to the already overcrowded out-patient departments, from which, though it may not be desirable, on account of the medical students, to keep out or limit the number of new cases, as has been attempted in some hospitals, yet the in-patient cases which have been discharged only half-cured are simply superfluous in the out-patient department for purposes of study, and encumbrances as regards time, space, and expense. The average number of new out-patient cases from which anything can be learnt is not much over a third of the whole number of out-patients attended to, many of them, too, being similar to each other.

The Convalescent Home question, in the case of most hospitals, is in a very unsatisfactory condition. Only one or two hospitals have their own exclusive convalescent home, and the rest have, as a rule, to be dependent upon the gift of subscribers' tickets, which can rarely be obtained at the right moment, and the hospitals do not consider themselves at liberty to subscribe largely enough to send all the patients they wish; though here we think they are in error, and that they should open a regular account with the various convalescent homes, and send patients whenever there is a vacancy for them. The homes would only be too glad to be able to depend upon so certain a source of income, and the hospitals would be more than repaid in the saving on the out-patients, many of whom are half-cured in-patients, who ought to be at convalescent homes, and who, besides taking up valuable time and space, consume gallons of medicine, and perhaps even have to come back again as in-patients. This

might be often avoided, and, at any rate, the co-operation of the two institutions would be mutually beneficial.

As regards the discharged patients leaving the hospital well clothed, there are several points of no little importance. On arriving at the hospital the patient's clothes should be immediately disinfected, as in many cases they are not only soaked with dirt and disease, but are also swarming with vermin. The arrangements for disinfection vary in different hospitals, but are in many of them very defective, there being no places for disinfecting the clothes of the patients and the hospital bedding separately. The plan also generally adopted of putting the patient's clothing in boxes under the beds in the wards is most objectionable in a sanitary point of view, as not only impeding the free circulation of air under the beds, but as being a dirty practice, both as regards the bedding and the clothes. The clothes of the patients, when possible, should be taken away by their family and replaced by others perfectly clean; and all the clothing of patients should be kept in appropriate cupboards and drawers in the corridors, numbered to correspond with the beds. An excellent plan in practice at some of the Continental hospitals is to have washing suits belonging to the hospital, which patients could wear the short time they have to wear any clothes before leaving the building and resuming their own. If the resources of the Samaritan funds were larger, many more decent garments might be furnished to patients leaving the hospitals; and, when we reflect how much general health and the spread of disease are dependent on the clothing, especially of the poor, it is certain that sufficient attention is not yet paid to this detail of hospital hygiene, and that if their assistance

were solicited, there are charitable societies which would be glad to assist in furnishing clothing to patients leaving hospitals.

Another question regarding sums of money needed by patients leaving hospitals to get them or support them a while till they find work is of equal importance. When the Samaritan fund permits, it is usual in deserving cases something to be given from the fund; but it would be much better for the recipients of such assistance if they could be bestowed in the form of a loan without interest, instead of being given outright. It goes far towards repressing mendacity and encouraging self-respect. Again, it is a matter much more appropriate for outside societies than for hospitals themselves, which are hardly competent to become loan companies. There are many charitable fund and loan societies, which, if patients discharged from hospitals were sent to them for certificates of honesty and character, such as we have already mentioned, would gladly assist individual patients or might even be induced to accept a small annual donation to the Samaritan fund of the hospital where the treasurer was willing to undertake the trouble of loaning money. As an instance of how this system works, we would mention that the annual report of the country branches of the Charity Organisation Society stated that out of 64*l.* lent to the poor only 5*l.* had failed to be repaid, and that mainly from the case of the persons who were repaid it (see *Charity Organisation Society*, No. 158, p. 155).

The next point, of preventing patients from being applicants for relief, seems at first chimerical, and of course not applicable to purely medical or surgical cases; but in many cases it is often evident that

and his family have simply neglected of the ordinary laws of health, and ignorant of what should be done for women or children in prevention or cure of disease. Towards the common principles of ventilation, cooking, and clothing, there is no doubt that a great deal can be done through the hospitals by publishing books, such as are now published constantly on such subjects.

When patients were leaving hospital, and are supposed to be grateful for their cure, they are presented with cheap pamphlets on sanitary subjects, prepared by the surgeons and physicians, and handed to them by the nurses with a few earnest words of advice, it might often prevent them from falling into such careless and injurious ways of living which brought them to the hospital. Is this plan to be such a burden on hospitals as at first appears, there is a society called the Sanitary Association, which has exactly this object, and issues pamphlets among the poor on the laws of health to the amount of even a penny for publications since its foundation in 1857. An active co-operation with and encouragement of such a society as this on the part of hospitals, would no doubt clear their wards from many future nuisances, and the society would be the trouble of having to send the homes of the poor to the circulation of their

great question of the recreation and care of the patients in hospital is by far the most difficult of the many hospital problems to deal with, owing to the diversity of religious opinions and prejudices existing in civilised communities. Nearly, if not quite, all the hospitals have a chaplain, who, as a sincere and earnest, hard-working, successful officer of the hospital;

but, as the salaries are small and the duties heavy, it is evident that his work must be assisted and supplemented by other methods for the spiritual welfare of the sick.

The ministrations to the sick, though unquestionably one of the first of duties, yet cannot be undertaken purely and solely as an official duty. If they are, they relapse into mere forms, and are almost sure to be unsuccessful. There must be combined with the sense of duty a real love and aptitude for the work. The minds of the sick are peculiarly sensitive and on the alert, and never fail to perceive the slightest forced service, want of sympathy, or disgust at, and fear of, disease and suffering. There must be sympathy allied with pity, and there must be no antipathy or signs of attempts to get through a disagreeable duty as soon as possible. The daily religious services of the hospital, both in the chapel, if there is one, and in the wards, can, of course, be performed by the chaplain, though in some hospitals the prayers in the wards are read by the Sister in charge, and this might be much more generally done than it is for the benefit of the patients and the nurses. Likewise, the ministrations to the dying and the very sick devolve by right on the chaplain, who should always be willing to administer the sacraments when called upon. This comprehends about all the religious duties of the chaplain, who is also sometimes required to open the meetings of the committee with prayer; but his services to the patients outside the hospital, as well as inside, are susceptible of almost any amount of development, according to the individual ideas of the incumbent.

But, over and above all that the chaplain can do, there is still ample opportunity for outside assistance, and a vast amount of work and good is done by the Bible-readers

and visitors, who frequent the wards to converse seriously with the patients, and read and write for them. There are also benevolent persons who visit the hospitals to circulate religious tracts among the sick; but, unless this is accompanied with some explanation and conversation, we doubt very much whether tracts of a gloomy religious kind are much calculated to produce a beneficial effect. We have the opinion of patients themselves, that the kind of religious influence which is most acceptable to them is that of Christian ladies, who will give them a few moments of their time, and without depressing them by too severe views of religion, will lead their minds into peaceful channels by cheerful views of their present and future state, besides reading to them in good and useful books. It is unfortunate that more of this work cannot be done; but there are few hours in the day when visitors can be admitted without interfering with hospital work, and the present objectionable practice in many hospitals of indiscriminately putting scarlet fever cases among the ordinary ones makes visiting on the part of persons with families somewhat dangerous work. It is very desirable, however, to encourage every system which tends to keep up an active interest between the hospitals and the public. For such purely missionary work, discretionary powers of admission, and of assigning wards to visitors, might be granted to the chaplain. But whatever system of spiritual comfort in the wards of a hospital be adopted, it is very certain that all seed sown is liable to take root, and produce fruit in the future life of the patients, and that religion should be looked upon as part of the general system by which the hospitals may perform their share in the moral cure of the poor.

What we have thus far states wholly to the patients admitted within the walls of the hospital, and we do not at present intend to go into the much discussed question of out-patients, elsewhere expressed the opinion that they should form no part of the work of a general hospital, any rate, to the extent they are at present. There still remains a very important question of what, if anything, the hospitals can do in regard to the cases which they are obliged to turn away from their doors, such as lunatics, small-pox cases, confirmed consumption, and emaciated legs of long standing. For females far advanced in pregnancy. For lunatics, the State in some countries now undertakes to receive, and, of late years, the State provides accommodations for this unfortunate class. There have been no less humane and comfortable than successful; and the treatment of insanity is consequently now looked upon as a far more curable disease than formerly, when chains and confinement were the only remedies available. For small-pox, likewise, the district or parish or county authorities provide special hospitals; but for confirmed consumption, though the most prevalent scourge of the British Islands, and for the dreadful and common trouble of ulcerated legs, there is still no hope but in the exercise of benevolence, and the accommodation is far from adequate. For consumptives, the essential requisites of good air and food are so difficult to obtain, consistently with any moderate expense, that we fear the general hospitals cannot be responsible for their treatment more than they can for the cure of several absolutely incurable diseases, which, if attended to in time, would entirely monopolize their space, time, and money. Fortunately, the wants of the consumptive have called forth a noble response from the wealthy.

the spacious accommodations of Sanatorium at Ventnor, as the st, besides other no less useful utions, prove that the public ot expect the general hospitals ke this work upon themselves, ially as there is little or no; to be learnt by the general cal student in their treatment. ith respect to those suffering ulcerated legs, however, the is a little different. While it is ntly impossible from the great alence of these cases, from the sity of a tolerably long period ertect rest and good food for improvement, and from their ssness for purposes of study, they should be admitted to general hospitals, yet it is nt that, as they may be greatly fited, and sometimes even l, some provision should be e for them. The only institu- of the kind we know of is the lon Infirmary in Red Lion re, which attends to an average ,000 cases in a year, but is un- nately not supported in a way ortional to its meritorious ob-

As a special hospital, it is inly not open to the objec- so often urged against spe- hospitals, that they take away so many cases from the medi- tudents, for ulcerated legs offer that is new or instructive; as to its necessity, it is suffi- to say that it was started in under the auspices of Miss ence Nightingale. If the gene- hospitals would recognise its tance in relieving their wards, reat it as a sort of convalescent e for the cases turned away their doors, one great result ework, bad food, and crowded ill-ventilated abodes would be usly attacked, and the general itals be relieved from the many which, in spite of regulations, occasionally to be received the wards and out-patients'

rooms, with much loss of time and money and little or no benefit to the sufferers. We should likewise be glad to see nearly all hip disease cases consigned to such special institutions as could give them the rest and attention they require, free from the bad air of hospital wards.

In connection with the physical and moral improvement of the poor, there is also one other class of patients with respect to which there is much difference of opinion as regards the duty of hospitals, and these are the lying-in cases. Some hospitals have separate wards for them, some attend to them at their own homes, and some attend to them as little as possible. As regards the first course, if the hospital has ample premises and means, and can efficiently provide against the dangerous nature of the diseases sometimes resulting from this class of cases, it then seems evidently their duty to take them in. Otherwise, those who have no homes of their own proper to be confined in, which is very frequently the case, should be able to find refuge in special hospitals devoted to that purpose. Nor can we see any advantage in the general hospitals undertaking to attend to such cases at their own homes, except for purposes of study and practice to their students, who are always required to take a certain number of cases of the kind. There are, however, serious objections to having students at one moment in the dissecting room, at another in the surgical and medical wards, and at another by the bedside of a woman in a private house. It would seem safer and more convenient to have the whole of private midwifery among the poor performed by special accoucheurs attached to the infirmaries, who should charge a small fee to encourage self-dependence, and should take classes of students at periods when they could

leave their hospital studies entirely for a certain time.

There are other cases, which need not be mentioned by name here, regarding which there is some doubt exactly what the duties of general hospitals are towards the poor. On the one side medical men and their students claim every opportunity of learning which offers itself; and the charitable character of hospitals demands that no opportunity of doing good should be refused. On the other, space and time are limited, and the advocates of special hospitals affirm that many diseases can be treated better by themselves, and under the care of medical men and nurses who occupy themselves with one kind alone. Some maintain that general hospitals should receive no out-patients, and that all this work should fall on the provident dispensaries; while, as a rule, we find this idea opposed by the hospital physicians and surgeons, provided certain abuses can be stopped.

But while there is probably no positive decision to be arrived at in any of these questions, and the use of special hospitals and provident dispensaries will depend upon the liberality and sympathies of individuals and the general experience of the public, yet one circumstance which would seem to show that the general hospitals are somewhat imposed upon is, that there is a most sudden and marked falling off in the number of applicants at these institutions about Christmas time, though it is the most inclement season of the year, and one when from various causes accidents and sickness ought to be most prevalent. There should likewise at present be no cause for jealousy or opposition towards special hospitals, for, though they are all overflowing with patients and clamouring for more accommodation and funds, yet there is no lack of special cases for study in

the general hospitals, and the number of their students does not diminish.

To sum up our remarks, we would, *first*, have no cases absolutely refused by the general hospitals except such as it is well known are provided for by the parish authorities; *secondly*, such cases as it is neither profitable to the patient nor to the medical students to keep in the hospital, we would send with a certificate from the hospital to such special hospitals as are prepared to devote themselves to such cases, and are willing to allow students to visit their wards when requested; *thirdly*, in the general hospitals we would have a vigorous encouragement of such societies as examine into the wants of the poor, and visit the patients in the wards or their families at their homes; *fourthly*, we would have a businesslike alliance with the convalescent homes, so as to insure a reliable and immediate admission of every case, which we think can only be done by a regular charge being made for all such cases; *fifthly*, we would have the Samaritan fund more noticed by hospital benefactors and put on a more efficient footing either by assistance from their own hospital or from outside Samaritan societies, so as always to have available aid for patients in their transition state from cure to health; *sixthly*, we would advocate the circulation of simple sanitary books as tracts among patients, to teach them the common laws of healthy living; *seventhly*, we would encourage more visiting in the wards by ladies under the authority of the chaplain; *eighthly*, we would have the reports of the hospitals more detailed and instructive as regards the cure of the sick, with a view to removing some of the causes which bring the poor to them; in effect more good by means of the reports, they might all be sent to

ome one officer who should con-
e them into one general treatise
he subject. *Lastly*, we would
cate the establishment of some
ly or monthly journal devoted
ospital interests. Or, without
ing any of the risks attendant on
ing a literary enterprise, there
already various sanitary journals,
one of which, if a systematic
of hospital support were pro-
d it, would, we should imagine,
illing to make itself the organ
ospital interests, and give the

public some light on the whole sub-
ject of general and special hospitals,
with their adjuncts of convalescent
homes and nursing schools.

By some such combined and
heartly work as we have thus at-
tempted to indicate, we feel con-
vinced that the statistics of sickness
might be reduced in time to a mini-
mum, and a great advance made in
the amelioration of the condition of
the Poor, with which the condition
of the Rich is in many ways bound
up.

S. E.



THE RUSSIAN IMPERIAL TITLE: A FORGOTTEN PART OF HISTORY.

BY KARL BLIND.

IN his speeches on the Royal Titles Bill, Mr. Disraeli twice referred to Russia; repeating, in one instance, the accepted version of the origin of the Imperial name in that northern country. 'Peter the Great'—he said—'when he was emerging from his anomalous condition as a powerful sovereign, hardly recognised by his brother sovereigns, changed the style and title of his office from that of Czar to Emperor, and that adoption was acknowledged by England, and by England alone; and the rulers of Russia remained unrecognised by the great comity of nations.'

In making this statement, the Premier evidently thought that the title of Emperor had never before been used, or claimed, by Muscovite

monarchs. Nor did he thereby any other view than which is generally upheld by historians. Nevertheless, this may be safely pronounced to be an erroneous one.

Not a few of such fabrications, or myths, clearly; to be such, drag their tale along, from age to age, even works of the most careless writers. I need only refer to the alleged exclamation of Napoleon on the field of battle: '*Finis Poloniae!*'—an expression he never uttered, but against which he protested with all his might against a criminal blasphemy into his mouth by ignorant malice with a fierce per. Yet, in spite of his well

¹ Letter of Kosciuszko to Count Ségur, author of the *Décade Historique*, to the alleged *Finis Poloniae* of October 10, 1794. The letter is preserved in the archives of the Ségur family, and a faithful transcription has been communicated to me. As its contents seem to be scarcely known, I add here a faithful translation:

'MONSIEUR LE COMTE.—In handing over to you, yesterday, the paper relating to the case of Mr. Adam Poninski, with regard to his conduct in the campaign, I mentioned another fact in connection with the unfortunate battle of Maciejuvica which I have a great desire to clear up.

'Ignorance or malignity with fierce pertinacity have put the expression "*Poloniae*" into my mouth—an expression I am stated to have made use of one day. Now, first of all, I had been almost mortally wounded before the battle, and only recovered my consciousness two days afterwards, when I was in the hands of my enemies. In the second instance, if an expression alluded to is inconsistent and criminal in the mouth of any Pole, it would be more so in mine.

'When the Polish nation called me to the defence of the integrity, independence, dignity, glory, and freedom of our fatherland, it knew well that I was not in existence, and that with my death on the battle-field, or elsewhere, Poland would not be at an end. Everything the Poles have done since, or will do in the future, furnishes the proof that if we, the devoted soldiers of the country, Poland herself is immortal; and it is therefore not permitted to anybody, or to repeat that insulting expression (*l'outrageante épithète*) which is contained in the words: "*Finis Poloniae!*"

'What would the French say if, after the battle of Rossbach in 1757, Marshal de Rohan, Prince de Soubise, had exclaimed: "*Finis Galliae!*"? Or what would they say if such cruel words were attributed to him in his biographies?

'I shall therefore feel obliged to you if, in the new edition of your work, you speak any more of the "*Finis Poloniae!*" and I hope that the authority of your words will have its due effect with all those who in future may be inclined to repeat such words, and thus attribute to me a blasphemy against which I protest with all my might.

'My cousin and pupil, the young George Zenowicz, will have the honour

historiographers, journalists and statesmen have gone on saying to him a saying looked upon as highly to his country's cause. I instances of a similar it be easily picked out ages of the most modern too often we are reminding, of the satirical re-

'History is a tissue of have been agreed upon.' writer like Casimir Delavigne constant endeavour to destroy many current errors led to Russian history, the title of 'Emperor of Russia' from Peter I., and it was for the first time assumed in 1721. To this it may be

once that long before the fact, soon after the conquest of Constantinople by the Russians, the rulers of Muscovy laid claim to the Imperial title on the ground of the marriage of Ivan the Terrible with a princess of the House of Palaeologus. The thoughts of the early Russian monarchs had been very much towards Byzantium. Sooner had a warrior of the Varangian Northmen been numbered of Slave and turned into a 'Russian' when the attacks began upon Constantinople.

In the ninth century, when the Russians still adored the idols of Yemurru, while the Eastern Romans were ruled over by an Emperor, their Grand Princes, as they were called, made war against the Greeks, on the doctrine that the Gentium must become their subjects because the Greeks were idolaters. In the tenth century, when a Russian monarch was going to

embrace the same faith to which the Byzantine Empire adhered, another pretext was framed for aggression. Constantinople was then to become the residence of the barbarian, 'because it suits the dignity of the ruler of Russia to receive baptism in the capital of Eastern Christendom.' In the eleventh century another trifling occasion was eagerly caught at to make an attempt for the conquest of Constantinople with one hundred thousand men. And when afterwards the Byzantine Emperors were relieved from further attacks on the part of Russia, it was only because she had become weakened by internal feuds.

It was centuries before the Turks had penetrated into Europe—nay, even before the Varangian rulers of Russia had themselves become converts to Christianity—that these onslaughts were made from the North-east upon the Byzantine Empire. Undoubtedly, an 'Imperial' ambition was involved in these early attempts at conquest, which lasted from the ninth to the middle of the eleventh century. Later on, that great catastrophe occurred during which Russia was bowed, for nearly 250 years, under the yoke of the Golden Horde, and became for Europe almost an unknown land.

With the overthrow of Mongol dominion in Russia, fuller historical light reappears. From the end of the fifteenth century, when George Thurn went to Russia as an envoy of Maximilian of Germany, down to the beginning of the seventeenth, when the French lansquenet Captain Margeret wrote, there is a series of interesting accounts from the pen of diplomatic envoys, travellers, merchants, and adventurers, concerning the condition of Muscovy. A work most

you. Although he intends devoting himself to the military career, he will be happy to merit your kind protection, if ever circumstances should place him to take advantage of it.

Monsieur le Comte, the assurance of my great respect.
20 Brumaire, year XII. — (30 Oct. 1803).

'T. KOCHUENKO.

frequently mentioned, though little read now, is that of Sigismund von Herberstein, Councillor and President of the Board of Revenues of the German Empire, who in 1516 went as envoy extraordinary to Moscow.² Now, he already reports, with a great show of indignation, that the Czars were endeavouring to assume the Imperial title.

Herberstein says, in his bad Latin,³ that, in writing to the Emperor or the Pope, the Czars called themselves 'Kings and Lords of All Russia.' But if letters from the Ruthene language, translated into Latin, have to be added, the Russian interpreters, he remarks, render the word 'Czar' by 'Imperator.' 'In this way the Czar makes himself both a King and an Emperor.' But nobody—Herberstein continues—will believe that the Emperor Maximilian and his grandsons had anything to do even with the creation of the kingly title of the Czars: a title which would have been an injury to the King of Poland, with whom his own (Herberstein's) august master Maximilian had lived in sincere friendship.

Thus the Russian Imperial title, though occasionally assumed by the Czars even then, was not acknowledged by the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation in Herberstein's time. Even the minor kingly or royal title of the Czars was looked at askance. However, in the second half of the sixteenth century, there are plenty of instances of the Imperial title having been borne by the Czars, and acknowledged, at least, by English sovereigns—for example, Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. I need here only refer to that important work—'Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and

Discoveries of the English Nation, made by Sea and Over-land, to the remotest and farthest distant quarters of the Earth. By Richard Hakluyt, Master of Artes, and sometime Student of Christ Church in Oxford. London: 1598.'

All doubt must vanish when we see 'The copie of the Duke of Moscouie and EMPEROUR OF RUSSIA in letters, sent to King Edward the Sixt, by the hands of Richard Chancelour.' It begins thus: 'We great Duke Ivan Vasilivich, by the grace of God great lord and EMPEROR OF ALL RUSSIA, great Duke of Volodomer, Mosco, and Novograd, King of Kasan, King of Astrachan, lord of Plesko, and great Duke of Smolensko,' etc., etc. Richard Chancelour, on his part, also speaks of the 'Emperours or Dukes.' He says: 'This Duke is Lord and Emperour of many countreys, and his power is marvellous great.' Sir Hugh Willoughby equally styles the Russian monarchs 'Emperours.' He reports that the title of the then ruling Czar was loudly pronounced at Court as 'the great Duke of Moscovie and chief Emperour of Russia, John Basilivich.' In the same way, Job Hasse and others always refer to that northern monarch as 'the Emperour of Russia.'

Anthony Jenkinson, who at the time made a voyage to Russia, writes:

The EMPEROUR's name in their tongue Ivan Vasilivich, that is as much as to say John the sonne of Vasilie, and by prince state hee is called Otesara, as his predecessors have bene before, which to interpret, is a King, that giveth not tribute to any man. And this word Otesara the maiesties interpreters have of late day interpreted to be Emperour, so that now he is called EMPEROUR and great Duke of Russia. . . . Before his father they were

² *Rerum Moscovitarum Commentarii*. Vienna, 1549.

³ *Hoc quidem in confesso est, quod ad Imperatorem aut summum Pontificem scribens, Regem et Dominum totius Russiae vocat. Quin ne Imperatorio quidem nomine abstinere si quas forte literas ex Ruthena lingua in Latinam versas adjungit; nimirum ipse interpretibus vocem Czar, quae Regem significat, Imperatorem vertentibus. Atque hunc modum idem se Regem et Imperatorem facit.*

Emperours nor Kings, but like, that is to say, great

but the hereditary one of all free nations.'

dition of the Russian by England appears distinctly from 'Letters p and Queen Marie to ch, the EMPEROUR OF 5). The same title The first Privileges he Emperour of Russia ish Marchants in the and in 'Articles con- determined for the Com- he Merchants of this iant in Russia.' Again n 'A Discourse of the ceiving into England Ambassadors from the Russia' (1556). An Queen's Keeper of the icholas Bacon, dated hat is, from Elizabeth's dded to Thomas

Under-clerk of the tains the same title, f Russia.'

there are also 'The iesties Letters to the of Persia,' in which that ch, too, is called 'Im- 'Emperour.' Clearly, alty was quite free- aling out the Imperial reign Princes. But it rthy fact that, whilst the Czar as an 'Em- en Elizabeth, in her elations with Russia, ne the title of Empress

l, this friendly inter- lish sovereigns with the it relished. In a letter d, the King of Poland, lizabeth, dated March plaint is made especially o commercial relations; riter speaking of 'the who is not only the nemy of our kingdom,

Additional testimony for the early use of the Imperial name in Russia may be found in a remarkable old French work, by Captain Margeret. He gives, from personal experience, a record of the troublous period of Muscovite history between 1590 and 1606. A descendant of an old family of Auxonne, Margeret had alternately served in the wars of the League, under the King of Navarre; then under the Prince of Transylvania; then under the German banner against the Turks; then under the Czar Boris Godunow; and afterwards under the first Pseudo-Demetrius, when he was commander in the Imperial Russian Life-Guard. He subsequently went over to the Polish king, and was created councillor by that monarch. When the Russian boyards, in 1612, met to elect a new dynasty, he endeavoured to re-enter the Russian service, but failed to accomplish his object. He wrote his interesting little book,⁵ during a short stay in France, in 1607, at the order of Henry IV. De Thou, the distinguished French historian, knew Margeret personally, and speaks of him in his *Historia*.

Now, in writing on the condition of Russia, Margeret makes the clearest distinction between the title of 'Zar' and that of 'Emperor.' He speaks of the older Russian rulers as of Grand-Dukes; of the later monarchs as Czars of Russia and Grand-Dukes of Muscovy. He asserts that Iwan II. Wassiljewitch 'first received the title of EMPEROR from Maximilian, the Emperor of the Romans (the German Emperor, in usual, though somewhat incorrect, parlance), after the conquest of Kasan, Astrakhan, and Siberia.' (*Ruric frere aîné se fit appeler grand Duc de Volodimer,*

a misprint for 'Knese.'

Empire de Russie et Grande Duché de Moscovie; avec ce qui s'y est passé de et tragique, pendant le règne de quatre Empereurs: à sçavoir depuis l'an n l'an 1606. en Septembre. Par le Capitaine Margeret.

duquel sont descenduz tous les grands Ducs en ligne masculine, iusques à Johannes Basilius, le quel a premier receu le tiltre d'Empereur par Mazi-milian Empereur des Romains apres les conquestes de Cusan, Astrican, et Siberie). This particular statement may be an erroneous one. Margeret only repeated, in this respect, what he had heard in Russia, without being able to test its truth.

There is also, in the French Captain's book, some prattle about the meaning of the different princely designations, which shows that the versatile lansquenet was rather weak on Comparative Etymology. At this we can scarcely wonder; but it does not affect the value of the main contents of his work. In the following words he expresses himself on the subject at issue as clearly as possible:

Thus, when Theodor Johannes (Fedor Iwanowitch), Zar of Russia, had raised the siege of Narva, before which he had lain, and when the ambassadors and deputies of both parties were assembled, in order to conclude peace between Russia and Sweden, they wrangled for more than two days about that title of EMPEROR, which Theodor claimed (*ils débattirent plus de deux iours sur le tiltre que Theodere vouloit avoir d'Empereur*), whilst the Swedes would not acknowledge him as such. The Russians say that the word 'Zar' is even greater than the word 'Emperor'; and so an agreement was made that they would always call him Zar and Grand-Duke of Muscovy; each party thinking that it had deceived the other by that word 'Zar'. The King of Poland writes to them (to the Russian monarchs) in the same way. THE EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS (the German Emperor) GIVES HIM THE TITLE OF EMPEROR; AND THE LATE QUEEN ELIZABETH DID THE SAME, AS DOES ALSO THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, THE KING OF DENMARK, THE GRAND-DUKE OF TUSCANY, THE KING OF PERSIA; and all these of Asia give him the titles he chooses to assume. (*L'Empereur des Romains luy donne le tiltre d'Empereur, comme faisoit la feuë Royne Elizabeth, et fait aussi le semblable le Roy de la grande Bretagne, le Roy de Danemarck, le grand Duc de Toscane, le Roy de Perse, et tous ceux de l'Asie luy donnent tous les tiltres qu'il prend.*) As to the Turk, seeing that there was between them, at my time, neither correspondence, nor any intercourse by envoys, I do not know what title he gives them.

In accordance with this statement, Captain Margeret speaks of the 'Imperial throne,' the 'Empire,' the 'Emperor,' 'Empress.' And in order to all doubt—lest it should be that he employed these terms subserviently to a Court—he mentioned here that he launches out in the most full terms against the barbarism of Russia, and what is to be the benighted and character of her people. At this latter point he has a pen severe, and couched in language, that it is not fit to be printed here. Poland he favours by contrast, styling it a free country, of 'noble and pleasant manners,' and what at least 'know what man (*que c'est que du monde*).

Under the House of Rurik the Imperial name fell in in Russia. The first ruler of the dynasty, which had arisen by an election held by nobles, was not fired with any high ideas. They were also, to some extent, constitutionally checked by an aristocracy and the priests, whom their house had not elevated. However, Peter the Great, of the most ambitious and assumed, or resumed, in title which had been borne, or recognised, and the unquestionable history of many centuries before. It is frequently an error to say that the first time, 'changed' and title of his office from Czar to Emperor,' and recognition given to him by is the earliest on record. The same thing had occurred in the sixteenth century. To the full accounts that regard to this fact, the only is that even in historical works of deep research, such a lapse of forgetfulness should be allowed to pass over it.

FTER SESSIONS UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH.
FROM ORIGINAL RECORDS.

By A. H. A. HAMILTON.

an opportunity of examining the records preserved of the Clerk of the he county of Devon, it me to see whether I anything bearing upon ge of Devonshire, when had to stand in the e battle against the aders. In the primary y search I was disap- othing relating to the curs in the books con- e orders of Sessions, familiar names of cer- in that great drama. that those books com- after the time of the he year 1592. Whether us books existed, or e records had up to that ept in detached papers, in. But, from some of ries, it would seem that business had been done hat lax way, and that ncement of these books ith a stricter rule, and rate performance of the hat ancient body, the the Peace, the form of mission had been re- y the King's Bench in 90.

he first documents en- e order-book is a letter ords of the Council to of Devon, dated Octo- 2. It is signed by the er Puckering, and by loward, Hunsdon, Buck- l, Wolley, and Fortes- addressed to the Earl rd-Lieutenant of Devon, Courtenay, Sir John l Sir Francis Drake. It

begins by reciting that the Queen's Majesty has been informed that some persons exercise the office of Justice of the Peace without having taken the necessary oaths, and, as it is difficult to distinguish those who have done so from those who have not, her pleasure is that all justices, 'without prejudice,' should immediately take them. Copies of the oath of a justice, of the oath of supremacy, and of the writ of *Dedimus potestatem*, are enclosed. Minute and strict directions follow. The oaths are to be taken in open court, first by the four to whom the commission was addressed, and then to be administered by them to the other justices, 'saving that the Lords of Parliament are excepted by the Act from taking the oath of supremacy.' Those justices who refuse the oaths, who are resident out of the county, or who are absent from any cause, are to be reported to the Lord Keeper. And then follows what appears to be the real cause of the order, the increased activity of the Government against 'recusancy,' which marked the latter years of the reign of Elizabeth. Her Majesty has been informed—

That divers persons doe occupy the offyces of Justice of the Peace whoe doe not re- payer to there churchs or chappell accus- tomed, or upon reasonable lett thereof to some other place where common praye is used and accustomed for divine servyce, or whose wyves lyvinge with their husband, or sonnes and heyres lyvinge in there houses or within that county where there fathers doe dwell are known to refuse to come to the churchs, contrary to the statutes in that behalffe made. A matter not agreeable with the vocacon of any that ought to enquer of such offenders, and to reforme the same.

It was, therefore, her Majesty's pleasure that all recusants, or husbands or fathers of recusants, should be left out of the commission of the peace.

In the reply of the Earl of Bath and the three knights we have what is probably an almost complete roll of the justices of Devon in the year 1592. They were fifty-five in number. Some of them, perhaps, were not much wiser than the gentlemen of the 'coram' and 'custalorum' immortalised by Shakespeare, though we may suspect that the mind of the poet was somewhat prejudiced by his poaching propensities. But they were certainly not all Shallows or Silences. Besides Drake and Gilbert, there were several who showed themselves fit for greater things than guiding the Court of Quarter Sessions. Such were George Cary, of Cockington, afterwards Lord Deputy of Ireland; John Wolton, Bishop of Exeter; William Peryam, Chief Baron of the Exchequer; Serjeants Harris, Glanvyle, and Edward Drewe, Recorder of Exeter, and afterwards of London; and Hugh Pollard, who raised the county, as Sheriff of Devon, in the year of the Armada. The 'three Serjeants' were those thus immortalised by Fuller:

One { spent
gave } as much as the other two.
gained

Other well-known names occur in subsequent entries, such as that of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who attained an unenviable notoriety at the trial of Essex; and Edward Earl of Bedford, appointed Custos Rotulorum (not Lord-Lieutenant) in 1596.

Many of the names are still flourishing in the county, such as Courtenay and Seymour, Fortescue and Bampfield, Acland and Carew, Parker, Wrey, and Walrond. We remark the absence from this list of the greatest name that we might

have expected to find in it. Peter, though he sat in the member for Devon as Lord warden of the Stannaries, an independent jurisdiction over a great part of the county; find more than one common from him to the sessions on the rights and privileges of 'Tynners.'

We have a letter of Sir John Glanvyle written from 'Durham' on February 15, 1592, complaining that several 'tynners' had been summoned to appear before him to demand tribute for the repair of the bridge of Glanvyle, which had been accustomed to be repaired by the borough of Glanvyle. The letter cites the charter and customs of the Stannaries, and represents that rates and taxes are 'overburdened' on some to poor men in the county, and that there daily travell and labours employed about the bridge. But it ends with a threat to the cause heard before the Council, and then comes the characteristic postscript: 'I selfe give order that the tynners shall contribute unto the repair of the bridge upon examynacon, I finde them thereunto, by any forren authoritie.'

What answer the countess returned to this letter is not appear; but in the next year find a letter from the countess, 'Given under our signet' such,' confirming in the manner the privileges, liberties, immunities of the 'tynners' tenants of the Duchy of Cornwall, 'amongst which the chief is that they should not be taxed, charged, or rated by any symposicon, chardge, or service only by there warden or counsell;' also that they not be compelled to answer any cause ('pleas of land, lyfe, or herem only excepted') before any judge, officer, or magistrate.

the warden and officers of the
r, from whom the appeal lay
Privy Council, and from them
Majesty's royal person.

The victory evidently remained
Sir Walter, and he seems to
been not unwilling to improve
in 1595 we have a polite letter
the justices to the Lord War-
n answer to one in which he
to have accused them of
g 'gone about to intermeddle'
s jurisdiction. They assure
that he has been 'misinformed
ne unadvised and undiscrete
is, who, we think, rather desire
t some discord between you
is than to uphold your liber-

Walter had also written that
persons (Voysy and Wright)
'delivered slanderous and
g speeches touching his late
on at sea,' to which the jus-
reply that they had examined
t, and 'fynd noe such mat-
ter if they had, 'you should
'yourself' we would have
in ytt according to the quality
offence.' With which some-
ambiguous assurance the jus-
send their 'very harty com-
cons.'

privileges and immunities
Stannaries led to frauds and
as such things usually do,
the last order entered in the
of Elizabeth recites 'that
of the principall inhabitants
ndrye parishes within this
e have of late tyme verie
dently interested themselves in
lynworke, under colour there-
be protected and discharged
t the generall and necessarie
s for the service of her
ie.' And it is ordered that
as are 'newly crept in to be
rs,' and had not acquired any
work' by descent or marriage,
ay the same as the 'foreyners'
said parishes. But, having
r of Sir Walter before their
the justices conclude thus:

'This order is conceyved to agree
with the pleasure of the L. War-
den in this behaulfe formerlie sig-
nified unto this Court, and not with
anie intent to make wilfull breach
of the priviledges rightfullie be-
longing to the Court of Stannery,
or to the aucthority of the L. Warden
in that behaulfe.'

A matter that troubled the
squires and yeomen of Devonshire
considerably more than the pri-
vileges of the Stannaries was the
ancient right of purveyance, one of
the worst grievances that survived
the conclusion of the middle ages.
Hallam, speaking of the accession
of James I., says that purveyance
had been restrained by no less than
thirty-six statutes:

In spite of which, the impressing of carts
and carriages, and the exaction of victuals
for the king's use, at prices far below the
true value, and in quantity beyond what
was necessary, continued to prevail under
authority of commissions from the Board of
Green Cloth, and was enforced, in case of
demur or resistance, by imprisonment
under their warrant. The purveyors, in-
deed, are described as living at free quar-
ters upon the country, felling woods with-
out the owners' consent, and commanding
labour with little or no recompense.

We find in these volumes frequent
entries respecting this subject, and
the means taken to compound with
the Queen for her rights of pur-
veyance. The first entry is the
commission of Christopher Walton,
to take forty fat oxen and three
hundred muttons from the county
of Devon, for the use of her
Majesty's household. This is dated
from Westminster, March 21,
1593, and authorises the same
purveyor to take twenty fat
oxen and two hundred fat muttons
from the county of 'Northfolke
and Marsheland.' It also authorises
him to take hay, pasture, and
drivers, and all other necessities
meet and convenient for that ser-
vice, 'for our reasonable prices and
payments to be made in that behalf.'
And all justices, mayors, sheriffs,

bailiffs, constables, head boroughs, and all other officers, ministers, and subjects, are directed to aid and assist the purveyor, so long as he does nothing contrary to the statutes touching purveyors.

This commission is immediately followed by a letter from the Council, dated March 29, 1593, and signed by Puckering, Buckhurst, Burghley, Fortescue, and Howard. The Lords begin by referring to the complaints of the abuses of the purveyors in taking greater quantity than came to her Majesty's use, and blame the justices for sending up to Court only one of their number, 'and the same without auctoritie' to conclude an agreement. Nevertheless they consent to reduce the provision to twenty oxen and two hundred muttons, 'upon mocion made unto us by Mr. Seymour.' They complain of most contemptuous and disloyal abuses committed by some, who had taken violently from one Richard Owen the oxen and muttons he had lawfully taken by commission, and especially of one John Treberie, 'who with most contempt demeaned himself' in seditious manner and speeches, and who was to be bound over in good security to appear personally before the Privy Council.

The answer to this letter, signed by Edward Seymour, William Courtneye, John Gilbert, and four others, is an ingenious plea on behalf of Devonshire. The justices had appointed Mr. Carye of Cockington, as well as Mr. Seymour, to attend their lordships, but he returned from London sooner than they expected. They omitted to give them authority to compound, because they assuredly trusted that their lordships would have freed 'this poore countye of that charge.' Her Majesty, 'of her princely and gracious favor,' had been contented heretofore to have this county spared from the purveyors, 'for

that this countie is farre remote and doth not in truth of it feede soe many oxen yerely able to maintayne the inhabitants but doth yerely buye fyve the fatt oxen at the least out of wall and Somersett.' 'And this countie contynnally victuals both her Majestie's navies and other shippinge when any occasion of servyce is required to the ward.' But, if their lordships not allow these allegations, the justices humbly submit themselves only most humbly praying that composition may be 'with ease and favour unto our countrey as may be, whoe in truthe, though there were greatly decayed thorough wante of trade by sea (or w^{ch} the estate of this countye consisteth), yet are they w^{ch} even beyond there abilities.' They appoint Mr. Seymour and Carye, not to make a bargain to make such composition as may obtain at their lordships' hands. And, by a final stroke of ingenuity, they find that the offenders against the purveyors reside not in Devon, but in wall.

Soon afterwards we come to the composition made with the Lords by the Council by Mr. Seymour and Mr. Cary on behalf of the county. It is evident that the representatives of Devon were not unfavourably received at the Court of Elizabeth. Seymour belonged to a family which had often stood very near the throne, and sometimes shadowed it. A cadet of the family had married a sister of Henry Boleyn, and became the father of that Henry Cary who was created a Privy Councillor and succeeded Hunsdon by his royal appointment. Another of the Council, Fortescue, was a Devonshire man, and another Lord Howard, had married Elizabeth Howard's daughter. The provisions claimed were reduced to ten

150 'fatt muttuns.' Every weigh 6 cwt., and to be at the Court gate on April 1. a piece; every mutton weigh 46 lb., and to be at the Court gate 1. a piece; sixty to be April 20, and 90 on Novem-

Ready money was to

In case of the oxen or ing 'misliked,' there was on for arbitration, and, if tion was maintained, the as to pay a penalty of 40s. ox 'soe misliked,' and for tton, 2s. 6d.; and the defias to be supplied within days.

g as the composition lasted to be no purveyance withshire, except it happened Majesty came in progress twenty miles of it. The were to rate the county xpenses of the composition, person refusing to pay was pprehended and brought e Council to answer their . The composition might be ed by half a year's notice ven either by the justices e officers of her Majesty's lothe.'

quoted this agreement as upon the question of prices. rs that beef was delivered ourt of Elizabeth in 1593 l. per cwt., or rather under b., and mutton at about 16s. or 17d. per lb. The price at the Metropolitan Cattle at the end of February ed from 63s. per cwt. for to 79s. 4d. for first quality; utton from 77s. for inferior or first. At the same time ract price for meat at the ise of St. Thomas, the ion adjoining Exeter, was cwt.¹

The copy of the composition is followed by a letter from the Lords of the Council, dated 'Nonesutche, 29th May, 1593,' addressed to the Sheriff and Justices, acknowledging their 'dutiful consideration of the Queen's Majesty's gracious desire,' and ordering them to take immediate steps for rating the county. It is remarkable for its admission of the 'intolerable abuses' of the purveyors, who had taken far greater quantities and numbers of sundry provisions, 'abusing their commission and the subjects, which never came to her Majesty's use.'

The next letter is from the Justices to the Earl of Bath, Lord-Lieutenant of Devon, informing him of the arrangements they had made, and asking his assistance in levying 108l., divided equally between the three divisions of the county, for the expenses of the composition. This appears to have been settled rather by guess-work than by valuation, as it is by no means probable that the three divisions were equal in wealth or population. The amount to be repaid by the Queen was 90l., viz. 40l. for ten oxen and 50l. for 150 sheep. In 1594 it appears that an arrangement was made by which the charge was defrayed by a contractor for the sum of 103l., which shows that the payment made by the Queen was not very unfair, as it left only a margin of 13l. for the contractor's profit. Prices, however, continued to advance, and in April 1597 we find a regular contract made between Edward Seymour and George Cary for the county, and Christopher Walton, the former purveyor. The latter was to receive 13l. 6s. 8d. for each of the last two years, probably the balance due to him after he had received 90l. direct from the

difficult to form any exact estimate of the value of money in former ages, comparing the prices of corn, meat, and labour. The price of wheat in Devon-1594 is said to have been 5s. a bushel, rye and barley 3s., and oats 1s. 6d.

'Grenecloth.' For the current year he was to have 113*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and 10*l.* for his expenses 'in riding to and from about these busynes.' For this purpose 150*l.* was to be levied, and the northern division was to pay 10*l.* more than the other two, 'in respect of their backwardnes for the effectinge of this service.'

It may be suspected that an old purveyor was not the fittest person for a contractor, or that the arrangement was disturbed by the rapid fall in the value of money, with which we are too familiar in the reign of Queen Victoria. Anyhow, we find in the very next year a curious letter from Walton to Sir George Cary, in which he declares that he had lost money by the service of the county for the last four years, and that, while people were complaining that he had so much, he was really losing 'not so lyttle as £xx.' He further complains that the money was not paid punctually, and that he had to make three journeys a year to receive 120*l.*, which he could not endure any longer. He expresses great regard and esteem for Sir George personally, but, as to the rest of the justices, he will have no more to do with them, and, if he cannot get what is due, he will be forced to take 'that course as will be more grievous unto them than the taking of their oxen.' It seems, however, that Mr. Walton, like many others since his time, continued to contract and complain for some years longer, for in October 1602 we find a brief entry that Mr. Walton do have half-a-year's warning, and that he be dismissed from 'making provision of beefes for Her Majesty's household.'

We have seen what evidence these records afford respecting the price of meat in the sixteenth century. More direct, and more important perhaps, is their evidence respecting the price of labour. On April 10, 1594, the justices

assembled at the Chapter House agreed upon a new rate for servant and labourers' wages, according to the statute of the fifth year of Elizabeth. It may be noticed in passing that 'William Strode, High Sheriff,' appears in the middle of the list of names of those present not as having any precedence over the others. In modern times the Sheriff, as is well known, takes part in the business of Sessions.

The maximum rates of wages were as follows:

No bailiff of husbandry, 'chief hyne' (chief hind), or miller was to take above 53*s.* 4*d.* by the year and his livery, or 13*s.* 4*d.* for the same.

No common manservant of husbandry, between the ages of 16 and 20, was to take above 30*s.* by the year, and after the age of 20 above 40*s.*

No woman-servant under the age of 14 was to take any wages but meat, drink, and clothes; from the age of 14 to 18, not above 12*s.* and livery, or 6*s.* for the same; and after the age of 18, not above 16*s.* 8*d.* and livery, or 6*s.* 8*d.* for the same.

No woman 'labouring at hay' was to take above 2*d.* a day for meat and drink, or 6*d.* without meat and drink. In corn harvest 3*d.* or 7*d.* respectively, and at all other work 1*d.* or 5*d.*

All labourers at task-work might take as they could agree.

All husbandry labourers were to take from All-hallowtide (Nov. 1) till Candlemas (Feb. 2) but 3*d.* a day with meat and drink, or 7*d.* a day without. From Candlemas till All-hallowtide, 4*d.* or 8*d.* respectively except when mowing corn or grass for which they might take 6*d.* or 12*d.*

Master-masons, carpenters, joiners, plumbers, helliers, plasterers and thatchers, having servants or apprentices according to the statute and able to take charge of the

were to take by the day, with and drink, not above 6d., or without.

For masons, carpenters, &c. to take not above 5d. or 11d. Apprentices and boys not above 6d.

A pair of sawyers were to take above 12d., or 2s.

These rates of wages were settled at the Easter Sessions, and named by the sheriff; but they do not seem to have been altered during the rest of the reign of Elizabeth. In October 1601, we find in order that all constables ascertain the names of all masters and servants that give or take wages than those appointed, report them to the justices, and sub-committees are appointed to attend to this matter in different districts.

One most remarkable point in the tables of wages is the slight difference they show between the wages of agricultural labourers and of men employed in the building trades. A farm-labourer took 4s. a week for three-quarters of a year, and 3s. 6d. for the remainder. In corn and hay harvest he received a shilling a day, which was equal to the wages of a mason, who was called a 'master mason.' A journeyman mason earned no more than 5s. 6d. a week.

When we consider the frequent fluctuations of work in the building trades, and, on the other hand, the 'privileges' of the agricultural labourer, especially in the commons where there were then so numerous, we are led to the conclusion that there was no great disparity in the condition of the two classes. But as the wages of the former class rapidly increased, the increase of the latter has been very slow.

A hundred years after the date of this order, in 1685, a small book was published by Richard Hakluyt on the condition of the poor in Devonshire. In that work,

as quoted by Macaulay, the wages of the Devonshire peasant are stated at 5s. a week. In Warwickshire, the rate of wages in 1685 was rather lower than that in Devonshire in 1594. Within the last ten years, the rate in some parts of Devon has been as low as 7s. or 8s. The average may now be about 12s. or more. But it is not too much to say that the wages of artisans increased fourfold by the time that the wages of husbandmen were doubled. And, if we compare the price of meat with the price of agricultural labour, we may fairly say that the former has increased fivefold since the time of Elizabeth, while the latter has been trebled. But we must not forget that the price of food was formerly liable to fluctuations such as we have never known, and that seasons of plenty were often succeeded by seasons of scarcity, if not of famine. Such a scarcity is mentioned in Jenkins's *History of Exeter* as having occurred in the year 1593.

Another entry bearing on the cost of living is an order that no liquor except wine should be sold for more than one penny a quart. In an affiliation case, we find the father of a child ordered to pay 8d. a week for the first three weeks, and afterwards 4d. a week. The mother was to keep it up to the age of five years, and from the age of five until twelve the father was to pay 6d. and the mother 1d. a week to the constables and churchwardens of the parish.

Closely connected with the questions of prices and wages is the great question of pauperism, which weighed so heavily on 'Merrie England' in the days of good Queen Bess. Many of the records of the Sessions relate to the details of this subject. The Court had not only to try questions of settlement and the like, but to discharge duties which now belong partly to Boards of Guardians and partly to the

Local Government Board. Of the strenuous measures adopted to repress vagrancy we find numerous traces. The chief duty of a constable, as we know from a higher authority, was to 'comprehend all vagrom men.'

In April 1597 we find a letter from the Lord Lieutenant, commending to the especial consideration of the justices the relief of the poor, and the restraint of the multitude of vagrant persons. This is immediately followed by an order of the Court providing, in the first place, that all 'lycences for beggers,' which had been formerly granted by the justices, should be suppressed, and that no such licences should be granted in future. Means for setting the poor to work were to be provided by the local justices, imposing some good sums of money on those of best ability in every parish. Constables and sidesmen were to 'take a view' of all the poor, and also of all the men of ability, and to report to the justices. To every householder in a parish containing poor, or in the adjoining parish, were to be assigned one, two, three or more poor, to be relieved with two meals a day. In default, the justices might make an order for the payment of a sum not exceeding 18*d.* weekly 'for every pole.' This is somewhat remarkable, not only for the heaviness of the burden, but also as containing the principle of a 'rate in aid,' if not of 'Union chargeability.'

The poor being thus 'settled and provided for,' none were to be suffered to wander or beg, on penalty of being dealt with as common vagabonds, and any 'Tithingman' found negligent in enforcing the law was to be bound over to his good behaviour. Vagrants were to be punished, and sent to their places of abode. Search was to be made in every parish once a fortnight for 'rogues and vagrant persons,' and

reports sent to the justices concerning the execution of the order.

In 1601 appears an 'action' by the justices a statute for rogues and the poor, which bears a able resemblance to the circulars of the Local Government Board. It is chiefly occupied with questions of removal and ability; but is remarkable for a declaration that parsons are bound to the relief of as well as others, and also of 'tythes improprie, and of and saleable woods.'

Many matters strange to modern court came within the cognizance of the Quarter Sessions of Elizabeth. A considerable part of their work consisted in pensions or gratuities to soldiers and mariners; and many of their treasurers were appointed among the justices every year for this special purpose, and a rate was made. Every poor man was obliged to present a certificate from the officer to whom he had served, or who had been wounded, might be expected, whether he had been wounded at sea, or on land, as Drake, and Hawkins, and Greville; and some who had served under Sir Francis Vere as well as some who had been by accident in the annals of the county. In 1602 there seems to have been a revision of the list, and a 'true noate' of all the poor in the county. They came to fifty-two, but the justices for an argument wanted to show how peculiarly heavy the burdens of Devonshire were. Pensions varied from 26*s.* a year. A letter dated 1595, from the Court at Greenwich, touching the insufficient execution of the law on behalf of maimed men, whereby they are con-

and beg, contrary to the intent and purpose of the Statute and the whole Parliament.

Their lordships require the return of everything that has been done in this matter, and why relief has been given in certain cases, so that maimed soldiers have been complaining that no relief has been had to them. In this the justices defend the administration of relief, and that the number of maimed persons is increasing, and they are to follow, having a list of one hundred men in this countie by order of Fraunces Drake and Sir John Pym. This must have been the case of Drake's last voyage, as he died in 1596. The letter is signed by the Mayor of Exeter (Gervase) and thirteen other

verie loving friend Sir George Carie, knight, Collector of the loanes to her Ma^{tie} in the countie of Devon,' and signed by Thomas Egerton and eight other Lords of the Council. As it appears to prove that more direct intimidation than is generally supposed was employed in compelling wealthy persons to lend their money to the Queen, it may be well to quote the letter at length, merely modernising the spelling :

A matter that came within the jurisdiction of the Court in the insurance days was the case of such as had had their houses burnt. Fires were prevalent among the thatched houses and cottages of Devon, and were continued to be even in winter time. The amounts were not large, generally about 10*l*. At one time we had twenty-eight houses being burnt at Torrington, but only 30*l*. for the relief of the place. In a great calamity befell the town of Tiverton, and special orders were adopted to relieve the poor. Three hundred men were quartered on other men and it was further ordered that no violence should be gathered at the county. The practice was of course determined by the example of the Court in its system of benevolence and of 'privy seals,' or subsidies. Of the last we have an example in a letter of 1598, addressed to 'Our

After our hearty commendations. Understanding that you have paid to her Majesty the sum of 3,000*l*. for the loan in the county of Devon, and that there are yet diverse persons of the better sort that have not paid the sums required by their privy seals, amounting to a good sum of money, for the which you have no knowledge of any discharge from hence for the same; and thereby as we do hear you have been and are at great travail and charge in sending up and down to their houses for the money, and yet cannot procure the payment thereof to her Majesty's use: These shall be, therefore, to require you to prefix a day certain to all such as have privy seals, and be not to your knowledge here discharged, to make their undelayed payment of the sums required by their privy seals, and in case any of them shall by contempt obstinately refuse this order, or to conform themselves to what you shall in good reason appoint them to do for the better service of her Majesty herein, then you shall take bond of them to answer their contempt before us of her Majesty's Privy Council at a day certain by you to be appointed; and if any person shall refuse to be bound according to these letters, you shall certify their names to us at the days appointed for their appearance, before which day you shall likewise signify unto us the manner of their ill behaviour and contempt herein, so as at the time of their appearance such order may be taken with them as their contempt and delays in this so necessary a service to her Majesty and the realm deserveth. And we have thought good to require you to have a special care that all such privy seals as have been delivered by you to any persons within this county and be discharged, that the same be brought unto the Clerk of the Privy Seal, so as no privy seals be left in any person's hands, lest hereafter they may be abused to charge her Majesty. And further, that you do admit no discharge of any of them but by warrant from hence. And so we bid you heartily farewell.

This letter is inserted in the order-book without comment, and is immediately followed by one dated in the previous year, which may, perhaps, be a mistake. It is said that Elizabeth, unlike most of her immediate predecessors and successors, was generally punctual in the repayment of the money she had borrowed, and this letter seems to refer to one of those exceptions which prove the rule. It purports to proceed from the Queen herself, and appears to be somewhat characteristic in the dignified frankness with which she takes her subjects into her confidence, and appeals to the patriotism and good feeling of her creditors. It will be remembered that George Cary's family was connected with the Queen's by marriage:

Elizabeth R. By the Queen.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Where this last year we did commit to your charge sundry privy seals directed from us and in our name to divers persons of good ability, by which there was required to be paid to you by way of a loan some portions of money to be employed by us this last year for the necessary public service in defence of our realm, of which portions mentioned in our said privy seals you have with good diligence received the greatest part, and paid the same into the receipt of our Exchequer, from whom also we mean to have the same repaid as soon as we may conveniently, which upon some occasions unlooked for we cannot readily perform, both by reason of the present preparations which by the enemy's mighty attempts against our realm we are forced presently to make both by sea and land, and also for that the first payment of such subsidy as by this last Parliament hath been granted to us is not to be paid to us before the twelfth day of February the next year. So as for these respects we find it very necessary to defer the payment of the said sums so lent some few months, wherewith we hope our loving subjects will be content, considering they shall be assuredly fully paid by the end of six months or sooner as we shall find commodity. And for this purpose we require you to give knowledge of this our determination to every person of whom you have by virtue of our said privy seals received any money, whom you shall require in our name to be content with the forbearing of the sums

lent for six months from the month they ought to have had the same, whereby they shall deserve our thanks so also shall further our service for defence and safety. Given under signet at our Palace of Westminster 23rd day of March, 1597, in the 1st year of our reign.

To our trusty and well-beloved George Cary of Cockington, knight, Collector of the loan in the county of Devon.

Of the storm that raged at the system of monopolies during the last years of Elizabeth we have some traces in these records. The Crown had assumed the privilege of regulating all matters of commerce; and patents to do so exclusively in particular articles had been granted lavishly to courtiers and others, with little advantage to the revenue, but with the effect of greatly enhancing prices to the unfortunate consumer. Scarcely an article, even of necessity, was excluded from these oppressive patents. The grant which appears to have borne with special severity on the counties of Devon and Cornwall was one held by a certain John Marner for salting fish, particularly pilchards. It seems to have resisted at one time by an Act of law, for we meet with several instances of money being borrowed which had been advanced by the judicial justices in this cause. We may perhaps infer that this assistance was successful, at least a time, from an order for raising a sum of 260*l.* for defraying expenses in *overthrowing* the patent of John Marner.

The Crown seems to have been willing to retreat, under some pretext, from an untenable position. A letter from Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, dated Sac. House, London, September 13, declares that he is desirous, with due regard to her Majesty's authority and prerogative, to moderate as far as he may, the use of the patent, as may stand with the convenience of the country. At

efore requests the justices to
ish him with their opinions,
ations, and objections.

his letter is followed by certain
s drawn up by a Mr. Hancock,
, may, perhaps, have been Mr.
ard Handcock, clerk of assize,
ing forth good reasons against
patent. He begins by a legal
iment, that no grant of the
l could be found since the eighth
of Henry III., and that the
stice had been suppressed for
e than 300 years until revived
er Majesty; that the new grant
far more extensive than the
; and that a tax had been laid
n the fishermen in lieu of the
; formerly reserved. He then
ws that it was most unreason-
to revive the patent 'when
country was never so greatly
dened and decayed, or as im-
erished with long great dearth
orn, hinderance of trade, spoil
their shipping, goods, and some
their towns by the enemy,
atly charged for their defence
maintenance of wars, also with
tinual subsidies and great loans.'
n he tries a *reductio ad absurdum*.
h a precedent might bring it to
s that none but patentees shall
use any 'to bake their own corn
bread, or to convert the same
malt or drink, or to salt their
h, or to clothe themselves with
ir own wool.' Fishermen, he
ues, are commonly 'the poorest
any other company,' and, if
y have greater burdens laid on
m, they will be forced to give
r 'their most painful, hazardous,
yet most necessary trade,' from
ch will follow the decay of
pping, want of sailors for the
y, of food for the country and
navy, decline of foreign trade and
Customs, and depopulation of the
coast towns. This grant would
ruin the fishing off Newfound-
l, Ireland, &c., and would more
erally discontent and dismay the
ple than any hitherto granted.

We hear no more of this patent,
and it was probably swept away,
like most of the other monopolies,
by the torrent of opposition that
broke out in the Parliament of
1601.

Almost all trades that were not
the subject of monopolies appear
to have required a licence from
the Court of Quarter Sessions. We
find frequent licences to buy and
sell corn, generally for so small a
quantity as three or four bushels a
week. The licensees were called
badgers, a word which has dropped
out of the language, or has been
converted into *cadger*, but which is
to be found in Johnson's first folio,
with the derivation from *bajulus*, a
carrier. They were required to
give security that they would not
'forestall, regrate, or ingross,' prac-
tices which appear to have been the
special terror of ancient legislators.
Persons were licensed to buy and
sell butter and cheese, peas and
beans, serges, &c., and probably to
exercise all kinds of trades, as we
find that the 'Clarke of the Mar-
kett' was authorised to take cer-
tain fees for recording the names
of victuallers, innholders, butchers,
grocers, chandlers, mercers, clo-
thiers, and 'other artificers.' Some
were licensed to beg, but these
licences were revoked, as we have
seen. Some were licensed to shoot
fowls with 'hand gunnes' and
'hailshotte.' We find one man
licensed to exercise the trade and
'scyence of Tynkyng.' An immense
number of people had to give se-
curity for one reason or another, so
that one feels a sort of impression
that half the inhabitants of the
county gave bail for the good be-
haviour of the other half.

One of the matters for which
the sessions frequently granted a
licence was to build a cottage. A
most curious Act had been passed
in the thirty-first year of Elizabeth
'for the avoiding of the great in-
conveniences which are found by

experience to grow by the erecting and building of great numbers and multitude of cottages, which are daily more and more increased in many parts of this realm.' It was provided that no person might build a cottage unless he assigned to it at least four acres of land, to be continually occupied with it. From this statute the Courts of Assize and Quarter Sessions had a dispensing power, and they were frequently moved to exercise it, though not so frequently as might have been expected.

Towards the close of the reign we have more evidence of the activity of the Government against 'recusants.' A list of persons who were to be bound over for this offence to appear at the next gaol delivery was sent to the justices by the Judges of Assize. Two of these recusants, living at Ottery St. Mary, bore the suspicious name of Babington. The justices, having some doubts as to the manner of procedure, sent certain questions up to the Judges, which were answered thus:

1. A recusant refusing to appear may be apprehended by the constable, and forced to appear, or else committed.

2 and 3. Converts (before the assizes), and such as are excommunicated and forbear the church for debt, and not Popish recusants, may be spared.

4. Let not conference be denied a recusant, and if he come to the church, his binding may be spared.

5. If the woman refuseth to appear, and her husband refusing to be bound, bind the husband to his good behaviour, and if he refuse, commit him.

The growth of Puritanism may be considered to be evidenced by an order made in July 1595, at a Sessions held in the Chapter House, the bishop being apparently in the chair. It is declared that all

church or parish ales, revels, May-games, plays, and such other unlawful assemblies of the people of sundry parishes unto one parish on the Sabbath day and other times, is a special cause that many disorders, contempts of law, and other enormities, are

there perpetrated and committed, to the great profanation of the Lord's Sabbath, the dishonour of Almighty God, increase of bastardy and of dissolute life, and of very many other mischiefs and inconveniences to the great hurt of the commonwealth.

It is, therefore, ordered that these assemblies shall be abolished on the Sabbath; that there shall be no drink 'used, kept, or uttered' upon the Sabbath at any time of the day, nor upon any holiday or festival in the time of divine service or preaching of the Word; nor at any time in the night season; nor yet that there shall be 'any Mynstralsy of any sort, Dauncying, or suche wanton Dallyances' used at the said May-games, &c.

In January 1599 the justices took a long step further, and, having discovered that many inconveniences, 'which with modesty cannot be expressed,' had happened in consequence of these gatherings, they ordered that parish ales, church ales, and revels should thenceforth be utterly suppressed. A marks which had been held on the 'Sabbath' at East Budleigh was also abolished.

Of the ordinary business of Sessions we need not say much. The were held generally in the Castle of Exeter, as at present, but sometimes in the Chapter House, and sometimes adjourned elsewhere, as to Ottery St. Mary or Totnes. It does not appear that a chairman was regularly elected. The man highest in rank appears first on the list, and probably its bearer took the chair, as is the practice of the grand jury at Assizes. The bishop appears to have acted frequently as justice, contrary to the custom of the city of Exeter, in which his pretensions to exercise the office were successfully resisted by the mayor in 1558. The justices repaired bridges, as they do now. They maintained the gaol, not as they do now. The condition of the prisons in the age, and long afterwards, was dis-

fore requests the justices to shew him with their opinions, reasons, and objections. This letter is followed by certain reasons drawn up by a Mr. Hancock, which may, perhaps, have been Mr. Richard Handcock, clerk of assize, setting forth good reasons against the patent. He begins by a legal argument, that no grant of the kind could be found since the eighth year of Henry III., and that the licence had been suppressed for more than 300 years until revived by the Majesty; that the new grant was far more extensive than the former, and that a tax had been laid on the fishermen in lieu of the licence formerly reserved. He then shews that it was most unreasonable to revive the patent 'when the country was never so greatly impoverished and decayed, or as impoverished with long great dearth, famine, hinderance of trade, spoil of the shipping, goods, and some of their towns by the enemy, and fully charged for their defence, maintenance of wars, also with annual subsidies and great loans.' He tries a *reductio ad absurdum*. 'If a precedent might bring it to pass that none but patentees shall be allowed any 'to bake their own corn into bread, or to convert the same into malt or drink, or to salt their fish, or to clothe themselves with their own wool.' Fishermen, he says, are commonly 'the poorest of any other company,' and, if greater burdens were laid on them, they will be forced to give up 'their most painful, hazardous, yet most necessary trade,' from which will follow the decay of the fishing, want of sailors for the navy, of food for the country and decay of foreign trade and customs, and depopulation of the coast towns. This grant would ruin the fishing off Newfoundland, Ireland, &c., and would more generally discontent and dismay the people than any hitherto granted.

We hear no more of this patent, and it was probably swept away, like most of the other monopolies, by the torrent of opposition that broke out in the Parliament of 1601.

Almost all trades that were not the subject of monopolies appear to have required a licence from the Court of Quarter Sessions. We find frequent licences to buy and sell corn, generally for so small a quantity as three or four bushels a week. The licensees were called *badgers*, a word which has dropped out of the language, or has been converted into *caulger*, but which is to be found in Johnson's first folio, with the derivation from *bajulus*, a carrier. They were required to give security that they would not 'forestall, regrate, or ingross,' practices which appear to have been the special terror of ancient legislators. Persons were licensed to buy and sell butter and cheese, peas and beans, serges, &c., and probably to exercise all kinds of trades, as we find that the 'Clarke of the Markkett' was authorised to take certain fees for recording the names of victuallers, innholders, butchers, grocers, chandlers, mercers, clothiers, and 'other artificers.' Some were licensed to beg, but these licences were revoked, as we have seen. Some were licensed to shoot fowls with 'hand gunnes' and 'hailshotte.' We find one man licensed to exercise the trade and 'soyence of Tynkyng.' An immense number of people had to give security for one reason or another, so that one feels a sort of impression that half the inhabitants of the county gave bail for the good behaviour of the other half.

One of the matters for which the sessions frequently granted a licence was to build a cottage. A most curious Act had been passed in the thirty-first year of Elizabeth 'for the avoiding of the great inconveniences which are found by

experience to grow by the erecting and building of great numbers and multitude of cottages, which are daily more and more increased in many parts of this realm.' It was provided that no person might build a cottage unless he assigned to it at least four acres of land, to be continually occupied with it. From this statute the Courts of Assize and Quarter Sessions had a dispensing power, and they were frequently moved to exercise it, though not so frequently as might have been expected.

Towards the close of the reign we have more evidence of the activity of the Government against 'recusants.' A list of persons who were to be bound over for this offence to appear at the next gaol delivery was sent to the justices by the Judges of Assize. Two of these recusants, living at Ottery St. Mary, bore the suspicious name of Babington. The justices, having some doubts as to the manner of procedure, sent certain questions up to the Judges, which were answered thus:

1. A recusant refusing to appear may be apprehended by the constable, and forced to appear, or else committed.

2 and 3. Converts (before the assizes), and such as are excommunicated and forbear the church for debt, and not Popish recusants, may be spared.

4. Let not conference be denied a recusant, and if he come to the church, his binding may be spared.

5. If the woman refuseth to appear, and her husband refusing to be bound, bind the husband to his good behaviour, and if he refuse, commit him.

The growth of Puritanism may be considered to be evidenced by an order made in July 1595, at a Sessions held in the Chapter House, the bishop being apparently in the chair. It is declared that all

church or parish ales, revels, May-games, plays, and such other unlawful assemblies of the people of sundry parishes unto one parish on the *Sabbath day* and other times, is a special cause that many disorders, contempts of law, and other enormities, are

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to humanity. At the assize' at Exeter, in 1586, chained prisoners brought the air from their foul dungeon Court. Most of those were infected by it, and it fatal to the judge, eight justices, eleven jurymen, and constables and others who attendance. The difference of jurisdiction between Sessions and Assizes seems to have been at very small. The justices decided cases of settlement and livery (which were very rare), but sometimes even questions of title. In criminal law their jurisdiction ranged from the case of Petty Sessions to the case of life and death. They executed many persons to be tried at the next Sessions or Assizes. The names of many to execution. The names are seldom mentioned, but the calendars of both Sessions and Assizes, the names of persons being arranged in batches according to their punishment. The numbers vary very much, which is probably owing not so much to variations in the amount of crime as to the spasmodic efforts which were occasionally made to suppress it. Of the ferocity with which the law, and something more severe, was sometimes enforced, there are abundant records. In 1595 martial law was declared in London and the suburbs against vagrants and suspected persons; the 'most notorious and vile' were to be executed on gallows. In 1597-8 there have been a crusade against thieves in Devonshire. At the Lent Assizes of 1598 there were 14 prisoners, of whom 17 were dismissed with the fatal *s.p.*, apparently too much trouble to pursue; 20 were *s.p.*; 1 was liberated by pardon, and 15 by general pardon; 11 claimed 'benefit of clergy,' and were consequently

branded and set free,—'*leguntur, arantur, et deliberantur.*' At the Epiphany Sessions preceding, there were 65 prisoners, of whom 18 were hanged. At Easter there were 41 prisoners, and 12 of them were executed. At Midsummer there were 35 prisoners, and 8 hanged. At the Autumn Assizes there were 87 in the calendar, and 18 hanged. At the October Sessions there were 25, of whom only one was hanged. Altogether there were 74 persons hanged in one county in a single year, and of these more than one-half were condemned at Quarter Sessions. As it may be supposed that most of them were young, if a similar ratio prevailed in other counties, the numbers executed must have seriously affected the increase of the population. A paper preserved by Strype, which was written by a Somersetshire justice in the year 1596, says that 40 persons had been executed in that county in one year, and yet 'the fifth part of the felonies committed in the county were not brought to trial; the greater number escaped censure, either from the superior cunning of the felons, the remissness of the magistrates, or the foolish lenity of the people.' Some felons, we find, were 'retrieved for the service of her Majesty's galleys,' and a claim of 3*l.* a year for each was made for their maintenance by the Lords of the Council. This was resisted on the usual ground of poverty, 'because the county is chargeable with many other taxes coming thick one in the neck of another.' It would seem that Macaulay made a mistake when, writing of the year 1690, he tells us that galleys had never been seen in the English Channel until the time of Louis XIV., and that their discipline was a thing strange and shocking to Englishmen.

A favourite punishment for small offences, such as resisting a constable, was the stocks. The offender

had to come into the church at morning prayer, and say publicly that he was sorry, and was then set in the stocks until the end of evening prayer. The punishment was generally repeated on the next market-day. But the most common of all punishments was whipping. At every Sessions and Assizes there appears a long list of names to which the Clerk of the Peace appended the word *flagell*, with a flourish at the end strongly suggestive of the lash. This infliction was considered peculiarly appropriate, not only to rogues and vagabonds, but also to women, as we learn from certain passages in Shakespeare, as well as from the present records. At Easter, 1598, it was ordered that every such woman as shall have a bastard child be whipped. Also the reputed father of such child was to be whipped, if, as is added with a grim facetiousness, 'the proves be so pregnant and

in the conscience
 whom the
 as maye des
 punishment, unless it shal
 wise seems meete in the di
 of the same justyce.' In
 we find an order that a w
 whipped until she conf
 father of her child. In this
 may believe that the ge
 more merciful than the Q
 we find a note that she was
 of custody.

The setting of 'that brig
 dental Star, Queen Elizabeth
 most happy memory,' the
 appearance of James I., 'the
 Sun in his strength,' for
 reflection in the Sessions
 the county of Devon. The
 of the Peace did not even
 fresh volume. He turned a
 leaf, took a new pen, or an
 old one, and, instead of the
 title that had headed his
 papers for forty-five years

Anno regni Domini nostri Jacobi Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ et Hybernici fidei defensoris, &c., primo et Scotiæ Tricesimo Sexto.



RUNES AND RUNE-STONES.

o superb folio volumes which we give the title may well raise something of envy in the breasts of antiquaries. We should, rather say, of English antiquaries, and publishing in this country; for we are only too glad to claim Mr. Stephens, of Old English, and of the English Language and Literature in the University of Cheapingmark, as a fellow-countryman. But his book has been in the University of Copenhagen (we beg pardon, Cheapinghaven) and it displays an order, neatness, and it is only fair to say, a beauty of printing and illustration, such as are to be found in very few antiquarian works on this side of the North Sea under patronage of the Government. If we except Mr. Stephens' *Cultured Stones of Scotland*, we know of no book dealing with the subject of early Northern antiquities which is so entirely excellent.

We are far indeed from saying that we always agree with Mr. Stephens, either in his theories or in his conclusions, which, in so far as the civilisation of this island is concerned, are not very intelligent in his peculiar mode of dealing with the English language in his book. But the great merit of his book is, that it enables us to form their own conclusions, and it supplies them with a series of facsimiles of every Rune-stone monument of the older type which is known to exist, in Norway, Sweden, Den-

mark, or Great Britain. It is impossible to measure at once the value of the materials thus brought together. The most precious bits of evidence concerning the earlier history of the North may lie hid among them. But questions of very great interest are suggested by a mere turning through of the volumes, with their plates of rude standing-stones, worm-knots, serpents bearing Runic inscriptions, swords, caskets, dagger-hilts, and various other objects similarly marked, besides golden bracteates with the same mysterious lettering and devices. Mr. Stephens's English is, as we have said, noticeable. He introduces certain old words—generally Danish or Norwegian—to show 'that all the Northern dialects are essentially the same.' The result is that, for ordinary readers, an interpreter is now and then needful. But we are grateful to him for some of his restorations. In many cases what he terms modern 'book-speech' is happily expelled; and we especially admire 'lightbild' for 'photograph.'

Runes—we explain at the beginning, lest the same charge should be brought against us as we have hesitatingly preferred against Mr. Stephens—are the letters which make up an alphabet common, at one time, to the whole Scandinavian (and perhaps to the whole Teutonic) North. Their forms, at first sight, suggest something of the Oriental arrow-head, and something of the Ogham marks found in Ireland and in Wales. They are certainly not copied from the Roman alphabet

Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England. Now first Col-
Deciphered by George Stephens, Esq., F.S.A., &c. &c.; Professor of Old
of the English Language and Literature in the University of Cheapinghaven,
London. J. R. Smith; and København, printed by H. H. Thiele. 2 vols.
58.

in any way ; although it is possible that the two may have a common origin. But the Rune shapes are, for the most part, unlike those of Roman letters ; their number is greater, and their order is different—the Roman running in A B C, while the Runic is in ‘Futhorc’—that is, these (the ‘th’ being a single sign) are the opening letters of the Rune stave, or letter row. At what time this writing was introduced in Northern Europe—by what races it was imported, and by what routes—what was its origin, and how far it extended—these are questions for answering some of which, at all events, we must await further information. Mr. Stephens considers that the ‘iron-wielding clans of cavalry,’ who expelled or conquered the bronze-wielding populations of the North, brought with them the Runes. These iron-wielders, he insists, were Scandinavians, not Germans or Teutons, high or low. As for the origin of the letters, it is quite possible that some light may be thrown on it in the course of tomb explorations farther and farther toward the East. The mounds of the Russian steppes may tell us something ; and in due time we may perhaps be able to connect the Runes of Northern Europe with the Arrow-heads of Babylon. Meanwhile Mr. Stephens’s volumes afford ample material for study. The various forms of the letters are discussed with great care and learning, and they are amply illustrated. There are two periods of the Runic alphabet which, like all other archaeological ‘periods,’ overlap each other. In the first, or most ancient, the order of the letters forms the ‘Futhorc’ ; in the second the order has been changed ; the number of Runes has become less ; and the powers of some of the forms have

been altered. These later Runes abound in inscriptions ;² and the ‘Futhorc’ that Mr. Stephens confined his researches to. By a thorough examination of earlier relics, he tells us, ‘roll back the study of our Runic tongue’ (so he is pleased to call the word), ‘especially in the north, a space of nearly 1,000 years. For we have no written Scandinavian parchments that we can date on as certainly older than the year 1200 ; and any bits of parchment old are scarce enough to be counted by ones or twos.’

The earliest use of Runes is where we should expect to find them on the rude sepulchral stones. Rune-carved ‘haute-stones,’ as Mr. Stephens explains this old name as the ‘beaten ones,’ the stone of one who fell thus connects the later monuments with the far more numerous, because voiceless cromlechs, and circles of stones, most of which are, equally memorials of the dead. No duty, in the earlier days of the Northmen, was more sacred than this, of laying the dead to rest within his ‘earth-house,’ and of raising above him the most enduring monument to his memory, the solemn injunction of the Edda :

Ninth rede I rede thee :-
Rescue the lifeless,
A-field where thou find’st
Whether sank he on sick
Or sea-dead lieth,
Or was hewn by hungry
O’er the breathless !
A barrow raise thou
Hands and head clean w
Combed and dried e
In his kist fare he,-
And bid him sleep soft.

The addition of an inscription, which should record the name of the sleeper came at a con-

² The earlier, or ‘multitudinous’ Runes abound in England, but do not extend to Iceland, Greenland, the Færoes, or the Isle of Man—the later Scandinavian Runes

l, and yet at one which, y ancient. The Runes e little more than the he case on a small slab ging an open field near Kent, where we have rd 'Ræhæbul.' Later shes for good luck, or of the dead; and later short record, such as ont-land.' In one case, ht stone at Njudingen is an inscription for om Halgi laid in a ' (coffin) 'in England, a Haklati i Bathum). t is a Christian monu- is late as the eleventh he greater number of ic inscriptions in Scan- e heathen. Those in e almost all Christian. urse, is owing to the al of time between the and reception of Chris- England and in the re- ries of Northern Europe. ie 'Ræhæbul' inscrip- at Sandwich be really as Mr. Stephens insists, e can be no doubt that e brought into this the first Teutonic (with sion to Mr. Stephens, we e write Scandinavian) But Christianity soon and heathen memorials vith Runes are conse- y rare among us. ver race or races Runes r invented or brought e, it is certain that, at ere held to be connected al and unseen wonders, range powers were attri- em. And although they nonly used on bauta- elsewhere, and were, in intelligible to the great ie people, they always

retained a character of mystery, and in some combinations were held to produce marvellous effects. The word 'Rûn,' indeed, in its oldest form, implied a 'secret,' or a 'mystery;' and the old English verb 'rynan,' derived directly from it, means 'to whisper,' 'to tell secrets,' a sense which we still retain under the corrupt form 'to round in one's ear.' Nothing, in an early age, could be more mysterious than the silent letters which revealed so much to those who could read them; and it is by no means wonderful that they should have been regarded as awful symbols, especially as the knowledge of their powers and virtues seems to have been at first confined to those Odin-descended families which supplied kings and leaders to the Northern races, and to certain women, the priestesses or prophetesses whom Tacitus mentions; for the 'Aurinia,' which he took to be the proper name of a woman, is only to be interpreted 'Alrynia,' the general appellation of a sorceress.³ It was held, too, that Runes were the direct invention of Odin. So Odin is himself made to assert in the Icelandic Runa Capital; and so in the prose Anglo-Saxon dialogue of Salomon and Saturn, when the question is asked, 'Saga me, hwâ wrât bôcstafas ærest?' (Tell me, who wrote letters first?) the answer is, 'Ic the secge, Mercurius se gigant' (I tell thee, Mercury the giant); Mercury being the recognised 'double' of Odin. Runes became connected with, and were indeed directly used in, the casting of lots in divination—a remarkable example of which is afforded by a passage in Alcuin's *Life of Willibrord*, who died in 739. Willibrord was one of the early Christian missionaries in Frieze-

olim Auriniam et complures alias venerati sunt, non adulatione, nec erent deas.'—*Germania*, viii. Alrynia is the Alioruna of Jornandes, who limer expelled from his kingdom 'quædam magas mulieres, quas patrio orunas cognominant.' These passages are quoted by Kemble ('On Anglo-
' *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii.)

land. In the course of his wanderings among the people, he and his companions defiled the sacred wells, and at last slew the sacred cattle of the god Fosite. The heathens, we are told, expected that they would be seized with madness, or be at once stricken dead. When neither occurred, the Christians were given into the hands of the king, Radbod; and for three days, at three several times, the lots were cast ('per tres dies semper tribus vicibus sortes suo more mittebat Radbodus') to see what captives Fosite would choose as his victims. But the lots were guided by a higher power. In no case were they directed against Willibrord or his companions; and only one stranger who had become attached to his following was pointed out in this mysterious fashion, and 'received the crown of martyrdom.' In this case, as in many which resemble it, the 'lots' were distinct auguries or divinations; and the 'casting' them consisted in throwing a number of Runes—cut probably on the bark of trees—on a broad outspread cloth, and then marking the manner in which they lay disposed. A similar use of lots is indicated in Saxon poems much later than the time of Alcuin; and even in Layamon's *Brut* we are told that before the birth of Brutus 'lots were cast' to discover what fortune was in store for him. Thus used, the Runes were distinctly magical. Indeed, according to Kemble, the old German dialect has the one word *hllozzari*, a 'caster of lots,' only in the sense of a magician. In other ways, and differently used, they were not less surely powerful. Runes are found carved on sword blades, on brooches, and on various ornaments; and when these are of early date, and the Runes are of the older form, we may be tolerably sure that they were designed to exercise some especial influence, either for the

benefit of the wearer or for the confusion of his enemies. The sword of stone with which Beowulf slew the Grendel's mother was marked on the hilt with Rune staves, declaring by whom it had been fashioned in the olden time, 'when the proud giants perished. Brynhildr teaches Sigurd to cut the signnar, or Runes of Victory, on his sword; and visitors to our own National Museum may see there an iron sword-blade, dredged up from the Thames, and bearing on it the whole Runic alphabet, formed by gold and silver wire twisted together, cut into proper lengths, and beaten into the incisions. The name of the maker or owner, Beagnoth, is added and the sword, in the judgment of Mr. Stephens, may date from the sixth or seventh century. The fashion of inscribing the whole of the 'Futhorc,' or Runic alphabet is found elsewhere, and was possibly designed to counteract other and perhaps evil Rune-spells, lingered far down into the middle ages. Thus the 'Futhorc' is carved on the inner side (where it was only disclosed by accident) of a richly carved cornel-wood chair, the thirteenth century, sent from Iceland to the great collection of antiquities in Copenhagen. Something perhaps of the feeling which dictated its use may be traced in one of the ceremonies which anciently attended the solemn consecration of a church; when the bishop wrote with the point of his pastoral staff two Roman alphabet crosswise, throughout the whole length and breadth of the building. Instances of the magical use of Runes occur frequently in the *Sagas*, and notably in that of Egil Skallagrimson. There is, too, a curious passage in *Saxo Grammaticus*, which tells us how the sorcerer Hardgrepa placed certain charms and incantations, carved on wood under the tongue of a dead man

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mb inscriptions gene- on the great external

Some of these stones al size and height; and tion, so far from de- m of their mysterious seems in truth to add all events in the eyes o see only in the letters unaccustomed symbols, are unable to interpret. us gives us a represen- ree such stones, rising a cleared space in the small birchen coppice rp, in the south of Sw- the Runic letters record : 'Saeth, who fell in the n Eawel.' The whole st impressive group, at ric' and mysterious as one monument we pos-

sess in this country. It was on such stone surfaces as these, and on wood or the bark of trees, that the earliest Runes were cut; and for this reason the primary signifi- cation in all the Northern languages of words which now mean 'to write' was 'to cut' or 'to carve.' This is the first meaning of our own English word 'writan;' and so far- ther north the expression was 'rista runar,' 'to cut Runes.' To the same source also must be referred the word 'stafas,' meaning the plain sticks on which Runes were cut; and 'bôc,' or 'book,' itself takes us back to the beechen Rune- tablet. We have said that tomb inscriptions were generally exter- nal; but sometimes they are found on small stone slabs, placed in- side the 'how,' or barrow—just, says Mr. Stephens, as we bury coffins with inscribed plates—as if there were any other people but worms to read the details.' In these cases we must suppose that the Rune-carved slabs were placed in the grave with some magical intention, either to keep the tenant quiet in his 'earth-house,' or to prevent the disturbance of the tomb. The small Sandwich stones, now in the museum at Canterbury, are of this sort, and in this country 'are unique—(in good English, *only*),' adds Mr. Stephens, feeling perhaps that if he had used the 'good English' word by itself, no one could possibly have understood him. They were found in an open field 'down in the earth,' near Sandwich, 'that famous seaport whence the Northmen and Vikings for ages streamed into England.' One of them is seventeen inches high by five inches in breadth, the other is not quite so large. On both the Runic letters were placed, within a cartouche or double border, something resembling which has been found on old Scandinavian bauta-stones. The inscriptions are confined to single names. Mr. Ste-

phens insists that they are not later than the year 600, and that they belong to the heathen period just preceding the conversion of Kent by Augustine. This is a matter for experts to decide. The forms of the letters seem to be the only guide. But Runes must have come with the first Saxon or Jutish conquerors, if Mr. Stephens is right in translating Bede's description of the monument of Horsa—'Monumentum sub nomine insigne'—as 'a standing stone carved in his name.'

We must return to England; but first it is well to mention the explanation given by Mr. Stephens of the Runic inscription on one of the famous golden horns formerly in the old Danish museum at Copenhagen. Two of these horns were found near Gallehus, in North Jutland, at a place called the Rose-garden—the first in 1639, the other, near the same spot, in 1734. The finder in both cases was a peasant. The largest horn was nearly three feet long. Both were of the purest gold, and were covered with raised figures of men and animals, referring, as it would seem, in some parts, to those human sacrifices which certainly lingered in the heathen North to a very late period. Both horns were stolen from the museum in 1802, and were at once melted down. Drawings exist; but unfortunately there is no cast or moulding. Casts were indeed at one time taken, but these too have been destroyed. The inscription on one of the horns has greatly troubled Northern antiquaries. The Runes are clear enough. Their meaning is very much the reverse. Mr. Stephens interprets them to signify, 'To the ever-to-be-feared Holt King' (lord of the woods) 'Echlew offered this horn.' A great forest formerly spread north and east of Gallehus. It was known as the Farris-skow, or the Wood of Frey—the old god of the forest and the harvest. Frey was therefore

the 'holt king' to whom it was 'dedicated; and his probable standing in, or on the top of, the woodland.

On all these relics, on all that are illustrated in Mr. Stephens's volumes, the Runes are the older orders; 'hitherto,' 'almost untouched and unaltered.' They belong, that is, to the 'Futhorc' arrangement of the alphabet, and not to that late Scandinavian order, where the letters are far more numerous.

Monuments of this class may be found in Northern Europe by the score. These were the Runes used by the heathen bauta-steins of the later period, and for the most part the inscriptions as occur after the introduction of Christianity in the North. But the Runes found on the monuments in England belong, with exception, to the older order. This is the more remarkable because these monuments, except the Sandwich slabs, are of the heathen period, and we have seen that the great object of Christianity was to substitute the Roman alphabet for the Runic. The question, indeed, in so far as the Saxon Runes are concerned, is, that relates to their intrinsic value, their history, and their local peculiarities, demands, and will repay, very careful examination. The late Mr. Kemble was the first to call attention to this subject to the Archaeologists; to it we have been greatly indebted; but Mr. Stephens brings fresh evidence and fresh knowledge on certain points there is a difference between the two theories. Kemble insists that the Runes were common to all the Teutonic races, Germanic and Scandinavian. Mr. Stephens declares that they never belonged to 'High German.' They are not, he says, in old German though frequently in Anglo-Saxon skin books. 'No Runic

p in German or Saxon coin or bracteate was n German or Saxon y were, he insists, and brought into e latest 'clan wave.' be so, how are we he Runes in Eng- undwich slabs, Horsa's claimed by Mr. Ste- ic), the great crosses morials in Northum- is a brief answer: f the Runes being makes it certain that to England were inavians, Northmen; still less German.' e, is to upset all the ritten history, of lan- dition. Here, there- company altogether ofessor of Cheaping- must believe, with the ry, that Runes were 'euton and Scandina- r. Stephens's transla- of the Northumbrian and his remarks on special value as bear- tion which is rapidly interest—the connex- Northern speech of Anglian of Northum- e Scandinavian. It hat, in many ways, far more nearly re- landic (as we must itive general tongue ia) than were the e Middle and West s resemblance was of ed after the Danish in- tlements in Northern l the strong Scandi-

navian element which undoubtedly exists in our language was probably due to those settlements, and to the sort of under-current by which Danish words and inflections passed into the common speech of the people, and almost unconsciously modified it.⁴ But the Runic inscriptions belong, for the most part, to an elder age. They should assist us in determining the true relations of Anglian speech. The question is by no means settled, and it is one of very great historical and ethnological importance.

Anglo-Saxon Runes differ somewhat from those of the far North; and the variations, although not very considerable, are sufficient to show that the English colonists who first used them were independent of the distinct, though cognate races. There is a very curious Saxon poem bearing on the names of the Runes, which was first published by Hickeys in his *Thesaurus*, and has been translated by Kemble.⁵ There are twenty-nine verses, each one beginning with the Rune of which the word itself was the name. Thus, to take the 'Futhorc—the first letters of the elder order—we have Feoh=money (F), Ur=bull (U), Thorn, which explains itself (Th), Os=mouth (O), Rad=saddle (R), and Cen=torch (C). The verses run much after the fashion of the following:

Cen (torch) is to all living
well known on fire,
pale and brightly
it ofteneest burneth
where the æthelings
rest within.⁶

rably brought out by a writer (if we name Mr. Earle, we are divulging *Quarterly Review* for October 1875. The book there specially under andic-English Dictionary of Cleasby and Vigfusson, the publication of n great light on many a question which had before puzzled students of

axon Runes,' *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii.

of the other letters are—Gifn (gift), Wen (hope), Hægl (hail), Nyd (year), Eoh (yew), Peord (chessman), Eolhx (sedge), Sigel (inter- the poem, but really meaning a jewel), Tir (a token?), Beorc (birch), (man), Lagu (water), Ing (the hero), Ethel (native land), Dæg (day), Ac

SO. LXXVIII. NEW SERIES.

The poem is, no doubt, late; and it is one among the many proofs that, whatever was the case elsewhere, the use of Runes was retained in England long after the conversion of the country to Christianity. At the very earliest period, indeed, they were used here for Christian inscriptions; and if they appear but rarely in the South, they long maintained their hold in the whole country north of the Humber. Mr. Kemble suggests, as the most probable explanation of their acceptance by the first Christians,

that the earliest converts were the priests themselves; which fact, astounding as it is, is rendered probable by positive evidence. If this were the case, they who knew what the Runes really were might have the less scruple in using them, with or without the Roman characters. And as nearly every inscription we have must be referred to Northumberland, we find this more intelligible when we bear in mind that before the close of the eighth century Northumberland was more advanced in civilisation than any other portion of Teutonic Europe.⁷

Be this as it may, it is certain that the two most remarkable Runic memorials in this country are the great sculptured and inscribed crosses at Bewcastle, in Cumberland, and at Ruthwell, near Annan, in Dumfriesshire, a portion, it must be remembered, of the old Northumbrian kingdom. Nothing can be more impressive or more exciting to the imagination than these venerable relics, both of which date from about the year 670, and belong, not indeed to the time when Christianity was first brought into Northumbria, but to that succeeding half-century which may fairly be called its first age. Both are rude, four-sided obelisks, that at Ruthwell retaining its small cross on the top—a wonderful circumstance, since the whole was over-

thrown by Presbyterian iconoclasts in 1642, and a considerable portion of the stone, with the inscription, has disappeared since that time. In both crosses the four sides are covered with ornament, sculptured figures, and Runes; and a remarkable mixture of art and superstition influence is evident in both leafage and sculptured point clearly enough to illustrate, if we remember the Roman work of whom Wilfrith brought into the country. The knot-work in the Ruthwell Runes belongs to our own English ancestors. The leafage represents a grape-bearing vine with birds perched among the clusters. The figures in both are of our Lord, who treads under his feet the heads of swine, under whom Ruthwell Cross, is the inscription in Roman characters, 'I.H.S. Index æquitatis. Bestiæ conecognoverunt in deserto mundi; saintly personages such as John the Baptist, and the Holy Lamb, with the Runes, 'Gessus Kristtus,' Paul; and, perhaps, King Oswald of Northumbria, with a sword on his wrist. At any rate, the 'sign-pillar' of Bewcastle, as the inscription calls it, was set up by King Alchfrith, whose name is on it, with the words, 'Pro soul's great sin.' This is therefore, of the highest importance, not only as a work of art, but as an historical monument. The brother of Ruthwell tells a remarkable story. The cross is of dull red stone, and much of it is now in the manse garden. The inscriptions, as we have seen, are partly in Latin and in Runes; but on every surface—along the sides, and on the borders, at the top—Runes.

(oak), Æsc (ash), Yr (bow), Ior (eel?), and Ear (war). It is evident that these are for the most part conventional, and that they can have little or no connection with any shape given to the letter. This, however, is not the case with all. Thus the Runes may represent by its form the twisted roots of the tree.

⁷ 'On Anglo-Saxon Runes,' *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii. pp. 337-38.

ong rows and lines. The attempt was made on them by foreign antiquaries, although they read rightly enough, failed to get the sense, because they did not understand old Norse or Icelandic. Of what they might have expected—honest Old Norse at last, Mr. Kemble rescued, and showed the fragments as represented portions of a poem in Northern English, in which the fragments made to speak, and to which he had seen and felt. Some of the lines :—

led Him then
Almighty,
when he would
go on the gallows,
to save all mankind,
dreadless, fearless.

I durst not,' says the antiquary, 'anything I saw.' The fragment of such a poem was thus first revealed. But, after a while, a manuscript was found at Vercelli which contained pieces in Saxon verse; among them, 'A Dream of the Riddle' turned out to be the chief portions had been

Ruthwell cross. The fragment of this 'dream' is impressive; and it becomes interesting when we now learn from Mr. Kemble that it is the work of an English poet who wrought it 'in England. Mr. Kemble read, for the first time, on at the top of the fragment has revealed itself as made.'

Runic inscriptions in Northumbria, the most ancient, that on the font in the church of Bridekirk, in Cumberland another, but lately on the face of a rock at Lanercost. The fragments of the former have almost all that seems tolerably

certain is that they recorded the names of the person who wrought the font—which is covered with elaborate sculpture—and of him who gave it to the church. The font dates, possibly, from the end of the tenth century, and it supplies a remarkable example of the late use of the more ancient Runes. But, in this respect, the inscription on the Lanercost rock is still more noteworthy. The rock itself is known as Barnspike; and on the top of the ridge of crags is a ring-barrow, which has been regarded as the possible sleeping-place of one Barn, or Baran, who thus gave name to the 'pike.' But of this there may be some doubt, since the newly-found inscription, which must be centuries later than the barrow, distinctly records a Baran. The words, as Mr. Stephens interprets them, run: 'Baran wrote (this) in memory of Killhes (or Gillies) Bueth, as was dead in (the) truce (at the hand of) Rab at Vanalks (Robert de Vaux) at fetrlana (at his 'father-lane,' or hereditary estate) in Llanerkastæ.' The date of this inscription must lie between the years 1160-70. It agrees most remarkably with local history, and with the tradition of the place, and, if it be genuine, it must be the latest instance of the use of Runes in this country, besides affording a most singular proof of lingering Northern influence. We owe to a feeling of doubt about it. Unfortunately, the letters have been recut, in order 'to get a good photograph;' and the rock itself, for some unexplained reason, has been painted black. It would seem that, if the roughness and comparative barbarism of Northumbria lent themselves toward the long and late retention of the Runes in that country, they have now done their best to prevent competent antiquaries from studying them.

Bewcastle and Ruthwell are remotely placed, and few can see with

their own eyes these lingering relics of days gone by. There are excellent representations of the crosses in Mr. Stephens's book; but there is nothing which can equal an examination of the actual fragment of antiquity; and, happily, those who care to see for themselves what Runes are like, will find in the British Museum, besides the sword-blade already mentioned, another Rune-marked treasure which may, indeed, easily escape casual observation, but which deserves the closest study. This is a box or casket, made from the bone of a whale, nine inches long, seven and a half in width, and a little more than five inches in height. The sides and cover are carved in low but clear relief, and each panel has a Runic inscription within a broad border. The subjects represented are Romulus and Remus, which the Runes describe as 'Romulus and Remulus, twain brothers outlay close together. A she-wolf fed them in Rome city;' the storming of Jerusalem, and the flight of the Jews, in which the arms and action of the soldiers and the architecture of the city are exceedingly curious; and certain passages from the stories of the mythical Northern heroes, Weland and Egil. The name of the latter appears in Runic characters above his head. But it is the main inscription, running quite round the casket, which gives this relic its highest interest. We learn from it that the box was carved in Northumbria, and from the bone of a whale thrown up on the shore. The Runes have been thus interpreted:

The whale's bones from the fishes' flood
I lifted on Fergen Hill.
He was gashed to death in his gambols,
As aground he swam in the shallows.

This work is of the eighth century. It was found some years ago in Paris by Mr. Franks, who gave no small sum for it, and then most liberally presented it to the National

Museum. Its history is altogether unknown, and it may have for centuries in the treasury of a French church. It is clear that these Northumbrian carvers were skilled in their art, and that their works were valued beyond the limits of their own country. This is another casket of very different character in the Ducal Museum at Brunswick. This is shrine-shaped, and covered with carvings of interlaced lines, whose tails elongate into long and knots, and of various fantastic monsters. Mr. Stephens reads the Runic inscription as, 'Carved by Nethii for the victorious lord in Mungpælio (Montpellier) Gaul.' The date is uncertain, but may range between the seventh and ninth centuries.

The use of Runes in manuscript, or, as Mr. Stephens has it, in 'Scandic skin-books,' is somewhat very curious. They are not made to express the words, but in the name of the Rune, by which words are occasionally so arranged in the course of a poem as to form an anagram, mysterious even at first sight, but really disclosing the name of the writer or composer. Thus in the Vercelli manuscript before mentioned, at the end of a poem on the finding of the Cross by the Empress Helena, come several lines in which the author reveals himself, and which contain interwoven through them, a series of Runes. These, taken out of context, and united in one line, give the name 'Cynewulf.' This poem, in the famous *Anglo-Saxon Book*—that given by Leofric to Exeter cathedral—has the same name recorded in the same fashion. It was first pointed out in botch by Mr. Kemble, who suggested that Cynewulf may have been an abbot of Peterborough of that name early in the eleventh century. It accounted a great poet both in English and in Saxon. His 'child-genuity,' adds Mr. Kemble,

abled us with some probability assign to him the authorship of the Vercelli and Exeter Books. We may add here that the runes, of which the Exeter Book contains a great number, are especially obscure by the inclusion of Runes, in which letters the words are entirely written, and often backwards. As an example there is a riddle in four lines, the meaning of which no one has as yet overed:

I beheld swift
on the swathe to go
a *dmuk*; alone I saw
a lady sit.

As 'Hund' (hound) spelt backwards, and written in Runes. The Exeter Book is a very interesting collection of Runes, and contains that of the so-called Bracteate golden pieces struck as coins or ornaments, and of very various date, though some are of great antiquity. There is a great deal of them, a certain resemblance to Indian coins struck in various parts of the world before and after the birth of Christ. But where, or how, these 'gold blicks' (blink-eyes) as they are called in the old lore, were struck, or for what purposes, is by no means clear.

Few have been found in England; great numbers in Scandinavia.

Some have apparently been introduced from Byzantine coins,

and may have been the work of some Northmen among the Varings—the Væringar—the famous Northern guard of Byzantium. Nearly all have a ring at the top through which to pass a cord for suspension. Runes occur on most of these bracteates—sometimes in single letters, designed perhaps as magical safeguards, sometimes in words, as 'to glwk,' 'for luck,'—resembling the 'luck, luck' inscribed in Arabic letters on many Cufic coins. On one in the Stockholm Museum is the whole Runic alphabet; and bracteates like this may have been designed for instruction, just as, according to the legend, St. Patrick is said to have carved with his own hand three hundred and sixty-five 'letter rows' for teaching his scholars.

A great variety of bracteates will be found in the plates which illustrate Mr. Stephens's book. Enough has, perhaps, been said to show the great value and importance of this book, as well as the variety and width of the questions on which light may be thrown by the learning of 'Rune-smiths.' 'Runes, and old lore, and speech-craft,' says the author, 'all are, or should be, inextricably combined, endlessly interwoven, like the dragon-winds and knot-work and rope-twists of our grand early carvings.'

R. J. KING.



CALVIN AT GENEVA.¹

ALTHOUGH no outward memorial of Calvin exists at Geneva, for the very site of his grave is unknown, and although the existing republic is something as far as possible removed from the ideal of the great Reformer, yet it would be true to say of him, 'Si monumentum quæris, circumspice.' For just as it was the bracing atmosphere of the Puritanism of the seventeenth century that contributed much of the moral vigour and force of character that we see in the England, so remote from the Puritan model, of the nineteenth; so it was the stern discipline and the rigorous isolation of the Geneva of Calvin that burst forth, as from the bud into the flower, in the exuberant intellectual and political life of the modern city.

And yet, to speak as men ordinarily speak, how entire an accident was Calvin's connection with Geneva! For some years the Reformation had been vigorously and successfully preached there by Farel and his disciple Viret; the Bishop and most of his clergy had left the city; the monasteries had been suppressed, and the Episcopal palace turned into a prison:² but Farel, like many other reformers, found it easier to pull down the old than to build up the new; he saw the newly conquered liberty rapidly running into licence, and he found himself powerless to control the movement which he had initiated; he looked round for some one to supply that power of organisation which he himself lacked. One day in the month of August 1536, he heard that a stranger, a French-

man, by name Jean (otherwise 'Calvin'), the author of a book already well known in the Reformed Church, was at a hostelry in Geneva, way northwards from the city. Was it his knowledge of this stranger through his book, or was it those strange, unaccountable impulses which sometimes lead a man to take a step which, without reflection, he might regard as rash and hasty, that led him to go at once and seek out this stranger, and beseech him to come to Geneva and undertake the work of building on the foundation which was laid ready to his hand? He had never before seen Calvin; Calvin was but a passing stranger, wholly unconnected with the life of the city; and yet, suddenly and without preparation, he finds what he had called a 'great door' opened to him, a position of influence for his acceptance which he had never felt would give him such a place among the French Churches equal to that which he had in the German. For a moment he hesitated: perhaps the words 'Who is sufficient for these things?' drew from him a true *Noli parari*: but at last he yielded, with no election or confirmation, consecration but such as is given to every true man who is called to a work to which he believes himself truly called, Calvin upon a more than episcopal throne in the new Genevese Church. Again, in our own day, his petition had been addressed to the Reformed Church at Geneva by a distinguished Frenchman: 'V

¹ This article is in great measure founded upon a recent examination by me of the Registers of Council of the City of Geneva.

² Register of the Council, November 23, 1535, 'On fait une prison de l'évêque.'

le Catholique libéral. 'ce oudrez,' was the invitation Hyacinthe; but un-; with unequalled elo-; absolute sincerity, M. ears not to possess that organising and govern-; his course clearly first and then waiting for opportunities, which few men in a century, was given in full measure

understand the position of Geneva, we must first see of the course which Calvin had taken in that England, as we know, the Reformation was cautious, tentative, and slow; Henry VIII. was the Church adrift from obedience and to suppression of monasteries with a high use both of these measures further his own objects and to increase his power; but he thought of abolishing one and setting up another. The tide of Protestantism ran under Edward and Elizabeth, the Reformation proceeded on the old accession of the Bishops and the old was preserved, the old was translated and purged and there was no break at which it could be the old passed away and took its place. But at the Reformation took the course. There was no authority to moderate the Reformers; the Bishop for many years been identified with the worst enemy of the Reformation; the clergy seem to have clung on the affections of the people and so a clean sweep of everything,³ the Bishop fled to Gex, the Reformation the most part followed

him, the ecclesiastical society was resolved into its component elements, and a new creation had to be begun from chaos. The Reformed preachers as yet were preachers simply; they had taken no steps towards organising a church. Under these circumstances, it was inevitable that the civil magistrate should step in, and fill the place which had hitherto been held by the Bishop and clergy. This explains the occurrence in the Registers of the Council of such resolutions as that of June 30, 1532, enjoining the ministers to preach the Gospel 'sans mélange d'inventions humaines;' or that of January 16, 1537, ordering all shops to be shut on Sunday during the time of sermon; or the still more startling entry of April 1538, forbidding Calvin the pulpit if he refused to administer the Supper 'à la manière de Berne,' i.e. with unleavened bread.

Nothing indeed can be farther from the truth, than to represent Calvin as an ecclesiastical despot, the head of a Theocracy, encroaching on the province of the civil power, and dictating stern decrees to an obedient council.⁴ The fact is, that his whole life at Geneva, especially during the first years of it, was a continual struggle with the Council to gain some degree of independence for the Church. What authority he did exercise arose entirely from moral influence; over and over again in his correspondence he complains that he is unable to maintain discipline; once he declares that he will be compelled to quit his post sooner than give the Lord's Supper to open despisers, who boast of their contempt for the Pastors.

It was, then, no easy or pleasant post that Calvin undertook when he consented to remain at Geneva.

³ *Genève et les Rives du Léman*, par R. Rey, p. 72.

⁴ Amédée Roget, *L'Eglise et l'Etat à Genève*, p. 7.

And what made his position all the more irksome was, that no proper arrangement seems to have been made for his remuneration. In fact, he was engaged at first rather as a lecturer on Scripture than as a preacher strictly so called. In February 1537, six months after his arrival, we find in the Register of the Council, 'On donne six écus au Soleil à Calvin soit Calvin,'⁵ vu qu'il n'a encore guères reçu ;' and in October 1541, 'Gage considérable donné à M. Calvin, à cause de son grand savoir et de ce que les passans lui content beaucoup.' It seems indeed, from this and other notices, that although there were at this time hostelries at Geneva where a traveller and his horse, the former 'dinant de bœuf, de mouton, et de poule,' could be lodged and boarded for ten sous a day, yet the numerous Protestants who in that unsettled time passed through Geneva, driven perhaps by persecution from their homes, with but little provision for their journey, quartered themselves upon Calvin as the host, like Gaius, 'of the whole Church.'

In truth, Calvin's position at Geneva was one which would have been untenable except for a man who was willing to sacrifice his independence altogether, or one who felt himself strong enough, in case of need, to brave the 'Civium ardor prava jubentium.' In the Register for March 11 and 12, 1538, we find, 'On défend aux prédicateurs, et en particulier à Farel et à Calvin, de se mêler de la politique.' This was an order which, however consonant with the views of our day, would be intolerable to a preacher of the sixteenth century, who felt himself as little restricted in his teaching as a Hebrew prophet; Latimer's sermons, for example, are full of what a modern congregation would proscribe as political allusions.

And accordingly in less than weeks, on the 23rd of April, we read, 'On ordonne à Farel et à Calvin de se retirer dans trois semaines, puisqu'ils ne veulent pas obéir aux magistrats, et ils répondent que la bonne heure, vaut mieux que la mauvaise.' Dieu qu'aux hommes.'

In less than two years, then, after his first arrival Calvin was banished from the city. His adoption, in company with his colleague, who had invited him to remain at Geneva. It was, however, no sudden and unexpected change of unpopularity which thus came upon them, but one which had been for some time looking its end in sight. In fact, it was inevitable. A people like the Genevese, who had suddenly rebound from the yoke of the old Church, shot into sudden collision with the new, who, claiming no supernatural authority, were endeavouring to bring them into subjection to their obedience. It will be well, therefore, going farther to trace those causes which led to the explosion. The first subject of contention seems to have been the Confession of Faith. On Calvin's arrival, the Church possessed no kind of formula, except that which the people in council general had declared in May 1536, 'On voulait vivre selon l'Evangile et la parole de Dieu.' But according to the ideas of that age a mere declaration was insufficient for Christian unity, and Calvin and Farel undertook to draw up a Confession of Faith which was presented by them to the Council of Two Hundred, and sanctioned by them in April, 1537. It is probable that in drawing up the Confession the Council had no intention of doing more than giving a general adhesion to the statements of doctrine, without committing individual citi-

⁵ The first mention of Calvin in the Register is in February 1537, when he is called 'Ce Français.'

ails; but Calvin's ideas went beyond this. He desired that citizen should personally for himself declare his acceptance of articles of belief which he had set up, and on the 17th of April it was decreed, on the demand of the Pastors, that a house-to-house visitation should be made by the Pastors and other officials to demand the adhesion of the inhabitants. This strong measure perhaps have been adopted as well upon the Anabaptists, who were beginning zealously to promote their views, and who had gone so far as to challenge Calvin to a public disputation; but however this may have been it was not from the Anabaptists that the opposition arose. The city was beginning to assume considerable dimensions, under the influence of Libertines, whose avowed aim was to check the encroachment of the Pastors on the liberties of the citizens; many men of position and weight either joined it or gave it a secret support; the question of subscription to the Confession became at once a burning point. Already, in May, the Council seem to have decided that they had gone too far and to have been inclined to modify their decree; they voted, *un sera tenu de se conformer aux articles de foi le mieulx que se pourra*. But in July an order was issued that the people should be conducted to St. Pierre in their divisions to declare if they would observe the Confession or not. This brought the city to a crisis. Many refused to do so; from one whole street, the *des Allemands*, probably the one assigned to German immigrants, not one appeared. The Council were in a difficult position. They had gone too far to draw back and yet they did not wish to bring matters to an extremity. On the 10th of October, on the proposition of Calvin and Farel, they decreed

that all who had not signed must do so, and on the 12th of November all who refused were ordered to quit the city. But this decree was found impossible to execute. Loud complaints arose; the Libertines brought their party organisation to bear, and in the municipal elections of February 1538 they obtained a majority in the Council.

The name of Libertines has sometimes caused a mistaken impression that the opponents of Calvin and Farel were men whose irregularity of life led them to rebel against the discipline which the Pastors desired to enforce. Such men there probably were among them; wherever there is a party of liberty, a party of licence is pretty sure to try to march under its banners; but the leaders, some of whom had been friends of Calvin, were probably men who had no private ends of their own to serve, but who on public grounds resented the attempt to enforce a discipline which experience has since shown to be impossible, and which would not now be attempted in the narrowest and most fanatical sect. Not, however, that we ought on this account to sympathise with the Libertines. They were no doubt fighting the battle of what in our day is known as religious liberty; but religious liberty is a conception not of the sixteenth but of the nineteenth century, and if a few advanced minds were feeling after it, society in general was not ripe for it. The idea of the Church as a voluntary association for religious purposes, existing separately from the civil society, had not presented itself to men's minds; the Church and the State were simply expressions denoting the religious and the secular aspect of one and the same society; the Council as the supreme authority had the right to regulate not only questions of taxation, of police, of justice, but also all

matters relating to religion and worship, and even to the proprieties of individual and family life. For example, in addition to the interference with Bonivard's domestic arrangements alluded to in a previous article, we find in the Register of the Council for October 30, 1537, 'Une épouse étant sortie dimanche dernier avec les cheveux plus abattus qu'il ne se doit faire, ce qui est d'un mauvais exemple et contraire à ce qu'on leur évangélise, on fait mettre en prison sa maîtresse, les deux qui l'ont menées et celle qui l'a coiffée.' And again, October 1538, 'Défense d'aller de nuit par la ville après neuf heures pour jouer, taverner,' &c. Again, in January 1538, when the Pastors had declared that they would not administer the Sacrament to any who had refused to subscribe to the Confession of Faith, the Council passed a brief but decisive decree, 'Est arrêté qu'on ne refuse la Cène à personne.' And after the expulsion of Calvin and Farel, the ministers profess their readiness to administer the Lord's Supper at Christmas 'selon l'ordonnance qu'il plaira à Messieurs de faire.' Nor does it appear that the rupture between Calvin and the civil magistrates arose from his objecting to their interference in ecclesiastical matters, but rather from the fact that his view and theirs differed on important and even fundamental points; and where he disputed and resisted their authority, notably in the matters of preaching and the administration of the Lord's Supper, it was not a question between Church and State, but rather between clergy and laity.

Such, then, was the quarrel which came to a crisis in the early part of 1538. It turned finally upon two points: the refusal of the ministers to celebrate the Lord's

Supper according to the Bernese form, and their repudiation of the Council's authority in the matter of preaching. The Council demanded that the Bernese rite should be observed on Easter Day; the Pastors refused; on April 2, Easter Eve, the decree was passed 'Arrêté de défendre la chaire à Calvin, s'il refuse à administrer la Cène la manière de Berne.' Great excitement prevailed; on Easter morning the churches were crowded. Calvin appeared in the pulpit at St. Pierre, Farel at St. Gervais; both refused to administer the Sacrament, on the ground that the congregation were not in a fitting frame of mind to receive it; on Easter Monday their banishment was decreed by the Council of Two Hundred, and on Tuesday it was confirmed by the General Council.

It is not a little remarkable that Bonivard, who, as we have seen in a former article, had now been two years out of his dungeon, and had found the new order of things established at Geneva, had foretold such an issue of events.* 'Ye hated the priests,' he said, 'because they were too like yourselves; ye will hate the preachers because they are too unlike you, and in a couple of years you will get rid of them, without paying them for their labours except with stripes.' The man of the world, looking on as a disinterested spectator, saw that the restless, unruly population of Geneva will not readily submit to the yoke of a discipline unsupported by supernatural pretensions, that for them 'new Prebyter is but old Priest writ large' and that having refused to bow when the Pope piped, they were not likely to lament when Calvin mourned to them.

The movements of Calvin, first to Berne and afterwards to Strasburg, where he spent the greater part

* Bungenier, *Vie de Calvin*, p. 172.

ne of banishment, do not fall on our subject; but something may be said of the course of events in Geneva during his absence. If opponents thought that his banishment would be the signal for a period of anarchy, they must have been greatly disappointed. The Council seem, in fact, to have decided on an increased amount of activity in matters pertaining to religion, as if to show that they at least were not inclined to licence. In December 1538, a few months after Calvin's departure, the Council expelled all strangers who had not communicated to quit the city in ten days; the following month two recalcitrant citizens were threatened with banishment if they absented themselves from the Lord's Supper; in April, measures were taken for noting the names of all who refused to communicate on Easter Sunday, and, as though to show that banishment of the ministers of the new religion involved no inclination to favour those of the old, priests still remaining in Genev territory were summoned to appear before the Council to declare whether they thought the Mass was or not, 'Et ceulx qui la voullent maintenir bonne, qu'ils soyent en la ville et aillent servir là où on chante ladite messe.'⁷

It was Calvin during his banishment unmindful of the Church which he had so loved. The fall of the chief pillar of the Reformed faith seemed to the enemies at faith a fitting opportunity for endeavouring to win back Geneva to the Catholic fold. Accordingly the attempt was made. At first, the Bishop of Carpentras, to have the honourable office of bringing again what Calvin and his followers had destroyed. Sadolet was a man of a very different type from who undertook the same task

early in the next century, Francis de Sales. He had been Secretary to Leo X. and was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Renaissance. To him probably the Reformation was what Dissent was to the old type of English dignitary—not so much a breach of ecclesiastical unity as an uncalled-for disturbance of the even tenour of life, an unnecessary jolting of the coach, an interruption to the more serious pursuits of cultivation and literature. Sadolet accordingly wrote a letter to the Senate and people of Geneva, reminding one curiously in its tone of what a well-meaning English rector, deploring the existence of Dissent yet quite unable to comprehend its *raison d'être*, might address to his Nonconformist parishioners. 'Why should we be separated? Christians were intended to be one; you believe as we do in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity; we hold as you do the authority of Scripture: is it not at least safer to walk in the old ways, to return to the fold which you have deserted, than to wander in paths of your own choosing which may lead you farther than you think?' So wrote Sadolet; and though the recollections of the past were too fresh in the minds of the Senate and people of Geneva to make it very probable that they would listen to the voice of the charmer, still it was desirable that he should be answered, and the only man who was really capable of answering him was in banishment. Calvin, however, who was then at Strasburg, was informed of the need that existed, and he was not the man to hold back like Achilles from the fray on account of his wrongs; he replied to Sadolet, and apparently with such success that his adversary did not venture to continue the controversy. It was

⁷ *Eglise et l'Etat*, par A. Roget, p. 25. Register of Council, December 16, 1539.

probably in consequence of this intervention of Calvin's that men's minds began to turn to the question of his recall. In September 1540 the Council charges Amied Perrin, a syndic who afterwards became one of Calvin's chief opponents, 'de trouver moyen s'il pourroit faire revenir Maître Calvin.' In October a letter was written to him by order of the Council, and in the same month^a a decree was passed: 'Pour l'augmentation et l'avancement de la parole de Dieu, a été ordonné d'envoyer quérir à Strasbourg Maître Jn. Calvinus, pour être notre évangélique en cette ville.' And finally on the 1st of May, 1541, the sentence of exile was formally revoked, and the Council declares that it holds Calvin and Farel 'pour gens de bien et de Dieu.' Calvin, however, who had lately married (his wife had been chosen for him, and the marriage arranged by his friends), was in no hurry to accept the invitation; he knew that it was no easy task that awaited him, and for a while he hesitated; but at length he consented, and on the 13th of September, 1541, he returned to Geneva after three years' absence, never to quit it more till his death in 1564.

It would be impossible in the space at our disposal to follow out the events of these twenty-three years; it must suffice to touch on the more salient points.

1. In returning to Geneva at the request of the people, as expressed, not by a representative assembly, but by the General Council, of which every citizen was a member, Calvin must have felt that his first duty was to introduce something more of discipline and organisation into the Church. His special difficulty was one which has already been noticed—

the fact that the Church and State were in actual contact, and that therefore the Council might reasonably exercise all legislative power in a Church in which the ministers did not claim to be governors, but only pastors and teachers. The ministers, however, must have felt the need of some body which should more completely represent the ecclesiastical aspect of the national life, in which they could themselves make their wishes known, for Calvin himself was not a member of the Council of Two Hundred till long after this; and this was supplied by the institution of the Consistory, a kind of standing Church committee, composed of the pastors and twelve laymen, to take cognisance of matrimonial causes and 'pour faire des remontrances à plusieurs qui vivent mal.' The erection of a Consistory had been urged by him more than once before his banishment, but had been always resisted by the Council; now, however, it was conceded apparently without opposition. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that in attaining his object in the establishment of the Consistory, Calvin had secured an undisputed supremacy in the Church. On the contrary, the Consistory was confined to the infliction of purely spiritual penalties, and the Council jealously asserted the right of siding in all cases in the laity's favour. Even so entirely ecclesiastical a matter as the right of removing from the Communion was not allowed to the Consistory. In March 1543 it was resolved in the Conseil des Soixante 'Que le Consistoire n'ait ni juridiction ni puissance de défendre la Cène, sinon seulement d'admonester et de faire relation en Conseil.' Always it is the Council that decides on the

^a Registre du Conseil, 1540.

^b Register, April 5, 1542.

ment and the removal of
 to, on the question of ad-
 to communion, on the
 ce or non-observance of
 even on the details of
 worship and the orthodoxy
 ns. No mistake, as we
 fore remarked, can be
 han to represent Calvin as
 siastical autocrat or the
 Republic as a Theocracy.
 vin's influence, though it
 l greatly in his later years,
 purely moral kind, and was
 in spite of formidable dif-

these difficulties, the most
 ing came to a crisis about
 ears after his return. The
 the Libertines, though dis-
 l and checked by the
 reaction which had brought
 expelled ministers in 1541,
 ceased to exist; and it may
 that the endeavour to
 discipline, through the Con-
 and in the Council, enabled
 rally their forces and to
 more internecine struggle
 air adversary. The first
 g of the coming storm was
 1546. Amied or Ami
 citizen of some importance,
 ld the office of Captain-
 had been a friend and sup-
 Calvin. Madame Perrin,
 , seems to have been a
 of less austere principles
 se which found favour with
 and she committed an
 which brought her within
 of the law. She gave a
 was summoned before the
 ry; and as she proved con-
 us, she was sentenced to a
 prisonment. Her husband,
 l been *particeps criminis*
 no proof that he actually
 left Geneva for a time to
 from the law; but Calvin
 l begged him to sacrifice his
 to the public good. Perrin

returned, and submitted to a brief
 imprisonment, and for a time he
 seemed to bear no malice for his
 somewhat severe discipline. But
 the next year Perrin was sent into
 France to negotiate a commercial
 treaty. In his absence the irrepres-
 sible Madame Perrin broke out
 again, and this time she was
 banished from the sacred Republic
 to Pregny, a village a few miles from
 Geneva, where now stands the
 sumptuous château of Baron de
 Rothschild. From this time Perrin
 became Calvin's bitterest enemy,
 and threw all his influence into the
 party of the Libertines.

But the 'burning question' of
 the Communion was still undecided,
 and now blazed up afresh. One
 Berthelier, who had been excom-
 municated by the Consistory, and
 had in consequence been repelled
 from the Sacrament, made a com-
 plaint to the Council. The Council
 decided that it was not to be refused
 him; the Pastors were not to be
 judges of men's consciences. At
 the same time,¹⁰ they privately
 requested Berthelier not at once to
 press the point, but to absent him-
 self from the Communion at the
 approaching administration. It has
 been generally asserted, that on the
 following day, September 3, 1553,
 the Libertines presented themselves
 in a large body at St. Pierre;
 that they came forward to receive
 the consecrated elements, but Calvin
 refused to administer to them; and
 that they then left the church *en*
massé. It appears, however, from
 the researches of M. Amédée Roget¹¹
 that this scene, of which a painting
 exists in the Musée at Geneva, is
 imaginary, and that Berthelier did
 not in fact present himself. He
 raised the question again in the
 following November, and the
 Council decided 'Que quand on
 aura advisé ici en Conseil que la
 Cène se doibge bailler à quelcung,

reus parallel this to a recent case in the Diocese of Gloucester and Bristol.
see et l'Etat à Genève, p. 58.

cella doit avoir lieu sans retourner au Consistoire.' When, however, it became apparent that to enforce this decree would drive the ministers again from Geneva, the Council suspended its operation until the other Swiss Churches could be consulted; and in the autumn of 1554, Berthelier having again appeared before the Council to press his claim, the Council, greatly embarrassed by their desire on the one hand not to appear to concede the claims of the Consistory, and on the other to avoid an entire breach with Calvin, had recourse to an expedient not wholly unknown to the Great Council of the British Empire, and referred the question to a Select Committee.¹² The Committee, as has happened since in similar cases, were in no hurry to present their report; and when they did, the trumpet gave so uncertain a sound that the matter was no nearer a settlement than before.

Unable to obtain a decisive victory on this field, the Libertines chose one on which they might hope to enlist on their side the patriotic feeling of the citizens. For years, the Protestant Republic had been the City of Refuge for persecuted refugees from Savoy, France, Italy, Germany, even England, who brought to the city of their adoption little but the faith for whose sake they had forsaken their homes and their property. These new citizens formed the rank and file of Calvin's supporters, while the Libertines were members of old Genevese families. Was it to be tolerated that Calvin, himself an immigrant, should be enabled by the votes of aliens to ride roughshod over the citizens whose ancestors had fought for the liberties of the Republic? There was something to be said for this view: the Libertines might call

themselves representatives of Geneva; but old Geneva was long a people. For better or worse, the Libertines had committed themselves to the new world, and had broken irrevocably with the past. As M. Bungeer has pointed out,¹³ to allow Geneva to fall into the hands of the Libertines would have been to give her back to her old masters, the Bishops and Duke of Savoy. It was in the old story of the Jews and Christ in St. Paul's time; the Libertines might be Israel after the flesh, but Calvin and his party were the children of promise, the spiritual heirs of the true traditions of liberty, of self-government, of progress, without which Geneva would be but as a town.

This, then, was the battle on which the Libertines risked their last struggle. Amied in 1553 demanded that the citizens should be deprived of arms except a sword. In the year, an accusation was laid against them of conspiring to overthrow Geneva to the King of France. In 1555, repeated complaints against them were brought before the Council: an enquiry was ordered, but before its result was known the Libertines broke out in revolt. The party of order prevailed without difficulty; Perrin, Berthelier, and their leader fled the city; they were condemned to death in their absence, and four persons were actually executed; others had their goods confiscated, and the Libertine party was crushed.

3. But we must touch, in conclusion, on another subject which has left a dark shadow on the history of Calvin. Long years before the time of which we have been writing, in 1534, when

¹² Roget, *L'Eglise et l'Etat*, p. 63.

¹³ *Vie de Calvin*, p. 301.

living at Paris, Calvin had been challenged by a young Spaniard, a refugee from the Inquisition, named Servetus, to a discussion on the doctrine of the Trinity. He had accepted the challenge, but for some reason his adversary failed to appear. After this, Servetus practised as a physician at Lyons and Vienne. From the latter place he once more entered into communication with Calvin, urging upon him that the reformation of doctrine had stopped far short of its proper goal, and inviting him to place himself at the head of a new and more complete Reform, which should restore Christianity to its true simplicity. The doctrinal system of Servetus was, in fact, mere Pantheism, and he himself seems to have been one of those men who are never happy but when they are displaying their heterodoxies to the public gaze. 'I hold very peculiar views, and your son quite agrees with me,' was the remark of an advanced thinker of the present day to a terrified Evangelical mother; and in somewhat the same spirit Servetus seems to have delighted in startling Calvin. But in 1553 his views had brought him into trouble at Vienne; he was condemned to be burnt—'Brûlé tout vif à petit feu,' in the words of the sentence. He escaped from prison, and fled to Geneva. Here, on the requisition of Calvin, he was arrested, and examined at great length before the Council. In his examination, which lasted over two months, he boldly maintained his heterodox opinions, and even challenged Calvin to a public discussion, which, however, the Council forbade. Once he went so far as to demand that Calvin also should be imprisoned and put on his defence, that they might fight their battle out on equal terms. It is probable, indeed, as M. Guizot suggests,¹⁴ that Servetus had built his hopes on the

support of the Libertines, who at this time were preparing for the final struggle; but, if so, his expectations were disappointed. He found but little support in the Council: the only hope of escape granted to him was, that the Swiss Churches were consulted before sentence was finally pronounced. On October 18 their answers were produced before the Council; without a discordant voice, it pronounced that Servetus must die. Accordingly he was condemned to death in spite of a final effort made by Peter to procure first his acquittal, then an appeal to the Council of Two Hundred. One more interview took place between him and Calvin, but the gulf between them was impassable: Calvin held that unless Servetus recanted his errors, without doubt he must perish eventually, and Servetus was not a man to recant under pressure of the sword. In one respect Calvin was inclined to be more merciful than the Council: the sentence of death by burning, and Calvin deavoured, though in vain, to procure the substitution of the terrible form of death by sword.

And now what are we to say of Calvin's part in this transaction? For, although the burning of Servetus for denying the doctrine of the Trinity was demanded by the Swiss Churches, and decreed by the Council of Geneva, it is certain that Calvin must bear the main share of the responsibility. In forming a judgment on this subject, we must bear in mind several points which are often overlooked. First, in leaving the Church of Rome, Calvin and the Reformers generally had not in the least rendered the conviction that a right and orthodox belief is of prime necessity for salvation. The Church of Geneva was not less dogmatic

¹⁴ *Life of Calvin*, p. 313.

than the Church of Rome, only its dogma was not the same; secondly, the Church of Rome was ready enough to cast at Protestants the reproach of heresy; and Calvin may well have felt that here was a great opportunity of showing that the chief Protestant Church of the Continent was sound on the fundamental doctrines of the Catholic faith; and thirdly, the principle of liberty of conscience, the idea that a man is not to be punished for his belief, was absolutely foreign to the sixteenth century. That the magistrate was bound to maintain truth as well as to execute justice; that heresy was a crime, to be punished like other crimes, only more severely as being a direct insult to the Divine Majesty; that the death of a heretic might be the saving of unnumbered souls whom he might have led to eternal perdition; these were the beliefs of all but a few advanced and solitary minds. And, therefore, though we may regret that Calvin did not see that Protestantism necessarily involved freedom of thought, yet we must acknowledge that, had he seen this, he would have been three centuries in advance of his age, and that he must be judged by the standard, not of the nineteenth, but of the sixteenth century.

In this paper it has been our object, not to write a life of Calvin, but to indicate, very imperfectly, his relation to the city with which

his name is inseparably connected. He was not a spiritual autocrat; still less was he, as he has been strangely represented, a politic dictator: rather we may call him the Apostle of Geneva. And in fact his relation to the Church of Geneva reminds us not a little St. Paul's relation to the Church of Corinth and Thessalonica and Galatia. The combination of his spiritual pretensions with a very humble temporal position; the intense personal affection for his faithful disciples, along with the stern and most unsparing denunciation of his opponents; the deepest personal humility, along with the most fixed determination not to be judged of man's judgment; the absence of all personal aims, along with the utmost inflexibility in asserting his personal authority: all these features are in common to the two men. What they have not in common, and what sets them on altogether different historical levels, is this, that after eighteen centuries the work and the teaching of St. Paul is still fresh and living and fruitful; whereas after three centuries the work of Calvin, in all its most essential features, is a thing of history; while his teaching, though it profoundly modified the beliefs of his own and the succeeding centuries, is now merged in the great current of human thought, and mingled there with other streams from other sources.

B.



ON THE GOVERNMENT OF LONDON.¹

I

BY A CIVIL ENGINEER.

THE daily life and movement of London may well be regarded as one of the chief wonders of the world. No subject of contemplation brings into such strong relief the merits and the defects of the English character. Side by side are to be seen the latest improvements of science, and the relics of institutions as old as the Norman Conquest. As a rule, it may be said that whatever can be done by the energy, the skill, and the strength of individuals, is done not only here, but probably better than elsewhere; that whatever requires for its execution the combination and association of individuals is done in every possible way, good, bad, and indifferent; that whatever depends on the command of modern legislation has for the most part been effected with little forethought, prudence, and political wisdom as it is well positioned for the mind to conceive.

Thus, for example, we can fancy more tremendous problems, if solved in advance, and without acquaintance with actual facts, than the provision of the uninterrupted supply of food for upwards of millions of people. We know utterly the magnificent resources of the French empire, when directed by a man whose word was law, broke down in the attempt to provision one-eighth of that number of mouths for a single campaign.

The population of London increases and receives not only daily means adequate for its support, but daily luxuries such as are hardly to be found elsewhere. The best

butcher's meat in the world (if we except the famous veal of the Plain of Sorrento, honourably mentioned by Cervantes); the finest fish that sea or river can supply; the most delicate poultry; the game of England, of Scotland, and of Norway; the most delicate butter; the freshest and earliest vegetables; the ripest fruit; grapes and ananas from their native soil, and from the far richer stores reared in English hothouses; pears up to the price of 30s. a dozen; flowers that might deck a fairy wedding;—all these things are to be obtained in London for their price in silver or in gold. And all are to be obtained with so much ease!—with as little trouble, or far less, than the country gentleman experiences in stocking his table from his own homestead and garden. The capital, the skill, the forethought, the labour, that must go to the provision of this immense daily commissariat, are beyond estimation. Yet so easily does the machinery work that those who only reap the benefit are hardly aware that there is anything extraordinary in it. It would seem a far more notable matter to fail on any given day to procure the selected joint or the desired fish, than it does to partake of a table that is spread with the utmost bounty of nature. Nor are the purveyors of all this goodly store at all apt to contemplate the organisation of the great machinery of which they form so many interlinking portions. Each man, understanding his own business and looking to his own profit,

Municipal London, or London Government as it is, and London under a Municipal Bill. By Joseph F. B. Firth, LL.B. London: Longmans. 1876.

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works for the convenience of his customers and for his own livelihood; and it is from the common object and well-trained intelligence which lead these men to work together, and not from any artificial or prescribed organisation, that the unfailing order and success of the entire purveyorship of the metropolis arises.

If we compare what Londoners, as individuals, do for London, with what Londoners, as legislators and as attempting to be rulers, have done for that great city, we shall be startled at the contrast. We borrow an illustration from the pages of *Municipal London*, a recently published volume, which is a marvel of patient assiduity in the collection of information:

There are 56 separate divisions of the metropolis for the purpose of the Building Acts; 39 for the purposes of local government; 37 for the purposes of metropolitan board representation; 30 poor-law unions and parishes; 28 districts of the superintendent registrar; 21 burial boards; 20 divisions of the police force; 16 school districts; 15 divisions for militia purposes; 13 county court districts; 10 school board divisions; 10 boroughs; 10 gas companies; 10 postal divisions; 8 water companies; and 3 separate county jurisdictions.

It may be added that these 331 divisions overlap, cross, and perplex one another in every imaginable way; that they represent not only the useless multiplication but often the contrary application of labour; that they betoken wasted resources, purposeless energy, misdirected effort, prejudice, obstinacy, helplessness, mingled in one mighty maze, and all without a plan.

Intermediate between the perfect and noiseless working of that automatic energy to which we first referred, and the hopeless chaos of metropolitan government, come those agencies which, partaking at once of private enterprise and of legislative organisation, combine the excellence of the first with the wrong-headed feebleness of the latter. Such, for

example, are the eighteen distinct associations which discharge the important functions of lighting and watering the great province which we call London. Originating in the association of private individuals these companies have provided works for their respective services at a cost of more than twenty millions of money. They supply daily a mean quantity of 33 gallons of water to each individual inhabitant, delivered in his own abode, at the low price of 1s. 4d. per metric ton. The cost, per inhabitant, of this ample supply of the indispensable fluid is 6s. 6d. per annum. The inhabitant of Naples and of Lima must pay double the price for the thirtieth part of the quantity, if he gives the water-carrier only a *grano* for a gallon. But a gallon would be an extravagant measure. In the heat of the Italian summer the Neapolitan buys water by the *bicchiera*, or single glass. It is so that it is cooled with snow; a luxury not required by, and therefore not supplied to, the Londoner. The English folk who require it seldom apply it to its most refreshing purpose, the cooling of pure and unmixed water. Again, the gas companies, procuring their gas from formidable distances, keep the thoroughfares of London as bright through the night as they are at the noon of many a winter day. They supply for the public lights of London more than a milliard cubic feet of gas in a year. For private illumination they supply nearly twelve times as much. Even when, on the occurrence of one of those dense blinding fogs which are peculiar to localities where the dampness of a river valley is bedewed with the smoke of thousands of chimneys, they are called upon to illuminate a double night in the course of twenty-four hours, they neither flinch nor fail, although they have to call on their customers to be economical in their consumption.

of a double allowance of light. as far as the first object of the station — adequate supply in city — is concerned, the gas water companies may fairly to rank with the private owners in their claim on public aid. It is, to some extent, wise as to the quality. This, being, absolutely, to the sheer evidence of the Legislature; apt powers, and unapt to annex responding responsibilities. The Legislature — comprising under that title not Parliament alone, every public and private body that was originally established in order to protect the common weal — has allowed the means from which the water companies derive their supplies to be taxed, year after year, by increasing and unchecked abominations. And when the natural result becomes apparent, an outcry is raised, not against the Thames Conservancy, or the riparian local authorities, or the Government, or Parliament, but against the sufferers, the water companies themselves. With regard to the gas companies, the Legislature, in giving them corporate powers, has paid no adequate heed to preserve them from the temptation of coming into a vast virtual monopoly. It has allowed the sale of this privileged article of supply to be conceded to the metropolis at an exorbitant profit. Had the charters of the gas companies provided, by means of a sinking fund or other means, for the extinction of their title within a given and reasonable time, and for the reversion of the property thus paid for to the inhabitants of the metropolis, the rate of 10 per cent. of income might not have been unjustified, if it had covered the redemption of the property within, say, a century. But to allow a charge in perpetuity was a wrong to the citizens for which

Parliament is altogether responsible.

At the same time the public are more in danger of under-estimating than of over-estimating the services rendered to London by the gas companies. Unfortunately, these bodies have not yet been called on to furnish such annual and certified accounts as those which are rendered by the water companies. There is thus a question open as to how much of the nominal paid-up capital of 8,887,286*l.* (taking the figures tabulated by Mr. Firth) represents *bond fide* expenditure. As to the loans issued, amounting to 1,729,212*l.*, the same doubt does not arise. The total annual expenditure of the companies is stated in the work quoted at 2,767,266*l.*; of which 2,331,937*l.* is set down as cost of manufacture, and 247,535*l.* as that of distribution and management. An undistributed sum of about 110,000*l.* goes in salaries and directors' fees. It is probable that some reduction might be effected in this cost by the consolidation of the services; but there is not now that wasteful rival expenditure which formerly marked the fury of the gas war. The total income of the companies is set down at 3,703,198*l.* Anomalies exist as to the charges for gas made by different companies and to different classes of consumers. But, if we look at the matter broadly, we find that the expenditure of the companies is about 75 per cent. of their total income, and that this working profit of 25 per cent. on income, which is little more than half of that enjoyed, until very recently, by the railway companies, does not amount to an average dividend of 9 per cent. on the capital. That the rate is high, and that better gas might in many instances be expected for the prices charged, is true. But we see that the powers conferred upon the gas companies are not more onerous, as far as the

public are concerned, than those given to the railway companies.

The total capital expended by the water companies to September 30, 1874, according to a parliamentary return (No. 421, 1875), was 11,069,659*l.* Their gross receipts in that year were 1,233,683*l.* The sum divided amongst the proprietors was 706,986*l.* Thus the working cost was not more than 43 per cent. of the gross revenue—a position superior to that of the most prosperous English railway at the present time, although it was a rate of expenditure formerly attained by the Great Western. But, with a working economy superior to that of the gas companies, the dividend on capital is far lower, amounting only to 6·38 per cent. While the metropolis may justly demand the advantage of a constant supply of water, and while much may be said as to the quality of the fluid supplied by some of the companies, it does not appear that any great relief from the incidence of water rates can be expected by the ratepayers. As in the case of the gas supply, a certain economy may be effected by consolidation of services. Against this economy will have to be set off the additional cost incurred by obtaining gas of higher photometric value, and water of greater purity. There remains the question of the difference between the dividends, now declared under the sanction of Acts of Parliament, and the proper rate of interest on money invested in industrial undertakings. The dividend and interest account of the gas companies is returned by Mr. Firth at 981,176*l.*; that of the water companies we have seen to be 706,986*l.*; making a total of 1,688,162*l.* The aggregate of the capitals before stated amounts to 21,686,157*l.*, and 5½ per cent. on this sum (which is not a rate of interest very tempting to the capitalist, considering the liabilities incurred) comes to 1,192,730*l.*

per annum. Thus a sum of about 496,000*l.* per annum represents the difference between the actual cost defrayed by the Londoner, including the profits secured by Parliament, the adventurers, for gas and water supply, and what he might expect to pay if he were entirely free from his existing contracts. The total amount of gas and water rate according to the authorities we have cited, is 4,936,881*l.* per annum; so that the sum which may be urged that the ratepayer now pays in excess of what is needful, is almost exactly 10 per cent. of his total rate.

It is less easy to ascertain how much of the capital sum of 21,686,157*l.* represents wasted money, and thus threatens a proportionate loss to the inhabitants of London. As far as money was spent in law and parliamentary costs, and other incidents of the gas war, no doubt it is so much spilt milk. But as regards works, pipe mains, and all *bonâ fide* expenditure, the greater part, if not the whole, will be utilisable when the final plan for the regulation of the gas and water supply is settled. It would be unreasonable, now that experience has taught us how great is the demand for these prime necessities of urban life, to forget that it is to the enterprise of private companies that we owe the advance hitherto made towards the full solution of the problem of the gas and water supply of London. Were our engineering experience now what it was in the beginning of the century, we should be apt to regard a prospective outlay of 22,000,000*l.* as not an immoderate price for works which should render possible police and sanitary arrangements such as those which depend on the illumination of the streets and public buildings of London, and the supply of water from house to house. The question of fire insurance

ver, is here involved. The calamity which banished Plague from our metropolis destroyed the historic esqueness of Old London clearing the ground for a n that was anything but esque, could not have oc in the teeth of the supplies d by water companies such r exist. 'About 74,000 tons ,500,000 gallons, of water,' ing to Mr. Firth, 'were n by the fire-engines in 1874 ; s, three fourths was taken he street pipes.' If we could ain the approximate value of roperty thus saved from de- ion, or if we could determine ount of reduction which has made in the rates of insurance sequence of the ready supply d by the water companies in f fire, we should, no doubt, hat, after all, there was but room for discontent on the f the Londoner as to the ex- ure actually incurred in this ial part of the organisation of blic works of a great city. must be remembered that, in particulars, all action of indi- choice has almost entirely eared. It is no longer in the of the ordinary householder ose between the supply to be from his own well, and that is delivered into his cistern. o longer possible for him to use of the water which falls premises for domestic con- ion. The pressure of the mass of humanity on so cir- rised an area tends both to id to poison the wells, while ers roofs and pavements with oducts of an incessant com- n. Most of the famous old s and wells of London are now , as a sanitary precaution. of the great manufacturers— brewers, for example—still from their own wells; but ater which lies within access-

ible distance beneath the soil of London is steadily diminishing. A well was sunk, in 1852, on the premises of the Bank of England, for the supply of the steam-engines and other requirements of that important institution. The wise and salutary precaution of recording a weekly gauge of the water in this well has been kept up since that time. When first sunk, the depth at which the water stood was ninety feet below the surface; the stratum pierced being the upper chalk, with bands of flints. Summer after summer the level of the well has descended, winter after winter it has risen; but, on the whole, there has been a depression of the mean annual level of the water by fully thirty feet. In a stratum like the upper chalk a depression of such magnitude represents not an isolated, but a general, phenomenon. There can be little doubt that, in other parts of London, the level of the subterranean water was lowered by the execution of the works of the Thames Embankment. The percolation of the great quantity of water that flowed to replace the volumes thrown by the constant pumping from the foundations of the wall was so great as to threaten the stability of one of the noblest buildings in London. The river terrace of Somerset House was actually on the move. The completion and closing of the Embankment works may have arrested this bleeding of the springs. But the case of the Bank well remains unaffected by the experience of the Embankment.

Again, as to gas, the individual Londoner is reduced to something like Hobson's choice. We are far from considering coal gas, as at present made and supplied, as the *ne plus ultra* of illumination. With the great conveniences and advantages of a supply thus afforded are combined disadvantages of almost counterbalancing magnitude. Thus we have on the one hand the great

readiness with which illumination can be effected on any scale, the cleanliness of the burners as compared to those furnished with a wick, and the absence of any visible reservoirs of oil in the lamp itself. Against this we have to set the serious drawback of the liability of the metropolis to be plunged in sudden darkness by any violence offered to the gas mains or gas holders, by a strike of the servants of the gas works, or by any explosive accident occurring in the process of manufacture. Nor are these merely imaginary evils. London was very near experiencing the effects of a strike not so very long since. And it has occurred to the present writer to behold the city of Naples plunged into sudden darkness by the blowing up of a steam frigate, the *Carlo Terzo*, in the harbour. In that case there was no direct connection between the explosion and the mains or reservoirs of the gas supply. The occurrence took place about eleven P.M. on a Sunday, when the great opera house of San Carlo was crowded. Suddenly every light within as well as without the building (with the happy exception of a few gas torches) was extinguished, with an explosion as if a thunderbolt had fallen on the spot. The terror, both in the theatre and throughout the city, was extreme. The pavements of the streets, for a radius of nearly a mile from the port, were whitened by the pulverised glass of the windows of the houses, which were blown out from their frames, and shivered on the lava blocks on which they fell. Not a house in a large district of the city had a window left whole on the following morning. It was the sudden concussion of the air that was caused by the explosion of the powder magazine of the frigate that caused the extinction of the lights. The supply of gas was forced back into the pipes, only, it

is true, for a second or so with the of cutting of supply from the flame, which instantly disappeared, and which required to be relighted before supply of gas, that immediately poured forth into the sphere, could be converted to proper use. Meantime it spread odour through the city, and to heighten the alarm. This very alarming description of a accident to which all gas supply is exposed.

Again, the effect of gas on the nervous organisation of the sumers is bad. So great luxury of brilliant light, the illumination of rooms, public and private, is generally much in excess of the light of day—to the excitement of the optic nerves. The quantity of the light, especially as reflected from paper, is very trying to the eye; and who have to read or write and especially those who have to draw by artificial light, suffer less from the use of a shaded or oil lamp than from that of gas. Again, it is a well-known fact that no plants will live in a room heated by gas; a inference from the visible effect of the escaping fumes on the vegetation. The economy to that of its subtle effect on the animal system is not far to seek. It is thus on the ground of convenience secondly and principally of economy, that the claim of gas to be regarded as the best mode of illumination must be maintained.

The supply of the coal by the gas companies; instance of the admirable was that system of private supply distribution to which we referred. From January 1st 1831, 1876, no less than 945,500 tons of coal were imported into London in 1,585 ships; while 1,500,000 tons were delivered by railroads, most exclusively by the London

North Western, the Great Northern, the Great Western, the Midland, and the Great Eastern lines. Out of the total imports of coal in the month of March, amounting to 729,663 tons, 166,144 tons were re-exported, or conveyed beyond the limits of the coal district, leaving for the consumption of London in that month 563,519 tons. Out of a total annual expenditure (in manufacture of gas) of 2,331,037*l.*, as much as 1,773,701*l.*, or 76 per cent., is tabulated by Mr. Firth as the cost of coal. The total gas made in a year may be taken, in round numbers, as 14 milliards of cubic feet. Mr. Firth's figures, indeed, only amount to about the thousandth part of that amount, or, to be exact, to 13,959,522 cubic feet; but it is evident that an error must have crept into the heading of the table, and 'that thousands of feet' should have been put instead of 'feet.' If we consider that each ton of coal supplies 9,000 cubic feet of gas, which is somewhat under the mark aimed at in gas works, it will be tantamount to making the cost of coals to the gas companies somewhere between 22 and 23 shillings per ton. To add 24 per cent. to such a price for the cost of manufacture cannot be regarded as an excessive expenditure.

The illuminating power of the London gas may be taken as determined in the terms of the bill which was prepared and brought into the House of Commons by Sir James Hogg, Sir Andrew Lusk, and Mr. Goldney, in February 1876. According to the 8th clause of this bill, the common gas supplied by each company shall be such as to produce, when consumed at the rate of five cubic feet per hour in a Sugg's London Argand burner, a light equal in intensity to the light produced by sixteen candles. The pressure at which this gas is to be delivered is specified to be such as to

balance a column of water of inch in height from sunset midnight, and of six-tenths of inch in height from midnight sunrise. The gas is to be wh free from sulphuretted hydro A maximum price is contemplated by the bill, with a sliding scale dividend. The price thus fixed 3*s.* 9*d.* per thousand feet of common gas; a penny increase or decrease this price being taken as equivalent to one quarter per cent. increase or decrease in the annual rate of dividend. We have before seen the net profit of the gas companies is approximately equal to 25 per cent. of their gross revenues. This rate, if maintained, would yield under the terms of the bill a profit of 11½*d.* per thousand feet of gas, so that the relation which the sliding scale has based is not readily obvious. 10 per cent. on the capital of the companies has generally been regarded as the admissible rate of profit. But this question is complicated by the doubt how far nominal capital represents *bonâ fide* useful expenditure. We trust, however, enough has been said to indicate the broad principles on which the subject ought to be discussed.

We have as yet been able only to touch on the skirts of some of the gravest difficulties which underlie the perplexed question of the municipal government of London. It is no past doubt that the actual state of the metropolis, in an administrative point of view, is a scandal to the country and to the age. The magnitude of that scandal, as viewed from the standpoint of the statesman or the philosopher, is, however, greatly diminished when the subject is regarded from a practical point of view. Our arrangements for governing our neighbours of the most complex, perverse, grotesque perplexity. But, on the other hand, our neighbours, together with ourselves, get on

markably well in those matters in which there is no manner of Government interference about them. In the first of all problems as to the welfare of a great city—its daily provisionment—where no legislative interference throttles the energy of private industry, a stupendous machinery is in daily movement, with imperceptible friction, and with admirable success. It is precisely as we advance from the field of private energy and instinctive combination to that of legislative interference, that we find imperfections creep in. It does not follow that legislative interference can be dispensed with. But

it does follow that the entire blemish is not so hopelessly obnoxious as may at first be imagined. If we have done ourselves, by an unfailing instinct of our industry and energy, be admirable, while we have attempted to regulate artificially, and to regulate by men of talk than by men of action, be contemptible, we have at least a very broad hint as to the direction in which we ought to proceed when we endeavour to sweep away some of the numerous harmful mischiefs, and anomalies which fetter the industry and impede the welfare of the metropolis of the British Empire.

F. J.

II

BY A LAWYER.

WHEN, in 1835, the rotten and corrupt municipal institutions which existed throughout the kingdom were extinguished, and a reform based on the sound principles of representation and responsibility was brought about, London was excluded from the benefits of that most important measure; and, with the exception of the partial reform effected in 1855, to which reference will be hereafter made, the metropolis has been denied advantages and privileges which the smallest provincial town can claim. The City of London was not even touched by the legislation of 1855, and it remains, as Mr. Gladstone once truly remarked, 'the only unreformed corporation in the kingdom.' The exclusion of the metropolis from the beneficial reform of 1835 arose from two causes: the one being that the Commissioners appointed in 1833 to inquire into the condition of municipalities and local government in towns throughout the kingdom did not

include London in their first report, which was presented to Parliament in 1834; the other being that the peculiar position of the metropolis as contradicting from all other towns. The reason soon ceased to apply. The Commissioners in 1837 issued a second report, which was confined to the condition of London. The Report is a very valuable document, though the suggestions it contains lack that precision and definiteness which might have been expected at the hands of such very able men. In the meantime, however, the Government had dealt with the matter by incorporating throughout the kingdom the principles of the metropolis, the condition of which was shown by the first report to be as bad as to brook no delay; the Commissioners did not sufficiently press the want of reform in London, the matter was permitted to drop; and other Commissioners had to be appointed, fresh evidence taken, and years to elapse before it was revised.

London meanwhile getting
l to worse. What princi-
luced the Royal Commis-
o hesitate recommending a
measure of reform (though
they saw no reason why
should be exceptionally
and not placed in a position
o other municipalities) was
tance of the City Corpora-
o urged that they possessed
wers to effect all necessary
rom within not merely so
he city proper went, but
whole extent of the metro-
d their distinct promise to
it is more than questionable
the Corporation possessed
er they alleged they had,
ging by results, it is more
bale that, even if they had
er, they never intended to
ad to fulfil their promise.
rate no steps have ever
ten to give effect to the

And moreover, the Cor-
by that wisdom which
rises all its actions, took
o avert the evil day, and,
ng Lord John Russell as
he members for the City,
ctually silenced the princi-
e that had proclaimed the
reform in the Corporation.

was nothing after all so
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at that time to distinguish
several other boroughs
had to undergo reform.
y of London alone had
al institutions. The metro-
side was utterly destitute

The City was governed
arters obtained from several
As London grew in im-
and power, which, of
rom the fact of its being
ital of the kingdom, the
f the sovereign, and the
the legislature, it did in
marked degree than any
wn or city, it overleapt
torial limits, and outside
urbs which in the course

of time have become merged into
one huge province covered with
houses. The City maintained ex-
clusively the municipal privileges
conferred by the charters; the
suburbs were merely portions of
many parishes, and subject to pa-
rochial rule, save, as was the case
in many localities, where local
Acts of Parliament created a dif-
ferent state of things.

Such was the condition of Lon-
don in 1834—similar in all re-
spects to many a provincial city
and town. One instance will show
this. If we take Bristol, there the
city occupied but a small area as
compared with the town created
by the commercial enterprise of
its citizens in modern times.
The city, small as it was, was
the only part of Bristol having
municipal government. The suburbs
were ruled under the parochial
system. But the Commissioners
of 1834 recommended that in
Bristol, as elsewhere, the limit of
the municipality ought to be ex-
tended so as to comprise in one ho-
mogeneous mass the whole modern
town. Upon that principle Par-
liament legislated in 1835. The
case of Bristol was identical with
that of many other towns, and it
was identical also with London.
This the Commissioners themselves
admitted in their report in 1837,
when they confessed they saw no
reason why the course Parliament
had taken with Bristol and other
places should not be applied to the
metropolis.

In the general municipal reform
Parliament adopted as one of its
cardinal principles the recom-
mendation of the Commissioners
'to include the whole of the modern
town within the new boundary.'
This was done with regard to Par-
liamentary boroughs in 1832, and
the same principle was adopted in
1835 for municipal purposes. But
the most important principle of
all was that to : *the evil

which existed almost everywhere 'where the corporate bodies exist independently of the communities among which they are found, where the corporations look upon themselves, and are looked upon by the inhabitants, as separate and exclusive bodies, and in which all identity of interest between the corporation and the inhabitants has disappeared.' The principle was the making the governing authority elective by the general ratepayers of the town or city. In very many boroughs the corporations were utterly independent of the inhabitants and were self-elective. From this glaring defect the City of London was practically free, for there, from very remote times, the election of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Councillors has been vested in the citizens; though the electorate was not of the most popular kind. But that advantage did not extend beyond the limit of the City area, which covers barely 700 acres of ground, and in the 70,000 acres upon which the rest of the metropolis stands, chaos reigned supreme. Out of the entire metropolis, the City alone had any pretensions to municipal government, for we cannot look upon the Corporation of the City of Westminster as other than a mere phantom, with scarcely more than a nominal existence. The rest of the metropolis was under the parochial system of local government, with this additional complicating influence, that in many places where the owner of a large estate converted his fields into building plots, a local Act of Parliament had to be obtained to regulate the local management of the district proposed to be built upon. There was also a Metropolitan Commission of Sewers, comprising no less than 1,065 members, empowered to superintend the drainage of London outside the City. In 1847 that commission was reduced to twenty-three, then changed

to thirty-four, afterwards increasing between eleven and sixteen members. Of this commission that can be said is that 'it was successful in heaping up debt and little else.' Under many of the local acts (and these acts number over three hundred) the governing board were self-elective, with a tenure of office, rates were levied, and spent without the slightest responsibility to the rated, and the condition of London had become a byword and a disgrace.

This was the state of affairs in 1854 a Royal Commission was issued to inquire into the state of the Corporation of the City of London. The Commissioners were Right Hon. H. Labouchere, Lord Taunton, Sir James Patteson, and Mr. (afterwards George Cornwall Lewis). They examined a large number of witnesses, both favourable and unfavourable to the Corporation, and made a large mass of important evidence, and, on the whole, made a valuable report, suggesting thorough reforms of the Corporation, so as to bring it into harmony with the legislation of 1835. In some respects it was proposed to apply to the Corporation even more advanced reforms than those comprised in the Municipal Corporations Act. In the end, however, they offered some suggestions on the general question of metropolitan government (with which they had really nothing to do, the scope of their inquiry was limited to the state of the Corporation of the City), which coming from a body which carried very great weight, and considering those suggestions, we must bear in mind that they were given in a gratuitous expression of opinion by the Lord Mayor in giving evidence before them. With regard to the question whether he thought it advisable to extend the limits of the City so as to include the whole of the capital in one municipal corporation,

answer was, 'You have the City and its Corporation; in addition, seven parishes, and as the Corporation has already decided to extend its jurisdiction to other portions of the metropolis, as parliamentary boroughs, the Legislature ought to enable the Corporation to work by enfranchising the same for municipal purposes also.' The Commissioners appear to have been satisfied by the ingenious arguments thrown out by the wily advocates of the City. 'We do not,' they said, 'if an attempt is made to give a municipal government to the entire metropolis, the extension of the present Corporation as an authority to its present limits would be destroyed; at the same time a municipal government of an excessive magnitude would be therefore ill adapted to the other parts of the metropolis which would be created. But the reason why the benefit of a municipal government should not be given to the rest of the metropolis is the division into municipal districts, each possessing a municipal government of its own.' The Commissioners appear to have been satisfied by the fact that the suggestions of radical reforms which were made to the Corporation were once that it was an institution even to its limited extent if they were carried out they would practically destroy the old Corporation. The area of London is so large, that the dwellers in the metropolis would know little, and of the state of Lambeth; that might be meat for them would be poison in and that for that reason it would be wanting that common interest and local knowledge which, in their opinion, the government would be perfect, if not positively

baneful; while the enormous population, and the magnitude and diversity of the interests which would be under the care of the municipal body would render its administration a work of insurmountable difficulty. Such were the timid views of statesmen twenty-two years ago. With the experience of years this timidity has been lessened; and very few would now, we think, deem (even with the enormously increased population of this day) the government of London too big for one central body. Modern experience has well-nigh dispelled the unfounded fears which lay at the foundation of the cautious recommendations of the Commissioners of 1854, while recent legislation clearly tends to bring us yearly nearer a system of a united local administration for London. We have the education of the whole metropolis under one board of management. The Metropolitan Asylums Board exercises full jurisdiction over the whole area, as does also the Metropolitan Board of Works in certain matters. Even with all their half-heartedness the Commissioners of 1854 made one valuable suggestion to the effect that, if the Legislature adopted some such scheme as the creation of the parliamentary boroughs into municipal districts, there should be established over all a supreme board of works, to be entrusted with the performance of works common to the whole metropolis, to the exclusion even of the City Corporation beyond a representation on the board.

In 1855 the Municipal Corporation Act had been tried for twenty years, and had produced a change over towns the benefit of which it was impossible to overestimate. London in the meantime had run riot in confusion, ruled, or rather misruled by a medley of irresponsible boards having conflicting interests, and wasting their strength

in squabbling and in the grossest jobs. Confusion characterised the action of the authorities, and the ratepayers were in a state of absolute helplessness. To give an idea of the state of things in 1855 it is only necessary to refer to Sir Benjamin Hall's speech on introducing the Bill for the Local Management of the Metropolis. The Strand alone, between Northumberland House and Temple Bar, was under no less than nine distinct paving authorities, whose bounds and limits were most perplexing. In some places the entire street was under one authority; a few yards off the line of boundary between two parishes was the centre of the road. Between these parishes there was a permanent feud, and it frequently happened that one side of the street would be watered in the morning and the other in the afternoon. The condition of London was worse than any township in the country. Governed by about three hundred different bodies (comprising, it is computed, over 10,000 members) variously constituted and diversely empowered under hundreds of local and private acts, the grossest waste of power and neglect of work were possible. The evil was so great that Parliament, even during the anxious days of the Crimean War, had to consider the subject. Sir Benjamin Hall, President of the Board of Trade, was, as we have said, entrusted to bring in a measure. This he introduced with a speech which showed he was well acquainted with the abuses to be remedied and the anomalies to be removed; but the bill he introduced, which afterwards became law, fell far short of the requirements of the case, and prove him to have been a shortsighted and timid statesman, lacking the power to grasp the subject he took in hand, and devoid of the courage necessary to carry out an efficient scheme of

reform. Even the hesitations and commendations of the Commissioners of 1854 were too much for him, and his mind inclined to that parochialism which had been the source of all his errors. Even while admitting that good has resulted from the changes carried out by Sir Benjamin Hall, it is impossible not to think that a great opportunity was lost. We are inclined to attribute the success of the beneficial change of the last twenty years have seen to the effect of the publicity which affects public work in this country rather than to any improvement in the vestry system which was in 1855. It is quite true that Sir Benjamin Hall put an end to the self-elective permanent and irresponsible boards or committees, and made the members of the vestries to be directly elected by the ratepayers. It is true also that his efforts tend towards securing uniformity of government, and that in establishing a Board of Works he effected a great change; but the reform might well have proceeded on sounder principles, and his vestries nor his committees are the emanations of a better system. The usefulness of Lord Lytton's reform can only be judged by experience. The system has been in practice for twenty years, so that it is not at all premature to subject it to criticism, and to indicate its defects and shortcomings. It is full of glaring anomalies, it is costly and wasteful, it is inefficient and unsatisfactory, will, we think, be manifest in the following brief review of the past twenty years.

Sir Benjamin Hall found the Corporation (excluding the City, of course) devoid of anything like a municipal organisation. When his 'prentice hand took the reins, he found chaos into order he undertook a task of immense magni-

It was an undertaking ; well have taxed the city of far abler men. more than an acquaint-parochial affairs, it vigour of mind and ction of a great states-very magnitude and e metropolis raised it on imperial in its cha- to say that Sir Ben-as not equal to it is no is memory, for he only many others would kewise.

It was to reduce the local authorities by vestries and district ding the metropolis, for , into thirty-nine dis-really was a very small form, for it left London nder the parochial sys- oing this he neither statesmanlike recom-f the Commissioners of he act on the narrower, nt, suggestions of the rs of 1854. Perhaps l change effected was shment of self-elected n giving into the hands ayers the election of Sir Benjamin Hall so make provisions as to election, that the rate- gh it ought to interest are scarcely informed hen, or where elections and the consequence is, ries and district boards intents and purposes by the influence of er than by the healthy general body of rate- d it follows, that vestry-awn principally from s—small shopkeepers, publicans, to the almost ion of men of position ence. In fact, the di-metropolis into so many le districts, each with board of from forty to

one hundred and twenty members, rendered the office one of such mean importance that, except in one or two districts, the men who ought to control the local government of the metropolis, keep entirely aloof from it. The work which originally devolved upon the vestries was confined to local drainage and street improvements; but during the last twenty years they have been entrusted with the carrying out of nearly every sanitary measure which the Legislature has sanctioned—forming, in fact, the Local Boards of Health of the metropolis. And their conduct as such sanitary authorities is, to say the least, dis-creditable. They have power to compel the disuse as habitations of underground cellars, but these unwholesome places are still, in many parts of London, as much used as ever. They are authorized to establish mortuaries in the several districts; in very few instances have they exercised this most necessary power, and notwithstanding the repeated complaints of coroners and juries, dead bodies are allowed to remain in inhabited rooms—the source of much mischief in scattering disease and epidemics. The Baths and Washhouses Act, except in very few parishes, is utterly ignored. The inspection and regulation of slaughter-houses and other ob-noxious places, which for years had been entrusted to the vestries, was so indifferently done that the Legis-lature by a recent measure has deemed fit to take it out of their hands and to confer the task upon the Metropolitan Board. With regard to the public health, it is true that every vestry has been obliged to appoint a medical officer; but in most vestries, wherever the medical officer shows any signs of an inten-tion to work his office with thorough-ness, every obstacle is placed in his way, and the mode to win the good opinion of the vestry is for the officer to do as little as possible.

In many cases, also, these medical officers are paid on a scale which clearly cannot command the entire services of an efficient man. The Wandsworth district, for instance, covering an enormous area, appoints four medical officers of health at the liberal salary of 50*l.* each. Is it to be thought for a moment that a professional man can afford to devote his best energies for such paltry pay. He must mainly depend on his private practice, and so far as he attends to his practice he must neglect his public duties. The vestries also have been empowered to establish free libraries in the metropolis, but only in one parish has this been done; and elsewhere, where attempts were made on the part of the public to establish such, the scheme was thwarted in every instance through the direct influence of the vestrymen. They complain of the expense of such institutions—which really would be very little—but think nothing of spending 30,000*l.* in the building of a vestry hall. Such are the firstfruits of the vestry system in London. And such will it continue to bear so long as the vestries and boards are recruited from back streets and beer-shops. It is manifest that the 'parochial system,' to quote Sir William Fraser, is utterly inadequate for metropolitan government; and that Sir Benjamin Hall's scheme has been tried and found wanting.

The creation of a Metropolitan Board of Works, so far as it was an admission of the principle that London is not too large to be governed by one central body, and that the highest interests of the community ought to be entrusted to the control of a municipal body exercising jurisdiction over the entire area of the metropolis, was a step in the right direction. But the constitution of the Board is as faulty as it could be. The Board consists of forty-five members—the representatives of the

City and thirty-eight of the parishes into which London is divided by the Act of 1855. The City is represented on the Board by three members, six of the parishes have two representatives each, other parishes are represented by one member each, and several of the smaller parishes united into districts, the districts so formed are represented by one member, save in the case of districts which are again joined together for the purpose of one representative to the Board. The class of men on the Board is identically the same as that which predominates in the vestries by whom they are elected, and as a rule they are vainglorious themselves. The gravest defect in the constitution of the Board is the fact that its members are not directly by the body of ratepayers but by the vestry and district boards; whereby the responsibility which should be between the ratepayers and those who spend the rates is weakly and not practically removed. We have already shown that the vestries are not elected after the manner for the public interest, but the men who aspire to the office are not drawn from the best sources, the fact due chiefly to the manner in which the office of vestryman is set upon as such a post of honor, which is likely to induce intelligent men to seek a seat on a vestry. Even the Board of Works, though it is a central council of great importance, does not occupy a position in the public estimation which it is from the magnitude of its duties entitled to; and the fact its members being elected by the vestrymen and not by the ratepayers at large, is that the Board is made up of men occupying a high social position, but not a high social position, and has not been successful in obtaining a start under the leadership of an able paid chairman—the last

—there is every reason to think it would have lamented down and would by this been superseded. The work with which the Board started originally was limited to the main drainage; for the last twenty years, of a fitter body, the Board, under numerous Acts of Parliament, has had delegated to it other important duties, which they have not even been able to grapple with. The neglect of the Thames and definite street improvement amongst the most important of these additional functions has been delegated to the Board. With money at its back, this work has been on the whole done, though probably without extravagance, and, as I said before a Parliamentary Commission, with no little jobbery. The Board's jurisdiction which it now possesses comprises control of the fire brigades, supervision and regulation of streets and buildings, the removal of obnoxious trades, night-houses, and the careful keeping of explosive stores, the regulation of parks, squares, and the creation of parks. The Tramways Act has given the Board power either to run tramways itself, or to let private companies to do so. The regulation of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act is also vested in the Board. The licensing of public houses, the regulation of baby farms, under the Life Protection Act is vested in the same authority. The Board exercises the only control which the ratepayers possess over the gas and water companies. In the last Session of Parliament it was decided that the local authority for the metropolis (outside the few parishes of the City of London) was to be a body consisting of the Artisans'

Dwellings Act. Other matters have also from time to time been relegated to the Board, not because the Legislature thinks the Board is constituted in the best way for the exercise of such functions, but simply because there is no choice—the Board being the only body having any municipal functions extending over the entire area of the metropolis.

If we consider the conduct of the Board with reference to many of these matters we shall not lack matter for a very serious indictment. Their conduct in the matter of the gas question is perhaps the most objectionable. The story would be too lengthy for our space. Those who wish to learn all about it should consult a most valuable work just published from the pen of Mr. Firth. Suffice it to say here that not only have the Metropolitan Board indicated no scheme in the interest of the ratepayers, but have actually gone out of their way to oppose bills in Parliament introduced in the interest of the ratepayers both by private individuals and by the City Corporation. In regard to the waterworks their conduct has been almost as bad. They have in no way endeavoured to carry out the important powers which have been conferred upon them by the Legislature, but have, to all intents and purposes, played into the hands of the companies, at which one is almost inclined to cease to wonder when we find a member of the Board dying possessed of very large interest in the way of shares in the gas and water companies. It is true the Board of Works and the City Corporation have entered into a sort of compact of late to secure to themselves better control over these companies, but that at the best is a very unreal alliance. The jealousy existing between these rival bodies is too great to permit of a long-continued harmonious working together for the public in-

terest; some members of the City Corporation, with a candour which, however much we may regret the truth of it, is still commendable, characterised the compact as an 'unholy alliance.' The spirit of rivalry is very great, and each is far more anxious to obtain the ascendancy over the other than it is to forward the interests of the unfortunate ratepayers. This rivalry and jealousy is most costly and expensive; and, what is far worse, retards the carrying out of measures or the performance of works absolutely necessary. It is quite clear that the two bodies cannot much longer be permitted to exist, and that London must be brought under the municipal control of one supreme authority. That the Metropolitan Board is not fit, as at present established, for that important position, has already, we think, been sufficiently shown. But if the Metropolitan Board is unfit, the Corporation of the City of London is ten thousand times more objectionable.

The City Corporation thirty years ago was characterised by Lord Brougham, himself a freeman of the City, as *the giant abuse* amongst municipal corporations. And so it is at this day. It has resisted unflinchingly, and with a success which must astonish those who do not know how unscrupulous the City Corporation is in the use of weapons to maintain its privileges, every attempt at reform. When the Commissioners of 1834 presented their report in 1837, recommending the application of the same policy for the metropolis as had been applied to the municipal corporations throughout England and Wales, the Government which had successfully effected the great reform of 1835 was considerably weaker in power, with very small majorities; the City took advantage of its weight in the lobby, and by such discreditable means prevented the introduc-

tion of the Reform Bill from Lord John Russell. At the general election, pursuing the policy which the City pursues to this day, whenever it has the opportunity, it acted the part of the steward in the proverb and the friends of its attackers: inducing Lord John Russell to resign of its representatives. The Corporation of London once became out of the quod. It is the same principle which induces the livery companies to the adherence of powerful influential men: hence it is that Lord Selborne Master of the Mercers', Mr. Gladstone a freeman of the Turners', Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas made free of the City.

Though the Corporation of London has the expenditure of some £1,000,000 a year, of which some £500,000 come of about three-quarters of a million, and though the greater portion of this is derived from public rates, and all of it is expended on public property—for we deny the private character of the property the Corporation has in what is called the City estate—there is no guarantee that this money is properly expended. Can it really be believed that there is no audit of the accounts—no independent and worthy audit? for the audit is a particular heading of accounts, and the members of the particular committee expending the money is the only pretence at audit made, is a perfect farce. It is that annually there is published a kind of private blue-book of the members of the Court of Common Council; still these accounts are kept in the most unsatisfactory and unintelligible manner, and when prepared, we should fancy the object of affording as much information as possible. Politically, therefore, the City is expended without any responsibility. And the fact

wanton extravagance characterises everything that is done in the City, except that which is to the advantage of the citizens. There are many abuses—and they are legion—on a scale which would bankrupt any other institution, however handsome their appearance, looking up the list from the noble services—if indeed there can be anything humble in comparison with so mighty a institution—of the Lord Mayor's second young man to highly paid officials of the Corporation of London, there exists a certain amount of *douceur* to everyone, even the least extra work, often enhances considerably the large salaries, and which in the opinion is entirely representative. If space permitted we like to go more fully into the character of the City finances; as we can do no better than refer to Mr. Firth's work, which exhaustively the whole question of the accuracy of which may be relied upon. We are satisfied that if it were possible to reduce the number of officials, and to induce men of ability to take an active part in the municipal administration of the City, the present state of things would be tolerated for a day; but as this canker has eaten so deeply into the very existence of the Corporation, we cease to be lulled at the fact, that the Court of Common Council contains none but eminent bankers or merchants in the City whose presence reflects credit on the con-

stitution, and would be beneficial to the ratepayers.

It is to be regretted that the City Corporation has not before this seen its way to some reform. As it is, it stands in the way of municipal reform for London. If it had been wise in its generation it would have, to use the words of its own Chamberlain, long ago thrown its wings over the entire metropolis and given to London one consistent and harmonious government. That this must come, whether the City wishes it or not, is beyond question. The metropolis must be created into one municipality, and so placed on a par with other towns in the kingdom. There is, so far as we see, no real or practical objection to this. The magnitude of London does not, as some are inclined to think, render the work impossible or even difficult; for if the Metropolitan Board of Works can efficiently manage the main drainage of the entire metropolis, can it be said that a Council of some three hundred members, which could be divided into a number of committees—each committee charged with some specific branch of municipal matters, such as water, gas, education, poor, &c.—would not find it perfectly feasible to govern London efficiently? The saving which would result would be enormous, and there can be no doubt that London might become in a short time the best governed city in the kingdom, instead of being, as it now is, the worst.

P.



THE FINANCIAL POSITION OF EGYPT.

MUCH as has been written and said on the affairs of Egypt within the last five months, there are still probably few subjects about which the mass of people have more hazy ideas. In the City, usually supposed to be focus of knowledge on such subjects, hardly two people can be found who will estimate the resources and future of the country in the same way. The publication of Mr. Cave's famous Report was eagerly looked forward to as the medium through which light was at last to illuminate the impenetrable darkness; partizans of Egypt, and even such tolerably impartial people as Sir Stafford Northcote, based strong hopes and still stronger assertions on that Report, and now that we have got it the darkness remains as thick as ever. All sorts of estimates of the amount of the floating debt of Egypt, continue to wander about, without any ready means being found of contradicting them, or of asserting that this one or that is true, except that the recent 'scheme' of the French financiers leads one to conclude that the amount is far larger than the Khedive confessed to Mr. Cave. Equally at fault are the estimates of revenue, which range at any figure from about 6,000,000*l.* to 10,000,000*l.*; and, altogether, chaos continues. While that is so the efforts do not grow less to patch up some kind of arrangement, by means of which one more loan might be gradually placed with investors, and those who have the greatest stake in the success of such a loan are as diligent as ever in making the most of appearances, in framing favourable estimates, and arranging attractive prospects. The trade is not a noble one, but the straits to which men are driven by the exigencies of a long and questionable career may

be held by some to justify that is repulsive. At the same time it would not be wise or able for those who entertain a profound conviction that the now pursued can only pave for a deeper ruin to keep that none should lift a finger in behalf of the wretched people whom this career of dishonesty has so long been the means of bringing, or in warning to the fortunate, less pitiable, but some cases injured investors may once more be induced to throw their savings into this bottomless pit. The task is not a grateful one for many reasons, but chiefly of the rancour which exposure in the minds of those who have plans marred by too plain statements; but, grateful or not it is worth doing.

At the outset of any inquiry into the financial affairs of Egypt it is necessary to say that certainty cannot be attained on this point. The subject has to be dealt with on the principle of scanty evidence, for there are few reliable facts attainable. We know the amount of the floating debt of Egypt, and something of the poverty of its wretched inhabitants is also known; but nearly everything else is pure guesswork. All we can prove is that most of the statements that have been put forward as facts are fiction. This means it may be possible to arrive negatively at some less close estimate of what the truth may be. That is all I profess to do. In pursuing my object I shall take my statements as much as possible from public and semi-official sources, and matters of mere hearsay shall be admitted as part of the evidence. I shall begin by re-

history of the various loans that have increased the debt of Egypt, and various estimates of the resources of the country from such data as are available. From these two main heads of investigation much subsidiary collateral matter must, of course, be brought in, but the object of the investigation will be made clear if these points are borne in mind. What is wanted is knowledge of what Egypt has done by her debt, and of the evidence of her capacity to bear the burden of it, such as may be afforded by general facts as to her position. The first loan for the Government of Egypt was issued in London in 1862, by Messrs. Fröhling and Ben, as agents for the Bank of the Rhine-Meiningen. It was of the nominal amount of 2,195,200*l.*, calculated to yield 1,811,343*l.* net at issue price of 82½, and interest at 7 per cent., a sinking fund which was to redeem the entire loan in thirty years from the date of issue. For interest and for the cumulative sinking fund an annuity of 176,000*l.* was set apart from the revenues of the Delta, then estimated at 600,000*l.* per annum. The issue was received as successful, no less than 9,635,200*l.* having been applied for. So successful indeed was the issue that before many months were past it was thought safe to test the investing capacity of the British public by a second issue; and accordingly 10,000,000*l.* for the nominal amount of 10,000,000*l.* were offered in London on August 1, through the same contractors and agents, at a 2 per cent. discount or price than the first issue. It was done to 'complete the operation' of the floating debt of Egypt—a completion that has been maintained ever since, and that is not likely to be ended—and the mortgage on the Delta revenues was extended to 100*l.* per annum as 'security' for the repayments of the loan. No intimation was vouchsafed as to the financial position of Egypt beyond that con-

tained in the bare statement that the Delta revenues were so much. Nevertheless the loan was successfully placed, and the aspect of the money market was so inviting that 'one of the members' of the Viceroy's family tried to get bonds for 180,000*l.*, bearing 9 per cent. interest floated on the Stock Exchange here, in October.

So encouraging a beginning could not be expected to lead to no results; but Egypt did not again appear as a borrower till 1864, when punctual payment of the obligations already incurred, and judicious nursing, had so far improved her credit that she was able to float a loan for 5,704,200*l.*, at the price of 93 per cent., bearing 7 per cent. interest, but redeemable in fifteen years, or in 1879, by a high sinking fund. In other words—and this applies to all the loans of Egypt, as to many others by which unfortunate borrowers have been brought to ruin—the money was borrowed on the principle applied in selling an annuity. The Viceroy agreed to pay so much per annum for so many years for a certain amount down, and the financiers divided that amount into two parts, one being called 'interest' and the other 'sinking fund.' The interest—7 per cent. or whatever it may be—was paid half-yearly, and the balance, used as sinking fund, was devoted to paying off bonds drawn in a lottery every half-year. At first, of course, the amount devoted to drawings would be small, perhaps 1 or 2 per cent on the nominal amount of the loan, but as bonds got drawn and paid off interest on them ceased, and in proportion as interest grew less sinking fund grew more, until at the end the whole amounts almost would go to the repayment of bonds 'drawn at par.' The more frequent or the larger in amount these drawings were, the more temptation would there be for investors to pay highly for the chances

of the bonuses which bonds issued at a big discount and paid off by lottery at par would afford. This loan was therefore well taken up, as the others had been, and, by tactics too familiar now to need description, soon went to a premium on the issue price. No further information was given regarding the country that borrowed, either by the Government, or by Messrs. Oppenheim, the contractors for this loan; but the revenues of three provinces were 'specially hypothecated' to its service. Inundations, cattle disease, and similar plausible reasons were given as the cause of this new borrowing, they having entailed the formation of a troublesome floating new debt, which similar visitations in former years had not apparently done. Yet at this very time Egypt was at about the highest pitch of prosperity she has enjoyed in modern days. The Civil War in America had thrown a great trade into her hands, and the Suez Canal had not yet been opened to abstract from her the bulk of the transit business to and from India. Joint-stock Companies of various kinds were pouring their resources into the country, with a view to develop it for their profit, and everything looked as if the last affliction that Egypt ought to have known just then was a floating debt or financial distress. These existed, however, and unhappily a mere five millions did not suffice to extinguish the diseases—they were only assuaged for a time.

The next borrower was the present Viceroy in his own person, who had succeeded to the government in 1863. He had been known before as an enterprising farmer, bent upon getting the most he could out of his land and his slaves; and now that he had attained the throne, he displayed his enterprise by borrowing money to enable him to develop his estates with royal rapidity. But before doing that it was ventured upon to try the market with a railway

loan for 3,000,000*l.*, really on his personal security, at a usual 7 per cent. interest term redeemable at par by draw within nine years. This loan issued at 92 per cent., and subscribed to largely on the Comptoir but not so largely here. In 1864 Fröhling and Götschen were the mediums through whom money subscribed here was obtained. Somehow the loan was not a great success, and did not keep up well to its issue price. In March 1866, however, the Viceroy introduced the first loan contracted on the security of his private estates. It was for originally, 3,387,000*l.*, half of which was issued in Paris and half here, by the contractors Messrs. Pastré Brothers and the Egyptian Bank. The issue price was 88½, and it bore 7 per cent. interest, with provision for redemption in fifteen years. It was in fact another short annuity at a very high price. The proceeds for payment was the proceeds of about 375,000 acres of highly cultivated land belonging to the Viceroy's private domain. It did not succeed very well, and some of it was sold within months after the first general drawing at 60 per cent. of the par value of the bonds. The Viceroy was therefore borrowing at something like 18 per cent., including the interest on the drawings—rather a dear rate for a loan of land even as far as that of Egypt. That price indeed something like a penny was the Viceroy's agents had to pay for that no more of the loan was sold, and that the portion of the loan absorbed by the investors was bought in and withdrawn. It was a laudable purpose, but unhappily the Viceroy could not get it out. In November 1866 he managed to borrow 900,000*l.* on houses in London and Paris on the security of the unplaced balance of his private loan, which the Egyptian Bank was supposed

bought in and cancelled, and ately, at one price or another, ears to have been all got on market. This was hardly accomplished, if at all accomplished, the ground began to be prepared for the issue of a new Government loan. Early in 1867 rumours began to circulate that more wing was to be resorted to, sellers of all sorts were put out to show how far the public were to go in support of such a thing. These did not at first meet any sympathetic response, they were for a time hushed; by-and-by the public were led to some very attractive remarks about coming financial reform in Egypt; and as reform of kind is always a thing that the of Englishmen have a sneaking fondness for—in the abstract, the ultimately took. But it was thought safe to bring out a large amount—6,000,000*l.* or 10,000,000*l.*—that had been first slated. Even after a bright picture of a new reform, that would have a little too much. The public have felt through all its sweet dulness that there was an amount of incongruity between 10,000,000*l.* of new debt and financial improvement. Besides, it had to be admitted that the country was quite so prosperous as it had been in the American war times.

There were again troublesome failures and symptoms of uneasiness amongst the people, caused much anxiety to private creditors, so that it was not safe to ask the public to give overmuch. There was a limit beyond which even the credulous Englishmen—born, we may say, in hope, of a certain sturdy confidence—could not be expected to follow.

The loan was therefore issued in form, reduced to a modest amount of 2,080,000*l.*, described as being for the purchase of the properties of the Viceroy's brother, Mustapha

Fazil Pacha—he who died recently at Constantinople, not in extreme poverty, but magnificently in debt. It was declared to be well for State reasons to effect this bargain, seeing that Mustapha had agreed to give up also the rights of succession to the Viceregal throne. As this loan was then partly for a State and partly for a private object, and as it was further secured on the Daira, a private estate of the Khedive already burdened with 3,400,000*l.*, borrowed at from 12 to 18 per cent., it was necessary to offer a very high price to induce investors to come in. The interest was therefore raised to 9 per cent. and the issue price placed at 90 per cent. per bond. The loan was further redeemable in fourteen years, so that for that time it was a good 10 per cent. return to the venturesome purchasers. It came out at an unfortunate juncture, however, which, when one looks back upon, breeds wonder and astonishment that the whole fabric of Egyptian credit has not tumbled to pieces long ago. At the very time when this new loan was offered on the security of the Daira, that Daira was found to be in great straits. Open-handed and liberal to the full height of Oriental magnificence, the Viceroy had been borrowing freely on his domains without the formality of a public loan. He had had to bear the expenses of a very costly trip to Europe, and was therefore deep in debt. Many of his bills were said to have been protested in Alexandria, and although the incident was explained as a mere example of the loose happy-go-lucky way in which the Viceroy managed his private affairs, and which must not be taken to mean anything serious, the fact made a very bad impression. However, it was pointed out that the revenues of Mustapha Fazil Pacha's estates would themselves be ample security for this money, and haste was made to

advance money at a good rate of discount, so that all the bills falling due might be announced as fully and promptly met. A smash was thus averted; it was roundly declared that the Egyptian Government was not only paying its way, but had actually, within the year, reduced its floating debt by a good round sum, and public apprehension died away. The bait was so well tricked out that it was again swallowed.

But the cost was not long in appearing. Hardly had the year 1868 opened when rumours began to circulate relative to a new plan for consolidating the debt, and letting those financiers out of their risks, who held the floating paper not yet cancelled, for all that Egypt was so happy and prosperous under a reformed administration and a Finance Minister of singular honesty, firmness, and ability. The Imperial Ottoman Bank had been in its innings with the small Mustapha Loan, but now it was the Oppenheims who again came forward as leading creditors and wire-pullers. But Egyptian credit had been too much shaken to make their plans or any plan at once feasible. Once more the ground had to be prepared by a series of cheering and hopeful statements, interrupted only by such unlucky incidents as the protesting of a small quantity of bills, which the admirable Finance Minister had drawn too sanguinely, in anticipation of a new loan forthwith, or by such statements as that given in the following extract from the *Times* of 9th March, 1868:

Recently the bills drawn on the Daira were daily protested in increasing numbers, and every petty artifice was believed to be resorted to in order to procure delay. So far had this been carried that an English mercantile house had at length made an official demand, through the British Consul-General, for a declaration of bankruptcy against the department, and this appeal, after three weeks' trouble, had resulted in procuring them the money. . . . In order

to efface the bad effect thus produced the Viceroy had found it necessary to cash at any price, and consequently on February 20, a notification was issued that the Daira would be prepared to dish bills falling due up to March 31. Consequently, it is alleged to have been that the temporary means were met by issuing ante-dated bonds and selling through a confidential broker, and name—a process which, if continued, would render it impossible hereafter to know the amount of the real floating debt.

That is a very interesting glimpse into the state of Egyptian finance as they existed eight years ago, and, although it refers only to the private estates of the Viceroy, can be doubt that matters were managed in precisely the same way with the so-called National Treasury. There was never any real separation between the two; they were two pockets, into each of which the Khedive plunged his hands as it suited him, or as the full. At this very time, in the National Treasury was given unmistakable signs of weakness in some shape or other, and it was imperative. There were swelling the liabilities, and they could not be made to correspond. Accordingly, about this time J. W. Larking, the agent of the Viceroy in England, published a statement of the financial position of Egypt, which may be taken as the first official summary in the history of Egypt, and which materially helped to allay public apprehension, as we have seen. It paved the way for further advances to Egypt at the expense of the English public. In this important document he showed the total funded debt of Egypt, deducting the amount paid in drawings, was 16,000,000*l.*, which belonged to the Daira half personally and half to Egypt. The properties on which the Daira half was secured were, Mr. Larking said, 'so immensely in excess of the amounts raised upon them that there was no likelihood of the State ever being called upon

lity, which it condertook. He further at the 'revenues of reatly in excess of all the State,' and as to lebt, pronounced it to l. sterling, the amount ed new issue. To that d been swollen by the he Emperor of the ch enjoined the pay- ards of 3,000,000*l.* to nal Company as com- r its withdrawal of , and certain privileges en to the Company for . Larking concluded dum by saying that easily bear the charges 6,000,000*l.*, for that its eeded 6,000,000*l.*, a be taken note of as the tive announcement of claimed to have. As that 26,000,000*l.* was own on the State, this of course provokingly any possible require- ie public must be sur- pid not to see it. Mr. es not say that in words; but unless had reasoned thus ie would no doubt isappointed, and have a deeply injured man. iced danger that he thers would be dis- the negotiations for a re hanging fire badly. contracts were put hen found to be dis- vithdrawn or denied; rs got inconveniently now something more king ventured to com- d even went so far as that, without a satis- cial statement and he loan would not be but the financiers per- ho would not do in a ; and death like that. announced to his Chambers' — people

will start, but it is true that he got up such a burlesque, and some Europeans could actually view it with gravity — that they should have a 'satisfactory budget,' and that, in obedience to the wish of that august body, the proposed loan was withdrawn. That naturally did not mean anything beyond indicating that, in the then mood of the public, full-blooded lies had become so necessary as to be excusable. For of course the satisfactory budget was not forthcoming, neither was the loan withdrawn. While the soothing effect of these empty words was yet visible on the Stock Market, negotiations for its issue were proceeding, and finally, after vicissitudes of various kinds, rivalries amongst participants, and so forth, it came out; and in lieu of budget a vague statement was circulated that the comparisons of revenue and expenditure showed a surplus to the good of 2,251,000*l.*, which was a sufficiently marvellous statement to put alongside an acknowledged deficit of 10,000,000*l.* However, money was wanted, and money must be had, and a new loan for 11,890,000*l.* was issued at nominally 75 but really 73½, bearing 7 per cent. interest, and redeemable in thirty years, after the usual plan, in July 1868. The loan was anticipated to yield in actual cash 8,768,875*l.*, but that did not all go to the Viceroy. There were some pickings for commissions and the other necessary outlays required to effectually place the loan. The security given was the general revenues of Egypt, and specially the customs of Alexandria, together with the proceeds of tolls on the canal locks, fisheries, salt revenues, and estimated to be producing 1,200,000*l.*—surely most ample and abundant security. The contractors were the Oppenheims, the Ottoman Bank, and the Société Générale of Paris—quite a strong combination, and all very much

interested in converting their advances made at 15 or 20 per cent. into hard cash, procured from investors on the strength of something like 8½. Ultimately this loan was no doubt taken up by the public at a price, but it was not absorbed all at once; and, supposing it had been, the amount realised would not have covered the acknowledged floating debt by a million and a quarter. With a surplus such as Egypt officially rejoiced in, that ought not to have mattered. By the end of another year all debt ought to have been cleared off, and Egypt happy in her works of utility, conscious of progress and a full purse.

But it was not to be so; 1869 was not long in before there were 'rumours' of yet another loan. The old courses had been again embarked on, and chevaliers d'industrie of all kinds and degrees had been, as before, pushing their schemes of 'improvement' before the versatile, restless, and ignorant Viceroy. There had been a fresh golden shower obtained by the last venture in the money markets of France and England, and the appetite of these persons was whetted for yet more. The gold was so good that it made chicanery a virtue. Preparations were therefore at once made for the issue of another loan by the usual glowing accounts of Egyptian trade, by putting the interest on floating debt bonds nominally very low, and by other of the usual devices. In July a story was put about by the *Levant Herald* that the Viceroy wanted more money, and was of course promptly contradicted, as being certainly without foundation; but as it had not particularly startled the public, there came speedy repentance of that assumption of virtue. Affectation of abstinence was not thought advisable; a loan was after all raised, but privately. The Viceroy, after contradicting the statement that he

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r bond, bearing 7 per cent., and redeemable in 1873. In reality, the price was 77½ per cent., and it was told that the money was to be used to make improvements on the Khedive's estates, such as the planting of sugar manufactory greatly enhancing the value of his property; and it was carefully announced that the Khedive had nothing to do with the Government of Egypt, and was not to be embarrassed by having to bear any liability. Various disputes about the borrowing of the situation, and by others the Ottoman Government protested against the Khedive's loan without its being possible to meet these difficulties were and by one means or another was 'floated.' That it was taken up by the public was doubtful. At all events, within a few months passed before the Khedive again took of advances on the floating debt still in hand, budget surpluses notwithstanding. Within a year Messrs. Oppenheim had agreed to advance £1,000,000 for six millions and a half per cent. bills with two years to run; this term was limited by the limit which had been previously placed upon the borrowing powers of the Government by the blundering of the Khedive in framing the 1868 bond. This was subsequently raised to 8 per cent., and formed a loan to pay off that vexatious debt. By means of this loan, generously accorded at exorbitant rates, i.e. at more than 15 per cent. interest, and possibly 2 per cent. commission, the Khedive managed to go on for about a year; but when these bills had two years to run, and need would have troubled him in 1873, by the time

a twelvemonth was over that everlasting floating debt again popped up, and again Messrs. Oppenheim and their friends had to come to the rescue with a further advance of some 5,000,000*l.* at 12½ per cent. exclusive of commissions. These several sums would suffice to raise a new floating debt of about 15,000,000*l.*, including interest, &c., by the time that the Khedive could once more be paraded before Europe as a rich potentate, anxiously desirous of allowing small investors to partake in his wealth to the extent of from 10 to 12 per cent. per annum. Had these been honestly all that had been borrowed, therefore, the floating debt ought to have been about that sum when the last and biggest loan of 1873 was brought out; but instead of that, the floating debt was confessed to be 28,000,000*l.*—a discrepancy which was more than remarkable.

When 1873 came it was, of course, expected that a new loan was coming also, and people were as usual prepared for it by pleasing statements about the progress of Egypt. But, as first announced, that loan was only to be for a modest 25,000,000*l.* nominal, half of which was to be applied to pay off the floating debt, which still, like a sinister spectre, dogged the heels of progress; and it was to be issued at the high price of 85 or so. But the public were not in a satisfactory state of preparedness. The bright pictures of progress were beginning to pall, and newspapers were becoming more critical than ever. When the loan was therefore brought out in July for 32,000,000*l.* nominal, at about 84½ per cent. per bond, a price that at 7 per cent. interest yielded the investor, including sinking fund payments, which were however of the usual lottery kind, about 9 per cent., the public here received it very coldly. Above all, the *Economist* attacked the loan in no

measured terms, and declared that the floating debt amounted to 28,000,000*l.* It showed that Egypt, with a gross *estimated* revenue of about 7,000,000*l.* would with this loan and the tribute to the Porte, have to bear a net annual charge of 5,153,000*l.*; and hinted that, as the real revenue was probably very much less, Egypt was simply over head and ears in debt, incapable therefore of existing without these continual borrowings. It examined the export and import accounts of the country, and failed to find indication of progress at all commensurate with this debt, and demanded that the accounts of the revenue and expenditure should be published in full, not mere cooked budget estimates. An attack like that, temperate, and at the same time searching, could not go without results. The loan was in fact practically crushed, unless something resembling an answer could be produced. Advantage was taken of the collapse, it is true, to lend money to the Khedive at 30 per cent. and upwards, by his friends the *chevaliers d'industrie*, in Egypt; but satisfactory as that business was to these parties, unless the public could by some means be coaxed to come to their relief, it would presently come to an end for want of means. Even discounts cannot be realised out of nothing. A budget had therefore been prepared, but it had not proved satisfactory as a lure, and it was now deemed advisable to disavow it, although issued under the authority of the Egyptian Minister of the Interior, who ought to have been supposed capable of knowing what he was about. An amended document came out accordingly, showing that Egypt rejoiced in a surplus of over a million sterling—a really wonderful piece of audacious concoction in the face of an accumulated deficit of at least 28,000,000*l.*, which had seemingly grown in three years' time. This budget met with no more

favour than the first, however, although Henry Oppen came to its rescue, with an excellent pamphlet, which went to prove all the figures were accurate, the first budget a stupid blunder, the loan did not go down. Now it is a question whether of the 32,000,000*l.* has ever got out of the hands of these *chevaliers d'industrie*, who have, we may say, worked Egyptian or Turkish debt just a little too long for their ultimate profit.

This is, briefly, a history of the borrowings of Egypt, and it is necessary in order that people may understand how the debt had grown. Throughout its growth it was observed that there was always a big floating debt running against the funding loans, and which was always necessary to pay in order that finances and every thing might prosper ever after. The Khedive borrowed from the financial adventurers, English, French, and Jewish, who pressed him, at extravagant rates, and he trusted to the *petits financiers* periodically take up the auctions thus made at rates less than the market. By this means a floating debt was accumulated, which according to the Report of Mr. Cave amounts to-day to 55.33 millions after deducting all the bonds redeemed and paid off, and which involves a charge of 5,678,000*l.* per annum. Besides this there is the floating debt of the State of Daira, as well as the cost of the Abyssinian war, which makes together, on Mr. Cave's estimate, 22,243,000*l.*, and on other estimates from 25,000,000*l.* to 29,000,000*l.* away by England for share in the Abyssinian war, which the Khedive himself says at a value, the last being endorsed by a late decree, which I shall not go by-and-by. At 15 per cent. which is perhaps the lowest rate that can be fairly tak-

debt involves an annual 336,000*l.* on Mr. Cave's estimate, and of 4,340,000*l.*, as implied in the Governor's account; so that altogether the debt charges of Egypt are at the lowest, 9,014,000*l.*, and 1,758,000*l.* of the total is aimed in the Egyptian budget for 1876. As the addition of the country requires 4,000,000*l.*, it is to see how the last budget may ground be made to do, a surplus. Egyptian accounts are, however, not literally. They are pure imagination.

What is the situation as debt is concerned. It is very necessary to look at the side of the subject, to ask what it has gained by all these loans; how far they have placed the country in a position to bear any portion of the burden they entail with a misfortune that they have to go upon in investment subject are so scattered, it must be made of them they go. I shall deal with the same in the resources of

It must be remembered that on the occasion of the 1868 loan, Mr. Cave, in his capacity as the Viceroy of Egypt, stated that the country had a clear revenue of 10,000,000*l.*, and by the last estimate that revenue has been about 10,000,000*l.* How much has been brought about? In the nine statements of the annual exports published, we find that last year the figures did not go so high a point as they

in 1863 and 1864, when the country was basking in the prosperity of the American Civil War. From 1865 to 1870 inclusive, the exports only twice rose above 13,000,000*l.* as against 13,000,000*l.* in those two years, and the exports fell proportionately

low. In 1874 the exports rose, it is so set down, to nearly 15,000,000*l.*, although the English portion of them—say three-fourths of the whole—had fallen to 10,500,000*l.*, but last year they again fell below the figures of the war period. Yet in 1863 and '64 the debt of Egypt was a mere bagatelle, and as late as 1868 the revenue claimed was only 6,000,000*l.*; what then can have made it so much bigger since? Have the loans done it? 'The profits of the Khedive's estates and public works,' some say; but that is an absurd answer, because all these profits are confessed to be quite insufficient for the loans 'secured' on them. Not only so, but these profits are a delusion, so far as the Daira is concerned, if Mr. Cave is to be trusted. He tells us that the whole of the Khedive's property only yields 422,000*l.* a year, or not one-third of the debt charge for which it is liable. This statement has, indeed, been disputed, and a fresh estimate published since, but without reason given; and if it is considered that the extravagant sugar and cotton growing speculations do not pay, by the admission of Egyptian officials themselves, the estimate of Mr. Cave may well be accepted as near the truth, if not excessive. Are we to look then to the improved condition of agriculture amongst the people? We fear not. Take the following description from a letter in the *Times* of April 15, written by a correspondent not disposed to take a pessimist view of affairs, and judge what improvement Egypt has obtained from the bloated debt that has been put upon her by, I fear I must say, devices as vile as any ever conceived:

The situation of the town labourer will be acknowledged to be not very enviable. I thought, perhaps, the condition of the cultivators, the fellaheen, the 'sons of the soil,' would be better. Egypt is the most fertile country in the world, produces its three crops a year without exhaustion, and it was only reasonable to suppose that the

class who gave their labour to such a reproductive country would, at any rate, secure comfort for themselves. I talked with all classes about them—Europeans, natives, employers, employed, sheiks, fellahs themselves; but they all concurred in describing the condition of the countryfolk as very miserable. So I went to see for myself. I rowed up the river from Mansoorah, landing here and there at the villages, and thus I saw, not only the homes of the fellahs, but I also obtained an idea of the country which I could not have got in the town. The villages are very frequent, and always in aspect the same—a cluster of brown mud huts, windowless and chimneyless, round a dome and minaret, by way of village church and spire. I landed from time to time to see these human beehives. The walk always lay through great reaches of verdure, along the banks of the small canals which form a vast network over the whole of the Delta. I found everywhere an almost incredible squalor. Let me, by way of example, briefly describe two villages I saw. I first called on the Sheik-el-beled. He is the headman of the village, responsible to Government for the taxes of the village, its contingent of forced labour, and its contribution of men to the army. If the village is large there are several Sheiks. Nominally the Sheik holds office for life, but the Moudir of the province can practically do what he pleases with him. 'We elect him, yes,' said some fellahen, 'but the Moudir sends word whom we are to elect.' The Sheik of this particular village was well dressed, in Oriental fashion, had a house of many rooms, and even glass windows. He gave me sherbet and coffee, and then took me round his village. The mud huts are all built one against another, like the cells of a beehive, save where they are divided by the little lanes that run through the village. I chose a hut at random, and asked if I might go in. 'Yes,' said my companion, 'but it is very poor, and there is nothing to see.' We went to the entrance, these huts having, as a rule, no doors. An old woman—at least, she looked old, but the women are old at 40—barrel the way. I offered money, but that was not enough to overcome her feelings that her house was her castle, where no Christian should enter, and the Sheik had to insist. One small room—mud walls, mud roof, mud floor—was all we found. Four bricks made a small fire-place, but there was no fire. A small basin of maize, five water jars, an earthen pot for artificial hatching of chickens, a cock and three hens, a small heap of sacking by way of bed-clothes, constituted all the furniture of the house. Four yards by five was the extent of the house, and this was partly taken up by a raised dais of mud, which

serves as the family bed in every habitation. A family of four lived in the space. The head of the family considered himself well-to-do by the world, as he is the owner of five (acres) of land. I tried another taken similarly at random. It was smaller and more pitiful than the first. The mud bed occupied half the space, the yards by one was my measureless rest. A water jar and a reed pipe were the signs of habitation. There were boxes or cupboards in which other and chattels might be hidden. One of three, labourers on the lands lived here. I have seen pigs both in England. . . . Excess of paper is not the cause of the misery. 100 millions are not too many for the . . . Corn, formerly 2s. the arish, 18s. Eggs, once 12 a penny, or halfpenny each. Fowls, which were a piastre, are now worth four. Cotton, the staple of the country, is in price from 55 dollars the cantar it fetched during the American War to a gradually declining scale until it reached 11½ dollars, and now it repays the cost of cultivation. The source of wealth has thus decreased, the number of workers is diminished by conscription in a way that almost the days of Mehmet Ali, when, for a series of years, the country was drained of its best men by the demands of service. Forced labour is another source of misery. It may not be unreasonable to demand that labour in common to the roads and canals. But that fellahs should have to give up their time to works of no benefit to their children or to works of no public utility, however high in position may be the man who demands it. Last, but by no means least, comes the burden of taxation. The Government, with its costly wars, its internal development and external conquest, has increased year by year

These extracts give a fair idea of the worth pondering over. Instead of being richer by money, has, it is clear, become poorer than ever, till, the majority of the wretched existence is not worth having. The revenues of Egypt have decreased, therefore, it has become a heavier burden of taxation, such as I cut from the same

I give the following list of the number of feddan of good cotton land actually cultivated in the Delta, between the 1st of July and 29th of December, 1871:

of Nile banks, 19 piastres
elfths of an ardeb of wheat
ted to enable Government
made in Alexandria), 20
baleh (annual sum paid in
elf land tax), 172 piastres
al Loan (a forced loan of
9 per cent.), 108 piastres;
es (unexplained what ex-
res; Amour de la Patrie
war tax), 38 piastres 20
Moukabaleh for the com-
stres—total, 423 piastres

and a half piastres are
l sterling. The value of
llen. What was formerly
only worth 20l. Some of
where water is not easily
n been abandoned. Other
aracter has been sold in
es. Great quantities of
n seized and sold for the
The people themselves do
families, friends, and even
l responsible for unpaid
tion is made for a bad
s. Considering that the
f land is now only worth,
aking cotton, which can
once every three years,
nd clover together) about
hat out of that taxes and
ave to come, there is not
peasant proprietor. It is
at they are selling their
g into towns, where, if
a fortune by their labour,
escape much of the heavy

tate of things, truly;
l this grinding taxa-
t misery suffices to
a population of over
venue of 10,000,000l.
nd budget surplus,
accounts of the
rnnment are utter de-
his point, as can be

the second and im-
or 1873-74 exhibited
r a million, and the
nt of the income and
the year or fifteen
-5 showed an almost
while the budget
hed as an appendix
eport, exhibits a sur-
700,000l., which the
nnment has, as usual,

the hardihood to point out as suffi-
cient to pay the charge on the
floating debt. According to these
figures, disjointed though they be,
the Egyptian Government should
now have little or no floating debt
at all; for, although the 1873
loan is said to have only netted
20,000,000l., and, therefore, left
9,000,000l. or 10,000,000l. to be
carried on, that should have, with
these surpluses, been lessened
rather than increased. The Egyp-
tian Government has itself, how-
ever, knocked down all support
to this pleasant fiction. As was
well pointed out by the *Daily News*,
the lumped-together statement of
revenue and expenditure between
the years 1864 and 1875 (given in
Mr. Cave's Report), when compared
with a similar statement issued two
years before, shows that, even with
an income of about 10,000,000l. per
annum and a paper surplus, the
last two years must have involved
a deficit of 8,243,628l. per annum.
The figures come out thus—in-
come of the two years, 1874 and
1875, 21,348,838l.; expenditure,
37,836,094l.; deficit on the two
years, 16,487,000l. The detailed
budgets are, therefore, entirely il-
lusory by the confession of Egypt
itself, and, as the *Economist* says,
drawn up only with a view to
deceive. The doubts which such
comparison induce as to the
budgets naturally extend to the
revenue itself. If there was no
source but increased taxation on an
already impoverished people from
which to draw an augmented
revenue, how could it possibly be
raised from under 5,000,000l. in 1864
to 6,000,000l. in 1868, and to
10,000,000l. in 1874? Previous to
1864 it had, as stated in Mr. Cave's
Report, taken thirty-four years to
augment 1,600,000l. Does not
this mysterious growth suggest that
the large figures were merely put
down to look as well as possible
beside the swelling debt charges?
There are few direct means of

answering the question, but some approach towards its solution is gained by examining (1) what has become of the money raised on the various loans, and (2) some of the items of the budgets and accounts in the light of the explanations of Mr. Henry Oppenheim and others, as well as of the Government itself.

First as to the loans. Egypt, as we have seen, began to borrow in 1862, and, including the floating debt, taken at Mr. Cave's estimate, and adding to it, for the sake of a correct account, the 4,000,000*l.* got from England, has, within fourteen years, borrowed an average sum of nearly 6,500,000*l.* per annum. What has become of this money? Mr. Cave says that Egypt has nothing to show for it except its Suez Canal, which is in itself an absurd statement, seeing that the Canal is leased to a Company, and that Egypt gets at present loss rather than gain from its existence. Still it is true that the money which has not gone into that undertaking has gone mostly to keep the ball of loan-concocting rolling merrily, and to gratify the whims, improving and other (mostly other), of his Highness the Khedive. The Canal, according to a calculation of Mr. R. H. Lang, a gentleman well acquainted with Egypt, had cost the Viceroy 17,423,178*l.*, including interest up to the end of 1873, and the railways 11,899,411*l.*, also including interest, money having been raised to make them at 27 per cent. Beyond these sums and the other interest and sinking fund charges there is nothing to show for the whole 80,000,000*l.* or

90,000,000*l.* that have been considered. Of course it must not be forgotten that the sum is probably more than what the Khedive ever received. All his loans were issued at 10 per cent or less discount, and those of 1873 and 1874 were never 'absorbed' by investors. The exorbitant rates for short loans, at times, and always for long ones, so that, altogether, the gross sum owing, he estimates at 100,000,000*l.* We can put the net result at about 45,000,000*l.* It makes no difference to the Egyptian liabilities. When we come, moreover, to analyse the port figures of Egypt, that the utmost that could have been spent on works of improvement is about 1,000,000*l.* per annum, and that the borrowing that latterly exceeded 10,000,000*l.*, and averaged over 6,500,000*l.* per annum. In one shape or other, the bulk of the money has gone to make good the deficits; and as these deficits are rapidly larger after each year, it is but fair to infer that the so-called legitimate revenue has not augmented with the requirements has been set forth. That is the more likely when we consider that the most favourable period of the commercial history of Egypt was 1863 and 1864, when the revenue was set down at some 5,000,000*l.*, and then poverty and misery steadily on the increase, and population that stagnated at 5,250,000.¹

¹ The account may be made up thus:—
Net income from loans according to Mr. Cave's Report . . . 45,000,000

Expenditure on Suez Canal (exclusive of interest) . . .
For interest and repayment of loans, according to Mr. Cave's Report

Balance spent by the Khedive

£45,000,000

order to make the matter still, I shall examine s of the budgets and in some detail. Some- y be gleaned that is true comparison of even the s of Egyptian finance; he case of the first de- idget but one ever sub-) European criticism we advantage of the ingenious ; and pleadings of Mr. ppenheim, than whom few ig ought to know better time of Egyptian affairs. aborate pamphlet on the Egyptian budget for which was issued to aid ng of the 1873 loan, and eract the remarks of the t, he gives us many state- it are most valuable—not ps, according to his esti- value. His figures and will, therefore, be useful ring with the later ones ephen Cave.

st important item in the revenue is, of course, the ; and it is also the most o get any just conception e first budget of 1873-74 it own as yielding 4,579,000*l.*, of the date-tree tax, tithes, okabala. When the amended me out, however, this sum ed to 4,185,000*l.*, and Mr. ppenheim puts it down at *l.*; while Mr. Cave says in rt that in 1871, the year ie Mokabala arrangement force, the land tax yielded, as we can judge, 4,793,459*l.* According to the highest for 1873-74, therefore, this come would appear to have d rather than increased. n, has the total revenue o 10,000,000*l.*? In 1871 says it was only 7,377,912*l.*,

and in 1873-74, according to the first budget, it was only 7,000,000*l.*; so that, on any showing, its growth since has been sufficiently striking. Part of the answer to this co- nundrum is to be found in the magic word 'Mokabala.' When the amended budget came out in 1873, that mysterious item stood for 1,576,000*l.*, which had not appeared in the previous one, although de- ductions had there figured on its account to the amount of 699,000*l.*, which, in the new fabrication, dwin- dled to 132,000*l.* What, then, is the Mokabala? It is an arrange- ment whereby the Khedive forces double contributions from the land- holders over a term nominally of years, on conditions which are thus described at page 5 of Mr. Cave's Report:

The revenue of Egypt has increased from 55,000*l.* a year in 1804, 3,300,000*l.* in 1830, and 4,937,405*l.* in 1864, the second year of the Khedive's administration, to 7,377,912*l.* in 1871, the year previous to the changes caused by the law of Moka- bala. Under this law all landowners could redeem one-half of the land tax to which they were liable by the payment of six years' tax, either in advance in one sum or in instalments. Those who paid down this contribution in one sum received an im- mediate reduction of their tax; those who elected to make the payments in instalments receive a discount of 8½ per cent. on their advance, and the reduction only takes place on the completion of their contribution. The extreme term for the entire redemption of each contributor's tax was at first fixed for six years; but as the law was either not properly understood, or the small owners were unable to make so heavy a payment annually, as their land tax plus its amount minus 8½ per cent., the term was extended from six to twelve years, two years after the first promulgation of the law, so that it has now ten more years to run, during which the contributing land- owner has to pay land tax plus one-half the tax (6-12) and minus 8½ per cent. of the same. It is most advantageous to the land- owner who can afford the present sacrifice, as, in addition to the advantage of securing

age interest paid by the Khedive on the Funded Loan, exclusive of that s, has been about 13 per cent., and the average charge on the floating debt at least 15 per cent. The latter may be taken as represented by the present ot of £26,500,000, except so far as it covers the extravagance of the Khedive.

in perpetuity the redemption of half his tax by a payment of five and a half times its present amount, to which it is reduced by the discount allowed ($8\frac{1}{2} \cdot 100 \cdot \frac{1}{2} \times 12 = \frac{1}{2}$), he secures an indefensible title to his land, the tenure of which is at present of an uncertain character. To the State the arrangement is a ruinous one from a fiscal point of view, as the Khedive has bound himself in the most solemn manner not to re-impose the redeemed moiety of the tax in any shape whatever, and he has thus sacrificed for all time 50 per cent. of revenue from this source in order to realise eleven times the annual amount remitted during a period of twelve years. The original intention of the law was to realise at once, or in a few years, sufficient capital to pay off the floating debt, but by extending its operation the sum raised annually has only sufficed to pay the interest on it.

In other words, for the first year the landholders paid their tax twice over, less $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; for the second twice over, less $16\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and so on until, at the end of twelve years, they are released from half the burden of the old permanent tax for ever. By this means, we are told, the Khedive hoped to pay off his floating debt. He has failed to do that, however, and, instead, this is what happens. For a few years—supposing every landholder able to pay the tax, which he is whipped to do—the land revenue is excessively swollen, and then it gradually drops away, until, according to Mr. Cave's calculations, it will amount, at the twelve years' end, to 1,805,131*l.* only, and, according to Mr. Oppenheim, to 1,922,000*l.* Mr. Cave was first told that the Mokabala would only involve an ultimate loss of 1,531,118*l.*, but afterwards the Khedive confessed to him that it would actually come to 2,500,000*l.*, while in 1873 Mr. Oppenheim counted it at 3,022,000*l.*; but their estimate of the original land revenue differs so much that these other discrepancies ultimately come together in almost the same result as regards the final issue. By this means, then, the land revenue was temporarily raised,

according to the amended of 1873, to 5,629,000*l.*, and sink in 1886 to less than 2,000,000*l.* Nay, by virtue of the same discount, it is becoming less year, and never would have to make 5,000,000*l.* into 10,000,000*l.* And what is there to fill up the gap now yearly on the increase? The upholders of Egyptian policy could only find two some consolation, and only one compensation. Before the Mokabala lost the permanent charge on the Egyptian debt would, they lessened by the liquidation of several of the short loans, which would be most satisfactory if there were not new debts growing up. Had not the recent debt consolidation swept these entirely away, for no loan to be paid off now for 60 years? The second consolatory and compensatory consideration lies in the augmentation of land revenue by new cultivation brought under the taxes. Mr. Cave says that 100,000 feddans may be expected to be brought under revenue soon, and he estimates the revenue at 320,000*l.*, or at 3*l.* per feddan, which, contrasted with the 20*s.* and 21*s.* per feddan which have been got from the old cultivation before the imposition of the Mokabala, excites reflections. At the whole land registered in Egypt, 10,000,000 feddans, would not, were it all brought into cultivation now, make good what would be lost in 1886 by a couple of millions of *l.* But there is little chance of any such good fortune, rather going out of Egypt than coming in. The English are too experienced in Egypt to be eager to open ground on which taxes are laid. All things considered, therefore, there is much force in the observation with which Mr. Oppenheim sums up his review of the Mokabala.

It must not be forgotten, that, although the remission of land taxes promised as for the Mokabala instalment, the income of the land is increased by the remission, and would be available to the landowner in some form or other if no other should arise.' No doubt

The hint is a most suggestive; and, if one may judge from the burdens borne by the landowner given above, it has been lost on the astute, conservative ruler of Egypt. But on that increases poverty, as cultivators to sell land and bear the burden of five years' purchase, does not well for the productive source of fresh income. He forgot these views of the land when he expressed the Mokabala remissions as an impulse to cultivation more is the pity. And the increasing decree which has been on the debts actually and the abandonment of the Mokabala arrangement. The Mokabala no more, and the land returns to its old footing. No paid double tax in the Mokabala remissions and a return to their land must receive their land and pay again as before.

As for the land tax, which it would be hard to fix the value of amid the confusion of facts. The item next in order is the receipts from the land and here again we have conflicting data to go by the four documents which led to loose particulars re Egyptian finance, viz. the accounts of 1873-4, the definitive account of 1875, and the budget of 1876. We have their net receipts thus — first budget, 1873-4, second ditto (for the same year), 1875 account, 1876 budget, and the 1876 budget.

L.—NO. LXXVIII. NEW SERIES.

990,800*l.* No details are given of the working of these railways, except an account published in 1873, which shows that they are worked at about 40 per cent. of their gross receipts, and that it only costs 107,722*l.* to keep over 1,000 miles of railway and telegraph lines in repair. It is remarkable, too, that this should have been accomplished while the Khedive considers that he has the same right to use his railway for nothing in the carriage of freight and soldiers and for pleasure, as he has to goad his people under the lash to work without compensation on his estates. So far as I know, no other system of railways in the world could yield such extraordinary results under these conditions. And if the loss of Indian transit traffic, as well as the decrease in Egyptian trade through the opening of the Suez Canal, be taken into account, the enormous amount of the receipts become striking, beyond the capacity of human credulity. The net receipts of these railways were, moreover, set down as only 282,853*l.* in 1864-5, and at a still less sum the year before, when Egypt was in the full tide of its fitful cotton prosperity, and while it had an enormous transit trade to and from India. Where in the world, therefore, has the sudden increase come from since? I do not believe that it exists. The increased mileage has not brought increased profits; but, if the truth were told, the reverse, as a moment's consideration of the falling prices, reduced trade, and general situation will make evident. If the railways yield a net revenue of a quarter of a million, they do better than many of our Indian lines that are quite as well situated for traffic, and not so burdened with the caprices of unreasoning despotism, or with the weight of money borrowed at 27 per cent.

Almost equally difficult to believe

is the statement as to Customs receipts, although Mr. Cave says that they appear to have been underestimated last year, the income from the whole Customs being taken at 17,500*l.* less than an independent authority has set down, on 'imperfect data,' for Alexandria alone. The sum ranges from 528,000*l.* to 624,000*l.*, and we will let it pass with this remark only, that it was levied on about five and a half millions of imports in 1875, according to the official statement, of which at least a fifth passed in free for the Khedive's account, while a good portion of the remainder was simply goods in transit; and, further, that the English Board of Trade returns show that the Egyptian imports from this country have fallen from 8,829,000*l.* in 1870 to 3,674,000*l.* in 1874. How could it be otherwise with a population hardly able to buy the necessaries of life? It is only the Khedive and his Court and the Europeans in the country who can afford to import duty-paying luxuries. Everything is, however, so loose that relates to Egyptian trade, that we find a wide disagreement in the import and export figures published two years ago and those given in Mr. Cave's Report. For example, the old figures stated the total exports of the period 1852 to 1861 at 27,386,000*l.*, and the imports at 21,755,000*l.*, showing a surplus on the right side of 5,631,000*l.* Mr. Cave, on the other hand, gives a table for the same period in which the exports are set down at 29,870,000*l.* and the imports at 24,763,000*l.*, which shows a larger total and a smaller sum on the right side. Matters are still worse when we come to the period from 1862 to 1875. The old table which comes down to 1871 states the gross exports at 123,241,000*l.* and the imports at 52,682,000*l.*, while Mr. Cave's table, which comes down four

years later, shows a gross total of only 145,939,000*l.* and an import total of 61,942,000*l.* This gives an export for the last years of 22,698,000*l.*, or 5,675,000*l.* per annum, and an export of 9,258,000*l.*, or 2,315,000*l.* per annum. It is not so set down in the table, of course, being accounted for by the general cutting down of the totals over the years embraced in the period; but all the same this does not make the totals work out, and we are to conclude either that the figures issued in 1874 were grossly exaggerated, or that both the old and new statements are a mere happy guess, prompted, in the case of the figures furnished to Mr. Cave, by a desire to make things a little like the totals in the old home accounts. On the whole, we may, therefore, leave the Customs revenue as an undiscoverable quantity, which, whatever it be, will not tend to grow bigger. Let us now see how does our quest for big revenue become clearer when we deal with the items as the salt monopoly, the figures in the original budget for 187,000*l.*, and in last year's at 299,000*l.*, although correction is necessarily about the same. The tobacco duty is equally small. In 1873 Mr. Henry Heim had many reasons to give for this item, which did not figure a farthing in the first 1873 budget, and should be made to show a duplicate or amended version of 500,000*l.* He said 1½*l.* per head was no extravagant assumption of tobacco for the people, and 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb. was a sum to pay as tax; and, in fact, proved, to his own satisfaction, that the tax was the most sure in the country to yield but half the estimate just made. His sanguine anticipations have unhappily, been fulfilled; but he has yielded, by the comparison of the succeeding documents, only

o 260,000*l.* Once more, from provincial governors the first budget for only put in the 1875 accounts been swollen to 703,000*l.*, municipal receipts, which re in the first budget at e 1876 budget they are . In one budget the mis- receipts of the Ministry do not appear at all, in y figure at 272,000*l.*, and her at 455,000*l.* General us receipts, octroi, &c., the first budget for and in the 1875 account l., and so on; it is hardly o go through all details. an be said of some of at they represent illegal and 'backsheesh' on eliance can be placed as venue. Enough has been e mere recapitulation of s to show the utterly un- y nature of every state- rding the income and gypt, and to prove that stimate of what the re- ally are is almost im- ll we can assert is that ower than officially set e must perforce fall back considerations, and, re- g that the revenue was con- sider 5,000,000*l.* in 1864, her in the interval Egypt essed' so as to be able to Her trade is by official smaller now than it was much less profitable, the by all accounts poorer, of soil not greater; the itures of the Khedive do is 'new provinces,' with le, but only possible, ex- the Soudan, entail loss; n is this augmented re- come from? a poverty-stricken popu- ect to *corvées*, hardly able d, whose goods are liable l at the bidding of the x-gatherers, who must pay

'squeezes' to every corrupt official in order that he may get speedily rich—how are these to pay 2*l.* per head in taxation, young and old, infant and imbecile, or 8*l.* per family, if we suppose each family to consist of four persons? Worked to death, often hurried off to the Khedive's foolish wars, driven to build the Soudan Railway under the eye of an English contractor who ought, because he is an Englishman, to be ready to cut off his right hand rather than touch such work, where are these wretched creatures to find every year such sums of money?

The question hardly needs putting to reveal the absurd impossibility of realising this preposterous revenue. All the financial statements of Egypt are illusory. If the revenue was under 5,000,000*l.* in 1864, when Egypt was comparatively prosperous, not all the squeezing of the Mokabala exactions can have forced it beyond 7,000,000*l.* now, and I doubt if it has ever really exceeded six. How could it possibly do so when the civil administration lives by plunder? Let anyone conceive what it would be to wring 10,000,000*l.* sterling out of a population of some 5,000,000 souls, all but a few thousands reduced to a state of poverty more abject than that of the dwellers in the by-lanes of Soho, Seven Dials, or Drury Lane, or than that of the Irish labourers before the potato famine, and that it is, moreover, wrung out of these people at a cost of from 20 to 30 per cent. additional, which goes as 'backsheesh,' and tax farmer's profit, after approved Turkish fashion, and he will have some idea of what the budgets of Egypt must mean. The parrot cry always rises when this view is advanced, 'But Egypt is a very fertile country, and its people need little to live on beyond a few dates.' Yes, Egypt is fertile; but of what use is

fertility when there is neither capital nor security to enable that fertility to bear its due fruit? Mr. Henry Oppenheim estimates the yield of this fertile country at from 4*l.* to 6*l.* per acre, and the *Times* correspondent says it averages 9*l.* Compare these estimates with what a Scotch farmer contrives to get out of his bleak moorland or bare hill-side, and then talk of the fertility of Egypt as much as you like. It will be found to be but one more Egyptian dream.

Looking at the question in all its bearings, then, I cannot come to any other conclusion than that the revenues of Egypt have never been forced higher than 7,000,000*l.*, that their normal yield is perhaps about 5,000,000*l.*, that when the Mokabala arrangement comes to an end under the new decree therefore they are likely to fall to below 4,000,000*l.*, if they have not sunk to that point before, or unless Mr. Oppenheim's hint is well acted upon. That being so, what becomes of the scheme we hear of for paying interest on the huge and useless debt of the country? It all falls on the national exchequer, for the estates of the Khedive cannot be counted on to yield more than half a million towards the service of his loans at the best, and not unlikely may not yield a farthing. Fancy farming and fancy manufacturing is expensive work even in Egypt. At the present moment the debt of Egypt, funded

and floating, involves an annual charge of as near as 10,000,000*l.* At the reduction proposed in a scheme that has been formally published, it would be with sinking fund about 6,500,000*l.* By that scheme the whole of the floating debt is to be lumped together and converted into a total of 91,000,000*l.*, 5 per cent., redeemable in sixty-five years. The existing funded debts come to something over 55,000,000*l.*, so that this means a new creation of bonds for above 35,500,000*l.* The existing floating debt is only confined to 18,000,000*l.* of the Khedive, and the floating debt of the 3,000,000*l.*, while 1,000,000*l.* is set down for the Abyssinians. This new creation implies an increase of from 7,000,000*l.* to 8,000,000*l.* hitherto unacknowledged, and we must either set down an increase of the present floating debt not before revealed, or as 'covered' by the 'backsheesh' which the Khedive and his financial supporters expect to net in the shape of commissions when the new loan is placed. This grave proposal would be a thing quite irregular did it not strike one as ludicrously high in its audacity. The financial authorities hope to unload once more on the public have surely this time missed their mark, and are allowed to keep the bonds as they are. The administrative expenses of Egypt and tribute to the Sultan together with the interest on the money paid to us on the money paid

* The organs of the French *Haute Finance* now openly acknowledge that the purpose of the large excess which has been coolly added to the debt total. Here are the figures:—

Present consolidated debt	£54,500,000
Sundry bonuses	300,000
Floating debt	26,500,000
Bonus on its conversion	6,500,000
Balance reserved	3,700,000
	£91,500,000

The meaning of this is that the holders of the present floating debt are to get par, and to have in addition £6,500,000 to come and go upon; and that the Government retains another £3,700,000 to place on the market as best he can for his own benefit.

Canal shares, take, Mr. forms us, 4,000,000*l.*, or 500,000*l.* more than Mr. m allows in his pamphlet, e for the shares excluded. therefore, to discover how ent expenditure of about 00*l.*, which would be the der this new and very ngement, is to be brought mpass of a steady revenue outside, 5,000,000*l.*, now Mokabala extortion is said pended.

revenue will increase to o burdens to be borne.'

nothing in the history or of Egypt to warrant such and, if there were, the wanted now. The float-funded debts take at pre-ery penny of even the 00*l.* revenue claimed; the ration takes 4,000,000*l.*, cost of the Abyssinian war ch, it is said, 2,000,000*l.* Where is this money to come resent, even on the Govern- Egypt's own figures? The is as great in one way as and it is no wonder that nce Minister of Egypt was raising money at 18 per Treasury bills issued at 50 discount or at 36 per cent. l interest. But even that on for ever, and meantime ing debt swells; the Khe- e his master, must have

He has his large harem to o, his army to equip, and ous expensive whims to

There are two hundred f railway building in the at a cost of 7,000*l.* per ced labour notwithstanding, tractors will want payment, e 'honorariums.' How is money to be found? There way, and one only. The of the West must be once pealed to. A new scheme sary which, like an em- d garment thrown over a

corpse, will hide all that is revolting and forbidding. Schemes are, indeed, not wanting. 'Oh,' say the financiers, 'we have appointed a commission to receive the revenues set apart, and we hope to get all the great powers, England included, to join it. All will go right then.' This is the great card to be played; by this it is hoped that money will be found. But what does this new recipe for an old sore mean? Control of the administration of Egypt? Nothing of the kind. The position of the new financial board is a purely passive one. The commissioners cannot arrange taxes and see to the general expenditure; they are only there as receivers, and to give advice as to the accurate 'wording' of the budgets supplied to them from above; their position is exactly analogous to that of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, which, some will recollect, made a quite deafening noise about the great privileges and powers confided to it in Turkey, in order that the 1873 issue of 5 per cent. bonds might be floated. Where is that Bank now? What

good has it ever done to miserable bondholders? What has it ever been but a tool for enabling the Turks to draw money from people's pockets? The answer to these questions will tell us what the glittering scheme for a financial commission in Egypt can mean. It is not even to be composed mainly of Europeans, but were it composed of archangels, with power to spirit the Khedive away, and all his rottenness with him, they could not take 10,000,000*l.* out of a country which is miserably unable to pay 6,000,000*l.*

People will, it is to be hoped, not forget, when these glittering empty schemes are paraded before them, the budgets which have always shown a surplus and have lied systematically in so doing; that the 'floating debt' was, like Moses's burning bush,

inconsumable—always about to be extinguished by the newest loan, always reappearing bigger and more importunate than ever. Yet there is no telling what mankind may do. Where the temptation of gain is large, men grow blind to all risks and to all iniquity too. I can hardly conceive of a man with a conscience in his bosom sitting down and looking calmly at the state into which the miserable loan-dealing of adventurous rogues has brought Egypt without being awakened to pity, and, if he has been partaking in the gains, to remorse; and yet such men are often to be met with. They have become accustomed to look on these matters as merely so much per cent., and the agonies of the wretched slaves of Egypt reach not the peaceful luxuriousness in which these percentages enable them to dwell. By the toil of those weary millions these people have grown rich, and to them riches are more than humanity, an easy life better than the refusal to live by the sweat of another's brow, the slow draining of another's blood. I meet such men often, and wonder and fear also that with a new bait there will be a new rush after the gold, and a new impetus given to an oppression that has already mounted to an agony crying to heaven for vengeance. It is a gamble after all with the mass of those who join such ventures, and 'devil take the hindmost' their cry. These

people—the majority of them men and women of all classes, sobriety and priests and professed gamblers, honest shopkeepers and jewellers, dwellers in palaces—can only be kept away by fear of loss, and hence I have iterated and reiterated the utterly baseless character of Egyptian financial statements. I appeal to the prudent greed rather than to the hearts and consciences of men. No people will believe that on any terms the Egyptian fellaheen can find means to pay the charges on the present funded debt alone, and will lend further money to Egypt on the belief, they deserve their fate. But I would fain hope yet, and after all said, for humanity's sake, that the end of this modern system of fraud and oppression has come so far as Egypt is concerned that neither the English Government nor the English people will any more associate themselves with crimes so great as those that have been perpetrated there under the name of progress. Whether from doubt of gain to be had or from awakened consciousness of the harm that has been done, let us hope that our part and lot in the affair is over. The more what has been done in the past is looked at uglier will it seem. It is melancholy that the wealth of England should ever have been turned such a use. That the wealth employed should be lost may prove to be the lightest part of our retribution.

A. J. WILSON.



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